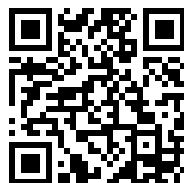


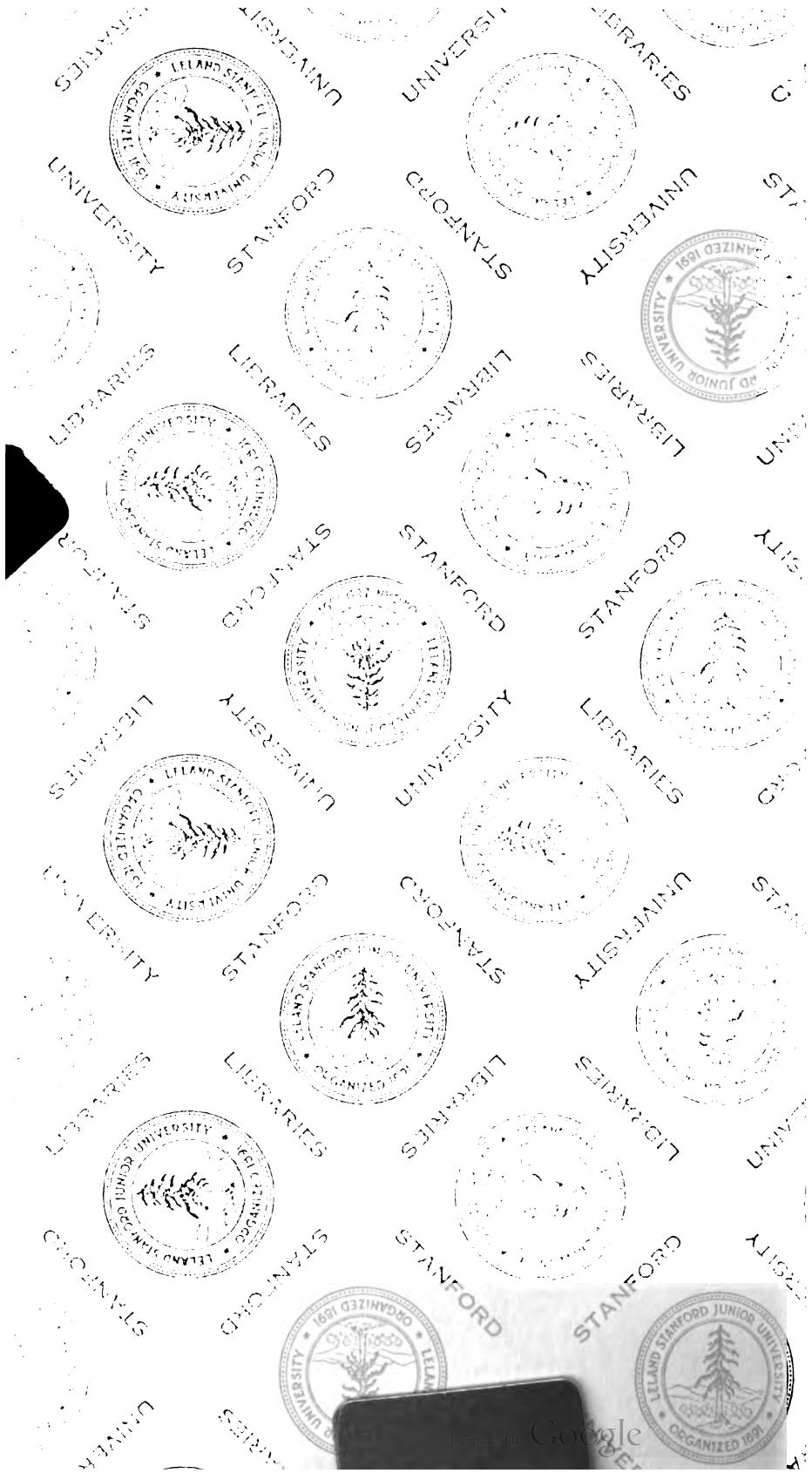
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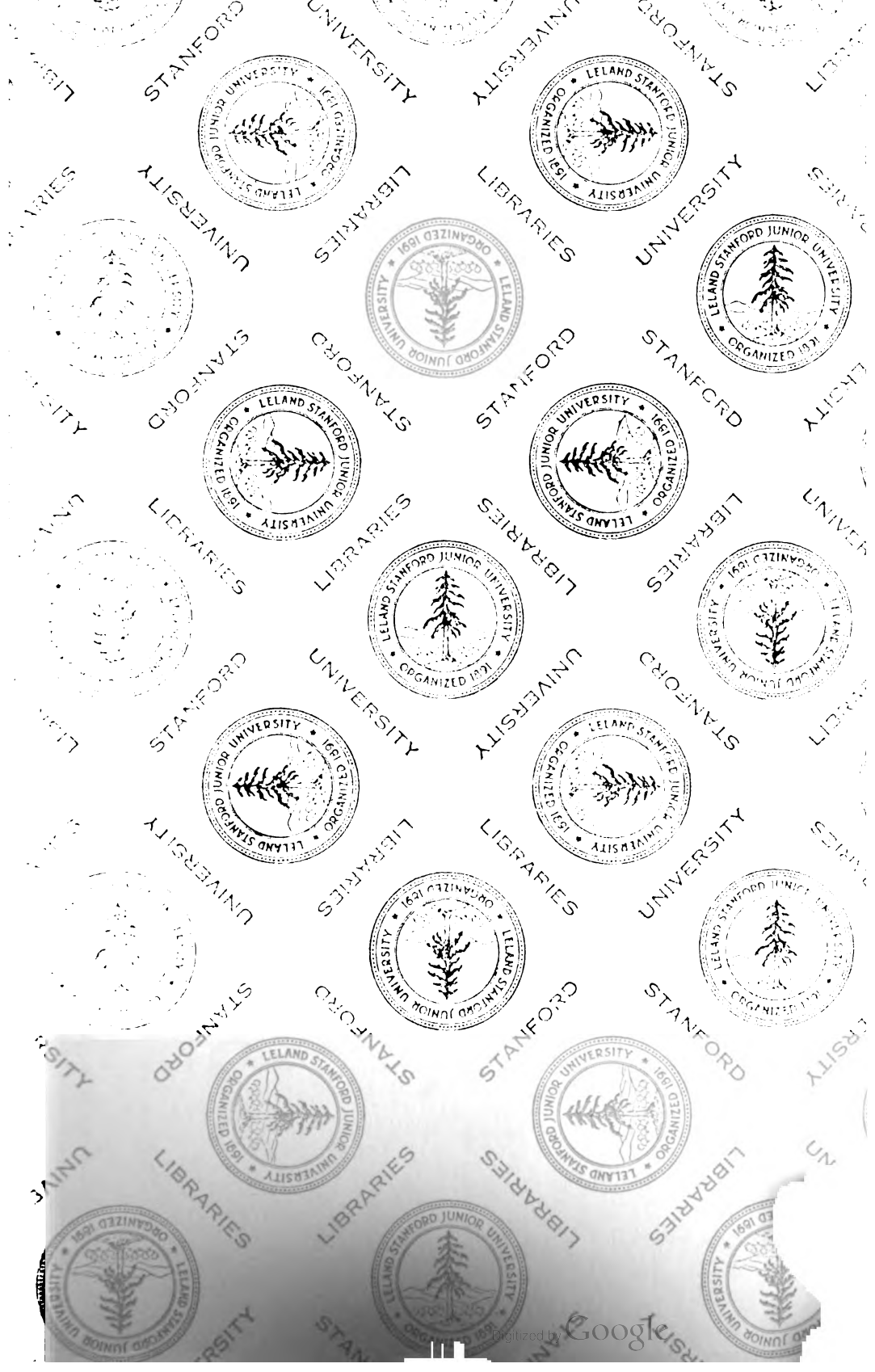
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# THE JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY

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## KONRAD BURDACHS 'FAUST UND MOSES'

Vor einigen Monaten ging durch die deutschen Zeitungen die Nachricht von einer neuen, Aufsehen erregenden Entdeckung Konrad Burdachs des Inhalts, dass eine innige Beziehung bestehe zwischen der von rabbinischen Sagen umwebten Gestalt des Mose und Goethes Faust. Es handelte sich um einen sehr umfangreichen Vortrag Konrad Burdachs in der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, der nunmehr in drei Nummern der Sitzungsberichte veröffentlicht worden ist.

Der Reichtum dieser Abhandlung geht über den begrenzten Vorwurf ihrer Überschrift weit hinaus. Von manchen Nebenerörterungen abgesehen, enthält sie eine genaue, höchst lehrreiche Darstellung der Rolle, die die Gestalt des Mose in Goethes geistiger Entwicklung von frühester Jugend bis ins Greisenalter spielt. Andererseits werden wir mit Recht auf die grosse Bedeutung hingewiesen, die die aus dem Neuplatonismus hervorgehende Unterströmung der deutschen und ausserdeutschen Mystik auf den Faust ausgeübt hat. Julius Goebels Faustkommentar, der in dieser Hinsicht uns vielfach erst die Wege gewiesen hat, scheint Burdach freilich nicht zu kennen, wie übrigens, sehr zum Nachteil der Sache, die meisten deutschen Goetheforscher.

Ich kann hier auf die vielen zum Teil höchst unterrichtenden Nebenerörterungen der Abhandlung nicht eingehen und will nur einige Erinnerungen, Berichtigungen, Ergänzungen und eine Würdigung des Hauptvorwurfes der Abhandlung bringen.

Der überzeugendste Teil der Burdachschen Abhandlung, 'der Tod des Mose, ist die Aufdeckung des freilich schon von Anderen festgestellten Zusammenhangs zwischen der Himmelfahrt des Faust und dem Tode des Mose. Burdach hat diesen Zusammenhang durch seine neue Untersuchung wesentlich geklärt. Er hat ihn aber nicht erschöpft. Ich füge daher im Folgenden einige ergänzende Bemerkungen hinzu.

Im Herbst 1781, veröffentlicht Herder mit anderen 'Jüdischen Dichtungen und Fabeln' eine von ihm selbst geläu-

terte Darstellung der rabbinischen Erzählung vom Tode des Mose, auf die Herder übrigens auch in der damals fertig gestellten Schrift 'Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie' zurückkommt.<sup>1</sup>

Burdach ist daher geneigt, Herders Kenntnis dieser Erzählung auf das Jahr 1781 anzusetzen und eine Beeinflussung Goethes durch eben diese Herdersche Erzählung anzunehmen. Goethes bekannter Brief vom Juni 1781, in dem er des Maler Müller's Handzeichnungen über den Tod des Mose nach Massgabe der letzten Faustauftritte beurteilt, wird von Burdach mit jener Nachdichtung Herders—die Stelle im 'Geist der Hebräischen Poesie' ist nicht beachtet worden—in Zusammenhang gebracht. Ich glaube, dass Burdach dabei im Wesentlichen richtig gesehen hat. Aber der Zusammenhang zwischen Goethes Brief an Müller und Herders Nachdichtung ist nicht unmittelbar, sondern mittelbar. Herders Nachdichtung ist die Fortsetzung von früheren Studien Herders über den Tod des Mose. Und Goethes in dem Brief an Müller enthüllte Kenntnis der Mosessage stammt ebenfalls schon aus diesen früheren Herderschen Anregungen. Ich werde im folgenden nachweisen, dass Goethes Kenntnis der Mosessage—und zwar in der Gestalt in der er sie für den Tod des Faust verwandt hat, in der Tat auf Herdersche Anregung—zum Mindesten bis in das Jahr 1775 zurückgeht. Goethe empfängt im Frühling dieses Jahres Herders Erläuterungen zum Neuen Testament samt seinen 'Briefen zweener Jünger Jesu' und schreibt darüber im Mai des Jahres entzückt:

"Ich habe deine Bücher kriegt und mich dran erlabt. Gott weiss, dass das eine gefühlte Welt ist! Ein belebter Kehrichthaufen! Und so Dank! Dank... Deine Art zu fegen—und nicht etwa aus dem Kehricht Gold zu sieben, sondern den Kehricht zur lebenden Pflanze umzupalingenesieren, legt mich immer auf die Knie meines Herzens".<sup>2</sup>

In meinem Werke 'Herder als Faust' habe ich nachgewiesen, dass diese von Goethe mit Begeisterung empfangenen Schriften samt dem dazu gehörigen 'Maran Atha' Herders

<sup>1</sup> Herder, Werke Band XI, S. 458.

<sup>2</sup> Brief vom Mai, 1775.



überall wichtige Spuren in Goethes Faust hinterlassen haben: im himmlischen Vorspiel, im Auftritt vor dem Makrokosmos-Zeichen, im Gespräch mit Wagner über die Geschichte, in Faust's Übersetzung des λόγος, in der Selbstkennzeichnung Mephistos, in der Vorstellung der Mutter Nacht, dem vergeblichen Kampfe des Lichtes und Lebens gegen die Finsternis u. s. w. Das Gemeinsame der hierher gehörigen Herderschen Schriften ist die Auslegung des Neuen Testaments durch morgenländisch parsistische Vorstellungen: und just diese parsistischen Vorstellungen sind es, die für Goethe in der Abfassung des Faust wichtig werden; war doch 'zoroastrisch, persisch, magisch' für Herder selbst damals ein und dasselbe.

Nun, einer der zween Brüder Jesu, über die Herder damals schreibt, ist Judas, der im neunten Verse seines Briefes auf die Sage vom Tode des Mose anspielt. Herder schreibt dazu in seiner Erläuterung: "Die Geschichte vom Hader Michaels und des Teufels (nämlich über den Leichnam des Mose) steht bisher völlig als Räthsel da, man hat in jüdischen Märchen Hülfe gesucht und keine gefunden; hier ist sie in der Sprache Zend-Avesta, worin Judas schrieb:

'Leichname sind das Eigentum, das Feld und Gebiet der Dämonen, wie Tod ihre Frucht, ihre Macht und Kraft ist' das ist die Angel, darum sich das ganze System drehet. 'Sie warten auf den Kranken: der Tod ruft sie: drei Nächte gehen sie umher, ihm etwas anzuhaben, dem Leichnam.'<sup>1</sup> Wenn sich der Abdruck naht, wird also das heilige kraftvolle Wort (le Vadj Serosch: das ist der Wille Gottes!) gesprochen, das den Bösewicht überwindet. Zu Hülfe gerufen werden die mächtigsten Engel am Throne (Schahrivar, Bahman, Ardibehesch, p. c. a. d. puissant Roi, désir Royal, saint & excellent, also der eigentliche Michael, Gabriel, Uriel der Chaldäer) den Toten zu bewahren, den Bösewicht zu vertreiben. Im Augenblick des Ausatmens macht man sonderbare, ihnen sehr nötige Zeremonien, dass der Unverschämte fliehe. Nichts ist ihnen unreiner, scheusslicher, als Leichnam, und alles Unreine gehört dem Dämon...<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ils rodent autour de lui pour le tourmenter.

<sup>2</sup> S. Cerem. relig. des Parses T. III Mort &c.

Nun war Moses die heiligste Leiche nach dem Begriff der Juden. Er starb am Munde Gottes: Gott begrub ihn selber: sein Körper verweste nicht: er ging ins Paradies über.<sup>1</sup>

Ein Vergleich dieser Erklärung mit Goethes Brief an Müller und dem Kampf um den Leichnam des Faust ist lehrreich in mehr als einer Hinsicht. In dem Briefe an Maler Müller verwirft Goethe die rabbinische Darstellung des Streites zwischen Teufel und Engel als "alberne Judenfabel". Offenbar stellt er seine eigene Deutung dieses Streites der "albernen Judenfabel" entgegen. Seine eigene Deutung hält er selbst nicht für die rabbinische: es ist nämlich die parsistisch-chaldäische, die auch Herder für die Mosessage verwendet und nachdrücklich von den jüdischen Märchen unterscheidet. "Man hat in jüdischen Märchen Hülfe gesucht, und keine gefunden; hier ist sie in der Sprache Zend-Avesta, worin Judas schrieb". Und zwei Seiten später: "lasse man also ab, in den jüdischen Märchenbüchern nachzusuchen". Der eigentliche Tiefsinn der Erzählung ist für Herder *nicht* eine jüdische, sondern eine "chaldäische Wendung".

Unter der Oberhoheit Mephistos erscheinen in Goethes Faust die Lemuren, die den Leichnam für sich in Anspruch nehmen: dies ist meines Wissens in der Tat nicht jüdische, sondern erst parsistisch "chaldäische" Umdeutung: "Leichname sind das Eigentum, das Feld und Gebiet der Dämonen" schreibt Herder im Anschluss an Anquetil du Perron. "Das ist die Angel, darum sich das ganze System drehet".

Vier graue Frauen umkreisen den Palast des zum Tode gezeichneten Faust und suchen ihm etwas anzuhaben. Dies ist der rabbinischen Mosessage, dem "jüdischen Märchen" wiederum völlig fremd. Es ist aber wiederum parsistisch "chaldäische Wendung". Denn die "Dämonen" im Avesta "warten auf den Kranken: der Tod ruft sie: drei Nächte gehen sie umher, ihm etwas anzuhaben". "Ils rodent autour de lui pour le tourmenter" und zwar nicht wie Herder offenbar fälschlich hinzusetzt: "den Leichnam" \* sondern den zum

<sup>1</sup> Herders Werke (Suphan) Bd. 7 S. 537 f. [Herder benutzt Anquetil du Perron's Ausgabe vom Jahr 1771].

\* Sollte Herder bei du Perron "le corps" gefunden haben? Das heisst in diesem Zusammenhang der "Körper" des Kranken, nicht der "Leichnam" des Toten.

Tode gezeichneten Kranken selbst. Das geht aus dem unmittelbar Folgenden zweifellos hervor: denn der Augenblick des Ausatmens ist noch *nicht* da und "der Abdruck" hat sich noch *nicht* geahnt.

Die Dämonen "warten auf den Kranken:" so die grauen Frauen im Faust. "Der Tod ruft sie". Auch im Faust sind die grauen Frauen die offenbar vom Tode gerufenen Schwestern des Todes:

Es ziehen die Wolken, es schwinden die Sterne!

Dahinten, dahinten! von ferne, von ferne,

Da kommt er, der Bruder, da kommt er...der Tod.

"Drei Nächte gehen sie umher": so die grauen Frauen im Faust. Wir erfahren wenigstens aus der Bühnenanweisung, dass es "Mitternacht" ist, da sie "rodent autour de lui". Und endlich, wie die Dämonen bei Herder versuchen, dem zum Tode Gezeichneten "etwas anzuhaben": so die grauen Frauen im Faust. Frau Sorge gelingt es. Sie raubt dem zum Tode gezeichneten Faust des Augenlicht.

In Goethes Schauspiel erscheint nach dem Tode des Faust eine Schar von Engeln und vertreibt Mephistopheles. Das ist meines Wissens wiederum in dem "jüdischen Märchen" nicht vorgesehen. Dort erscheint nur der Engel Michael, und dieser vertreibt eben den Bösewicht *nicht*. Wohl aber ist es vorgesehen in der parsistisch- "chaldäischen Wendung". "Zu Hülfe gerufen werden die mächtigsten Engel am Throne", zum Mindesten drei: Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, "den Toten zu bewahren, den Bösewicht zu vertreiben". Wie im Faust.

"In Augenblick des Ausatmens macht man sonderbare, ihnen sehr nötige Zeremonien, dass der Unverschämte fliehe", schreibt Herder aus dem Avesta. Mancher mag geneigt sein, in dem Rosenstreuen der Engel eine Veredelung dieses Gedankens zu finden. Aber nach echt parsistischer Vorstellung spricht Mephistopheles:

Der Körper liegt, und will der Geist entfliehen,

Ich zeig ihm rasch den blutgeschriebenen Titel;—

Doch leider hat man jetzt so viele Mittel

Dem Teufel Seelen zu entziehen.

Des Mose Körper 'verweste nicht', schreibt Herder 'er ging

ins Paradies über'. Und doch: 'nichts ist ihnen (nämlich den Engeln) unreiner, scheusslicher, als Leichnam'. Wiederum ist diese parsistisch 'chaldäische Wendung' von Goethe verwertet. Die 'Faustens Unsterbliches tragenden' Engel singen bei ihrem Eintritt ins Paradies:

Uns bleibt ein Erdenrest  
Zu tragen peinlich,  
Und wär er von Asbest,  
Er ist nicht reinlich.

So ermuntern sich die seligen Knaben:

Löset die Flocken los,  
die ihn umgeben.

und das verklärte Gretchen jubelt:

Sieh, wie er jedem Erdenbände  
Der alten Hülle sich entrafft.

Zu bemerken ist, dass in diesem Zusammenhange auch der von Goethe ursprünglich geplante Schluss des Faust aus der Überlieferung der Mosessage auftritt: der Streit um den Leichnam des Mose soll in himmlischer Gerichtssitzung sein Ende finden. Im Judasbrief deutet der Erzengel Michael auf dieses Gericht hin. Dazu Herder: "er liess das Gericht dem Richter"<sup>1</sup> und im Hinweis auf den Petrusbrief: "Auch die mächtigern, stärkern Engel" richteten nicht selbst die Ansprüche des Mephisto, "sondern warten auf den Gerichtstag des Herrn"<sup>2</sup>. Diesen Gerichtstag sollte, wie wir wissen, der ursprünglich vorgesehene Schlussauftritt in Goethes Faust schildern. 'Das Bild war schon Zacharias, der ganz in chaldäischen Bildern schrieb, erschienen, und also von Gott selbst autorisieret' schreibt Herder.<sup>3</sup> Bei Sacharjah tritt an Stelle des Moseh der Hohepriester Josua dem Satan in der Gerichtssitzung des Herrn gegenüber. Es scheint mir nicht unmöglich, dass Goethe vielleicht auf Herders Anregung diese, 'von Gott autorisierte' Sacharjahstelle benutzt hat. Die dort durch die Engel vollzogene Reinigung des verklärten Josua im Him-

<sup>1</sup> Werke, Bd. 7, S. 538.

<sup>2</sup> Herder, Werke Bd. 7, S. 539.

<sup>3</sup> Sacharja 3, 1 ff.

mel erinnert an die von den Engeln vollzogene allmähliche Reinigung des Faust von dem Erdenrest.

Endlich möchte ich noch darauf hinweisen, dass wie es scheint, nicht bloss die Sage *selbst* vom Tode des Mose für Goethe aus Herderscher Anregung stammt, sondern auch der Gedanke, diese Sage dichterisch zu verwenden. "Bloss schon als Fabel, als Sage tut die Geschichte Wirkung: *sie wäre die schönste Dichtung* mit Anschaulichkeit der Lehre, Bestandtheit der Charaktere und bestimmter Glaubwürdigkeit auf diesen Fall", schreibt Herder in seiner Erläuterung des Judasbriefes. In Herders Sprachgebrauch bedeutete das eine unmittelbare Aufforderung zu dichterischer Verwendung des Vorwurfs. War ihm doch die biblische Darstellung, das Leben Mose's selber Dichtung. "Die Geschichte Moses ist die erste, älteste, einfachste Epopee, die wir haben", schreibt er schon 1769,<sup>2</sup> zu einer Zeit, wo er genau ebenso über das Buch Hiob sprach. Aus dieser Zeit stammt, wie ich glaube, für Goethe die Anregung zum himmlischen Vorspiel des Faust nach Hiob<sup>2</sup> und zum himmlischen Nachspiel des Faust nach Mose.

#### 'DER TOD DES MOSE' IN STRASSBURG

Wir haben nach Goethes eigenen Aufzeichnungen Anlass anzunehmen, dass ihm der Gedanke der göttlichen Gerichtsetzung und also das Ende des Faust nach dem Vorbild des Todes Mose's bereits 1770 vorschwebte. Führen uns die Ephemeriden nach dieser Richtung nicht irre, dann ist der Tod des Mose als vorbildlich für das Ende des Faust von Goethe schon 1770 ins Auge gefasst worden. Dann hat Goethe bereits um diese Zeit die Sage von Moses Tode und möglicher Weise schon damals, und nicht erst 1775, ihre parsistische Wendung durch Herder kennen gelernt.

Nach meiner Überzeugung ist das sehr wahrscheinlich. Gegen Ende 1769 trägt sich Herder mit der Absicht, ein besonderes Werk über das Leben des Mose zu schreiben und nimmt die Vorarbeiten dazu in den ersten Strassburger Wo-

<sup>1</sup> Werke, Bd. 6, S. X.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. S. 317 ff. meines Buches 'Herder als Faust'.

chen wieder auf.<sup>1</sup> Es ist natürlich, wenn nicht selbstverständlich, dass in diesen Arbeiten auch der Tod des Mose eine Rolle gespielt hat: wir dürfen sogar vermuten eine sehr bedeutende Rolle, denn Herder interessierte sich lebhaft für die Sage von Moses Tode. Er ist in den darauf folgenden Jahren immer wieder auf sie ausführlich zurückgekommen und hat gerade diesen Vorwurf aus Moses' Leben zweimal selber dichterisch behandelt. Unter diesen Umständen dürfte die Vermutung gewiss nicht zu weit gehen, dass Herder dem Tode des Mose auch in seiner Lebensbeschreibung Mose's Beachtung geschenkt habe: 1770.

Diese Vermutung wird umso ansprechender, wenn es sich zeigt, dass Herder schon 1770 *das Leben des Mose durch parsistische Vorstellungen zu erläutern suchte*, wie später auf Grund Anquetils du Perron in der Erklärung des Judasbriefes. 'Ist der brennende Busch *persisch*? . . . Gott als der Gott Abrahams erschien in einer *persischen* Feuerflamme' schreibt Herder über die Erscheinung Jahwes am Horeb im Entwurf zu seinem Leben Mose's vom Jahre 1769. Sollte er sich nicht schon damals gesagt haben, wie er es tatsächlich 1775 tat, dass nicht nur die Feuerflamme, sondern auch der Tod des Mose persisch sei? Bei der Weise der Herderschen Bibelforschung dürfen wir mit Sicherheit vermuten, dass er den 9. Vers des Judasbriefes und den Petrusbrief schon damals herangezogen hat. Auf diese Judas- und Petrusstelle geht auch Goethes Plan der himmlischen Gerichtssitzung nach dem Ende

<sup>1</sup> Befremden muss es, dass Burdach Herders Leben des Mose nach dem in Bd. 6 spärlich und nur vorläufig verbesserten 'Lebensbild' anführt, während seit nun schon dreizehn Jahren ein tadelloser Abdruck im 32. Bande zur Verfügung steht. Ich erwähne das nur als ein allgemeines Zeichen dafür, wie wenig unsere Goethekenner in der für sie unentbehrlichen Herderforschung zu Hause sind—und Burdach ist noch einer der besten. Diese Tatsache ist mir im Kampfe um, 'Herder als Faust' besonders aufgefallen. Ich werde die mancherlei Blößen, die sich meine Gegner bei dieser Gelegenheit gegeben haben, in einem zusammenfassenden Aufsatz demnächst ausführlich darlegen, und bemerke nur, dass G. Witkowski's fehlerreicher Angriff im 'Literarischen Echo' bisher deshalb unbeantwortet geblieben ist, weil diese Zeitschrift die Aufnahme einer Erwiderung ablehnte. Ich werde daher auf Witkowski an anderer Stelle zurückkommen.

des Faust zurück, und dazu wieder gehört die Aufzeichnung der Ephemeriden vom Jahre 1770.

Ich möchte noch Eines hierzu bemerken:

Du hast mir nicht umsonst

Dein Angesicht im Feuer zugewendet,  
spricht Faust zu dem 'erhabenen Geist' in 'Wald und Höhle'.

Herder in jener von Burdach herangezogenen Erzählung vom Jahre 1781 'Der Tod des Mose' lässt diesen zum Herrn gewendet sprechen: Ich 'sah dich in den Flammen' und dann wiederum: Ich 'redete mit dir von Angesicht zu Angesicht, wie der Freund mit seinem Freunde redet'. Ich halte es für sehr wohl möglich, dass hier ein sachlicher Zusammenhang vorwaltet. Die deutschen Zeitungen haben in ihren Berichten über Burdachs Abhandlung gerade diesen Punkt seiner Vergleichung betont. Ich halte es aber weder für notwendig, noch selbst für wahrscheinlich, dass dieser Zusammenhang ein unmittelbarer ist, wie jene Zeitungen und auch Burdach anzunehmen scheinen. Dass Jahweh dem Moses im feurigen Busch erscheint, ist biblisch (Exod. 3, 2); dass er ihm in der 'persischen Feuerflamme' erscheint, ist schon 1769 Herders Lesart.<sup>1</sup> Dass er mit ihm 'von Angesicht zu Angesicht' wie ein Mann mit seinem Freunde redet, ist ebenfalls biblisch (Exod. 33, 11). Diese Züge waren von Herder schwerlich erst 1781 hervorgehoben. Goethe kannte sie aus Herders 'Leben Moses' von den gemeinsamen Strassburger Studien her. Es kommt hinzu, dass wir mehr als Einen Grund zu der Annahme haben, dass der Auftritt 'Wald und Höhle' seinem wesentlichen Inhalt nach bereits lange vor 1781 feststand. Nur für uns treten jene beiden Züge zusammen erst im Jahre 1781 auf, nicht für Goethe, den Vertrauten Herders.

#### MAHOMET UND DIE TORRENTS SPIRITUELS DER MME. DE GUYON

Höchst lehrreich und für mich durchaus überzeugend ist der von Burdach aufs neue nachgewiesene Zusammenhang zwischen Goethes Mahomet und den 'torrents spirituels' der Frau von Guyon. Dass Goethes Mahomet eine Anwendung des Guyonschen Gleichnisses ist, kann in der Tat keinem

<sup>1</sup> 'Gott als der Gott Abrahams erschien in einer reinen persischen Feuerflamme'.

Zweifel unterliegen. Es fragt sich nur, auf welchem Wege Goethe zu diesem Gleichnis gelangt ist.

Konrad Burdach ist es entgangen, dass die Verwendung des Guyonschen Gleichnisses vor seiner Verwendung durch Goethe bereits zu Herders Gedanken- und Sprachschatz gehört, und zwar kurz vor der Zeit seines Zusammentreffens mit Goethe in Strassburg und also kurz vor der Entstehung des Mahomet. Anderthalb Jahre vorher schreibt Herder z. B. in einer Predigt:

‘Die Wahrheit ist ein Strom, der durch unser ganzes Leben fortgeht; in der Jugend ist er noch wie ein Fluss nahe seiner Quelle! Stark, aber nicht breit und tief! befruchtend aber nicht schiffreich! er macht angenehm Au und Feld! Aber seht dort in der Mitte der Jahre! da muss er zunehmen, da tieferes Bette sich machen, da majestätisch fließen, bis er zuletzt sich mit einer Breite, die schon ein kleines Meer ist, sich still und eben ins Weltmeer ergiesst. Ebenso ists mit der fortgehenden Bildung und Kenntnissen der Seele durch alle menschlichen Lebensalter’. Herder Werke 32, S. 486.

Die fortgehende Bildung der Seele des Mahomet stellt unter dem Guyon-Herderschen Bilde Goethe dar. Goethe bedient sich nicht unmittelbar des Guyonschen Bildes sondern der Herderschen Umgestaltung dieses Bildes. Es ist wichtig, das zu beachten. Madame Guyon’s ‘torrents spirituels’ sind die verschiedenen Wege *verschiedener* Seelen zu Gott, in den die mystische Seele sich als in ein Weltmeer ergiesst. Die verschiedenen Bäche und Flüsse der Frau von Guyon werden für Herder zu Entwicklungsstufen eines und desselben Wasserlaufes, einer einzelnen Seele, der urbildlich menschlichen Seele. Diese urbildliche Seele des Menschen stellt Goethes Mahomet dar.—‘Das mystische Bild der erweckten gottbegnadeten Seele des erleuchteten Frommen’, das auf das Meer der überweltlichen himmlischen Unendlichkeit hinaus lief, ‘ist mit irdischem Sinne erfüllt, schreibt Burdach feinsinnig.\* Auch dieser Zug stammte aber schon von Herder, nicht erst von dem jungen Goethe.

\* [Hier scheint mir doch im Eifer der Quellenjagd der innerste, für Goethes Profetentum so wichtige Grundgedanke des Mahometgedichtes ganz übersehen: der erhabene Beruf des Genius die Menschheit zu Gott zu führen.—Ed.]



## GOETHE ALS MOSE

Konrad Burdach vertritt die trotz der Selbstverständlichkeit, mit der sie geäußert wird, sachlich schwerlich zu rechtfertigende Meinung, *Goethe selbst sei Faust*. Also wenn Faust Mose ist, muss Goethe auch selbst Mose sein und Burdach geht an, uns nahe zu legen, dass dies wirklich der Fall sei.

Burdach ist der Überzeugung, dass die Gestalt des Mose von vornherein auf die Entstehung des Faust eingewirkt habe. Nach seiner Überzeugung schwebt die Gestalt des Mose im Hintergrund des Auftritts vor dem Buch des Nostradamus, in dem Auftritt vor dem Erdgeist, in 'Wald und Höhle', im Eingang zum zweiten Teile, im zweiten Teil als Ganzen, in den Schlusssauftritten des zweiten Teils. Das Meiste von diesen Auftritten steht schon vor 1781 fest. Es müsste also erwiesen werden, dass Goethe sich schon vor 1781 mit Faust als eine Art Mose fühlt.

Ist dies der Fall? Die einzige Beweisstelle, die Konrad Burdach vorzubringen vermag, ist eine briefliche Anspielung Goethes auf den Koran vom Juli 1772: 'Ich möchte beten, wie Moses im Koran:' "Herr, mache mir Raum in meiner engen Brust". Ich kann mich des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, dass Burdach in Ermangelung eines grösseren und besseren Beweisstoffes diese Briefstelle ungebührlich ausnutzt und sie mehr als ihr zukommt in den Vordergrund der Entwicklung des jungen Goethe schiebt. Demgegenüber möchte ich bemerken: erstens, dass der Brief, in dem diese Stelle vorkommt, zwar ein wichtiges Bekenntnis Goethes an Herder enthält, aber nicht, wie es bei Burdach erscheinen dürfte, *das* grosse, noch auch das Hauptbekenntnis ist, sondern eines unter vielen gleichwertigen anderen. Zweitens: dass die Bemerkung über den Mose im Koran in keiner Weise and nur irgendwie im Mittelpunkt jenes Briefes steht, dass der Mittelpunkt des Briefes ein ganz anderer ist und jene Anspielung lediglich eine Randbemerkung nebenher bildet, ohne den mindesten Einfluss über irgend einen Teil des Briefes auszuüben. Goethe vergleicht sich selbst in diesem Briefe mehr als zehnmal mit den verschiedensten Gestalten aus seinem Leseschatz und unter all diesen Vergleichen tritt der mit Moses im Koran als

einer der einflusslosesten und am wenigsten ausgeführten auf—so anziehend er immerhin *für uns* erscheinen mag. Drittens: Goethe vergleicht sich in jenem Brief unter manchem Anderen auch mit dem Mose im Koran, aber weder die Stelle, die er heranzieht, noch der Zusammenhang, in dem er sie heranzieht, haben irgend etwas mit irgend einer Stelle im Faust zu tun, an der Faust etwa Mose sein könnte.

Nach allem dem kann ich mich nicht zu der Annahme entschliessen, dass jene Briefstelle von hervorragender Bedeutung sei für Burdachs Meinung, Goethes Mosestudium habe von Anfang an den inneren Aufbau des Faust beeinflusst.

Anders steht es mit den von Burdach beigebrachten Stellen aus Goethes späterer Lebenszeit. Es kann als erwiesen gelten, dass sich nach 1819 der alternde Goethe mehrfach selbst mit Mose verglichen hat.<sup>1</sup> Dabei haben es alle diese Stellen, soviel ich sehen kann, nur mit dem im Faust dargestellten Tode des Mose zu tun, nicht mit irgend einer anderen Stelle, in der Faust etwa Mose sein könnte. Der Todesauftritt des Faust stand für Goethe aber schon vor 1781 fest. Daher kann keine Rede davon sein, dass der Faust entstanden ist unter dem Eindruck der Tatsache, dass Goethe sich selbst als ein Moses und sich in der Mosesgestalt als Faust fühlte.

#### MOSES IN GOETHES FAUST

‘Faust selbst ist Mose’: das ist der Eindruck, den Burdachs Akademieabhandlung scheinbar hinterlassen möchte und bis zu gewissem Grade auch wirklich hinterlässt; natürlich nur in dem Sinne, den solch ein Satz haben kann, nämlich dass Faust die Züge des Mose trägt. Ich möchte den Wegen Burdachs im Einzelnen nachgehen.

Dass die Mosessage dem Tode des Faust zum Vorbild gedient hat, dürfte als beweiskräftig von Burdach dargetan gelten. Es geht deutlich hervor aus Goethes Brief an Müller vom Jahre 1781 und den Zusammenhängen dieses Briefes mit den Einwirkungen Herders auf Goethe. In Übereinstimmung mit Burdach und teilweise über ihn hinausgehend rechne ich

<sup>1</sup> Die aus dem Jahre 1797 beigebrachte Stelle ist, wie Burdach mit Recht selbst darlegt, in keiner Weise beweiskräftig.

folgende Züge zu diesem Einfluss: die grauen Frauen, die Le-muren, die Bewachung des Leichnams durch den Teufel und seine Dämonen, das siegreiche Erscheinen der himmlischen Heerscharen, die Himmelfahrt des Faust und die Läuterung seines Leibes von dem unreinen 'Erdenrest', endlich, nach Goethes ursprünglichem Faustplane, die Gerichtssitzung nach der Himmelfahrt.

Burdach aber scheint besonders Gewicht darauf zu legen, dass nicht nur die Züge innerhalb der letzten Auftritte des Schauspiels auf die Mosessage zurückgehen, sondern auch die dichterische Verwebung dieser Auftritte mit dem Ganzen des Schauspiels. Hier vermag ich nur mit grosser Zurückhaltung zu folgen.

Als eine der entscheidenden Übereinstimmungen hebt Burdach hervor, dass Faust und Mose sterben; beide 'mit dem sehnsuchtsvollen Blick in das erhoffte nahe Zukunftsland, im Vorgefühl der sicheren Erfüllung des Ideals, das selbst zu erreichen ihnen doch versagt bleibt'; beide 'mit einem Vermächtnis auf den Lippen'.<sup>1</sup> Man wird einwenden dass dies nichts Eigentümliches sei. Aber im Hinblick auf die Übereinstimmungen dieser letzten Auftritte des Faust nach anderer Richtung darf man sich vor der Möglichkeit nicht verschliessen, dass Züge des Mosessage, Goethe selbst vielleicht kaum bewusst, hier hineingewebt sind. Freilich über die blosse Möglichkeit führt der beigebrachte Beweisstoff nicht hinaus.

Andere von Burdach als wichtig hervorgehobene Übereinstimmungen vermag ich schlechterdings nicht für beweiskräftig zu erachten. Sie sind gar zu allgemein und werden bei aller Allgemeinheit von gleichzeitigen Verschiedenheiten weit überwogen. Ich kann nicht finden, dass im Leben des Faust etwas von Mose steckt, noch im Leben des Mose 'etwas vom Faust'. Mose, zumal in Goethes Auffassung, ist ganz ein Mann der Tat. Faust ist kein eigentlicher Mann der Tat, sondern ein Mensch des vollen Lebens; meist, allzu oft, der Mensch des Genusses, des Begehrens und des Strebens in ganz anderem Sinne als Mose. Denn ganz und gar ist Fausts Stre-

<sup>1</sup> S. s. 360.

ben erfüllt von seinem Selbstgenuss, dagegen ist das Streben des Mose erfüllt von der einen grossen, allem Eigengenuss fremden Mannesaufgabe am Volk der Hebräer. Dazu: Mose drängt und schiebt, Faust aber wird stets geschoben. Darum ist Mose ein Mann der Tat, aber nicht Faust.

Die Gestalt des Mose bei Goethe ist kein Vorbild des Faust sondern ein Nachbild des biblischen Berichtes. 'Ein starker, gewaltsamer, das Rechte und Grosse wollender, ein Mann der Tat und nicht des Rats, von seinem Wege abzuleiten, aber von seiner Idee nicht. Ungeschickt in der Behandlung der Menschen zu seinem Zwecke, daher immer gewaltsam, aber auch gewaltsam zur rechten Zeit, und dem zur Ausführung seiner grossen Absicht für sein Volk alles erlaubt schien'.<sup>1</sup> Das war wirklich der biblische Mose, aber es war nicht Faust. Wenn man schon annehmen will dass ausser dem Mose der Bibel Goethe noch ein Anderer bei dieser Schilderung vorschwebte, so ist es Friedrich der Grosse. Und Friedrich der Grosse ist Faust trotz der Austrocknung der Sümpfe nicht Dafür ist ein Vergleich zwischen Philemon und Baucis und dem Müller von Sanssouci besonders kennzeichnend. 'Das lebhafteste Gefühl für Recht und Unrecht' des Mose und des alten Fritz, 'dem zur Ausführung seiner grossen Absicht für sein Volk alles erlaubt schien': dies fehlt Faust gerade, denn für sein Unrecht ist der Beweggrund stets das sinnlich menschliche Begehren und nicht der Drang zur grossen Tat.

Auch sonst kann ich den von Burdach in der Abhandlung zerstreut geltend gemachten Gründen für eine Übereinstimmung zwischen Faust und Mose nur mit grosser Zurückhaltung folgen. Am ehesten verteidigen lässt sich noch der Vergleich zwischen Mose als Wundertäter am Hofe des Kaisers: nur dass die Wunder nach Inhalt und Zweck auf beiden Seiten ganz verschieden sind, und die faustischen Wunder bereits der alten Faustsage angehören. Bedenklicher ist es, wenn die faustische Trockenlegung der Meeresufer verglichen wird mit einer, Goethe bekannten Erzählung bei Hans Sachs, da der als Mose verkleidete Teufel die kretischen Juden durch die Vorspiegelung eines Durchzuges durch das Meer ertränkt,

\* S. 377 vgl. Goethe Werke VII, p. 319 f.

wovon im Faust schlechterdings nichts zu finden ist.<sup>1</sup> Oder wenn Burdach im Hinblick auf Mose im Wesen des Faust 'etwas von dem Volksführer und Volksbefreier, dem Kolonisator und Landgewinner, dem sittlichen Gesetzgeber, dem Wegweiser diesseitigen Lebens' findet und dabei übersieht dass zwar Mose 'Volksführer und Volksbefreier, sittlicher Gesetzgeber und Wegweiser diesseitigen Lebens' ist, nicht aber Faust; und zwar Faust 'Kolonisator und Landgewinner' ist, nicht aber Mose. In diesen Fällen kann ich mich des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, dass hier Ähnlichkeiten nur vorhanden sind in den Ausdrücken mit denen Burdach die Dinge beschreibt, nicht aber in den Dingen selbst.

Besonderes Gewicht legt Burdach auf das berühmte Selbstgespräch des Faust beim Sonnenaufgang zu Beginn des zweiten Teiles. 'Ich stieg hinauf und ging den Weg des Himmels' spricht in Herders Rabbinererzählung die Seele des Mose zu Gott, zurückblickend auf ihren bisherigen Lebensgang. 'Dieser Weg des Himmels—das ist das Motiv des grossen Sonnenaufgangmonologs' schreibt Burdach und sucht diesen Gedanken zu erhärten an Gregor von Nyssa's neuplatonistisch-mystischer Lebensbeschreibung des Mose. Es mag an meinen eigenen Mängeln liegen, aber ich muss gestehen, dass ich trotz sorgfältigen Bemühens nicht im Stande gewesen bin, auch nur die geringste belangreiche Ähnlichkeit zwischen dem naturdurchtränkten, sinnlich erquickenden Auftritt im Faustschauspiel und der übersinnlich mystisch vergeistigenden Seelentkörperung bei Gregor von Nyssa zu finden. Das Licht im Sonnenaufgang des Faust ist der wirkliche, sinnlich und frisch erquickende Morgen des wirklichen irdischen Tages, der ganz anderen Wesens ist als Gregor von Nyssas sinnbildliches Licht der mystischen Gottesschau und selbst die Schlusszeile 'am farbigen Abglanz haben wir das Leben', die bei Goethe aus ganz anderen Quellen strömt, kann nicht dem Neuplatonismus Gregors aufgebürdet werden. Ich kann auf die Einzelheiten, die Burdach zum Vergleich heranzieht, hier nicht eingehen: nur das möchte ich betonen, dass nach meinem Empfinden das Selbstgespräch im Eingang des zweiten Teiles Schilderung

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. s. 778.

des unmittelbaren Gebirgs- und Naturerlebnisses ist, und schlechterdings nicht zu tun hat mit irgendwelcher Bücherkenntnis Goethes: sei es nun aus Gregor von Nyssa oder Plotin.

Eben deshalb kann ich trotz meines 'Herder als Faust'— auch darin nur zögernd mit Burdach übereinstimmen, dass dieser Auftritt die Herdersche Lehre vom Licht und der Morgenröte darstelle. Dazu erscheint mir dieser Auftritt viel zu selbsterlebt: was Goethe aus den Alpen schildert, erlebt jeder in den Alpen. Nach meinem Empfinden hat Goethe diesen Auftritt unmittelbar aus den Alpen abgeschrieben und nicht aus Herders Buch über die älteste Urkunde. Anderseits stimme ich Burdach zu in der Annahme der Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass der Gedanke, den zweiten Teil des Faust mit einem Auftritt morgenlicher Erquickung zu beginnen, nicht ausser Zusammenhang steht mit Herders Lehre von der Erquickung durch die Morgenröte. Wer Herders Ausführungen über die Morgenröte wirklich kennt, wird Burdach zugeben müssen, dass der Eingang zum zweiten Teile des Faust manches von dem Herderschen Geist atmet: aber nicht in der Schilderung der Natur, die unmittelbar dieser selbst entnommen ist, sondern in der Färbung, die dieser Auftritt durch seine Aufgabe erhält, ein neu einsetzendes Leben des Schauspiels darzustellen.

Hiermit verlasse ich den zweiten Teil des Faust und gehe zu der Rolle über, die Burdach dem Mose für den ersten Teil zuschreibt. Faust vor dem Buche des Nostradamus. Nach dem Vorgang von Wilhelm Scherer und namentlich von Joseph Collin habe ich in meinem Buche 'Herder als Faust' auf die engen Zusammenhänge zwischen dem Makrokosmozeichen des Faust und Herders 'Ältester Urkunde' hingewiesen. Diese Beziehung benutzt Burdach dazu, um Mose als 'Urmagier' und 'Archimagus' zu stempeln (z. B. 653), der dann im halbdunkeln Hintergrunde jenes Auftritts zu stehen und bald nach dem 'Archimagus' Nostradamus, bald nach dem Faust selbst hinüber zu schillern scheint. Demgegenüber muss ich nachdrücklich darauf hingewiesen, dass nach meiner Kenntnis der Dinge weder bei Herder noch bei Goethe jemals die Ausdrücke Archimagus und Urmagier für Mose vorkommen, noch

auch dass sachlich weder bei Herder noch bei Goethe Mose in irgendwelchem beträchtlichen Umfang die Rolle des Urmagiers spielt, mit anderen Worten, dass sowohl der Ausdruck als auch die Sache von Burdach selbst eingeführt worden sind und also wiederum seine Vergleichungsbemühungen mehr für seine eigene Anslegung der Dinge, als für die ausgelegten Dinge selbst in Betracht kommen. Ausdrücklich sage ich, dass Mose auch bei Herder nicht die Rolle des Urmagiers spielt, das Zeichen des Makrokosmos stammt für Herder *nicht* von Mose, sondern ist uralter, von Gott, dem eigentlichen 'Urmagier' selbst gestifteter Besitz des Morgenlandes, den Mose aus der morgenländischen Überlieferung erst übernommen hat. Moses eigene Gestalt spielt in Herders Ältester Urkunde wie in den Vorarbeiten zu ihr überhaupt keine bedeutende Rolle. Sein Name erscheint fast ausschliesslich als der in diesen Untersuchungen verhältnismässig nebensächliche 'Urheber' der nach ihm genannten Schriften.

Ich gehe zu einer weiteren Anregung der Burdachschen Schrift über. Sie erweckt den mehr oder minder ausgesprochenen Eindruck, dass Faust vor dem Erdgeist die Züge Mose's vor dem brennenden Busch auf dem Berge Horeb trägt. Drei Beweisgruppen macht Burdach, soviel ich sehen kann, geltend: 'Schreckliches Gesicht!' spricht Faust vor dem Erdgeist und in dem von Goethe benutzten englischen Bibelwerk, in der Übersetzung einer Vergleichsstelle Hebräerbrief 12, 21, nicht an der Exodusstelle selber, steht zu lesen: 'und also erschrecklich war das Gesicht, dass Moses sprach: ich bin erschrocken und zittere'; ferner, Faust 'zusammenstürzend' heisst es bei Goethe, und dieser hatte in einer Sure des Koran lesen können, Mose sei bei einer Offerbarung des Herrn hingefallen in Ohnmacht als wie tot. Ich kann mich nicht entschliessen diese beiden Gleichungen als beweiskräftig hinzunehmen, zumal das Wort 'erschrecklich' bloss im Hebräerbrief steht, nicht an der betreffenden Mosestelle selbst, und der 'zusammenstürzende' Faust bei Goethe keineswegs wie Mose in Ohnmacht fällt 'als wie tot', sondern stehend, in unmosaischem Trotz ruft: 'Soll ich dir, Flammenbildung, weichen? Ich bins, bin Faust, bin deines Gleichen', und erst sehr viel

später zusammenstürzt, und zwar *nicht* vor dem Anblicke des erscheinenden Geistes, wie Mose, sondern aus Verzweiflung über die Entmutigung des entschwindenden Geistes.

Burdachs zweite Beweisgruppe ist diese. Der Moses der Kabbala wünscht Gott selbst zu schauen, darf aber nur sein Kleid sehen, welches Licht ist. 'Und webe der Gottheit lebendiges Kleid' sage der Erdgeist. 'Man kann sich', in Burdachs Auge, 'dem Zwang dieser Analogie kaum entziehen'. Ich gestehe, dass ich die Analogie keineswegs zwingend, ja dass ich sie überhaupt nicht finde. Faust sieht eben nicht, wie Mose, nur 'das Kleid', an dem der Erdgeist webt, ja er sieht dieses Kleid bei der Erscheinung überhaupt nicht, sondern er sieht, im geraden Gegensatz zu Mose, leibhaftig den Geist selber, der an dem Kleide webt. Die Erscheinung vor Faust widerspricht der Erscheinung vor Mose so völlig, dass man daraus fast mit Sicherheit das Gegenteil der Burdachschen Vermutung entnehmen kann: nämlich, dass Goethe die Erscheinung Gottes am Horeb als er jene Stelle schrieb, völlig vergessen haben muss. Was aber den Ausdruck 'Kleid der Gottheit' angeht, so habe ich in meinem Werke 'Herder als Faust' nachgewiesen, dass Goethe für diesen Ausdruck nicht erst zu den Kabbalisten greifen musste, sondern ihn wieder in den von der morgenländischen Weisheit durchtränkten Arbeiten seines Busenfreundes Herder fand, und zwar nicht nur den Ausdruck 'Kleid der Gottheit' sondern auch den ganzen Zusammenhang: das Weben des Lebens, Geburt und Grab, ein ewiges Meer, ein ewiges Weben und Auftrennen. (Herder als Faust, S. 81-83).

Burdachs dritte Beweisgruppe ist bereits zur Sprache gekommen: Fausts Gebet an den 'erhabenen Geist' im Auftritt 'Wald und Höhle':

Du hast mir nicht umsonst

Dein Angesicht in Feuer zugewendet,

spricht Faust und soll auch hier Moses sein, während wir soeben gehört haben, dass er gerade deshalb, weil er das Antlitz des grossen Geistes *nicht* sieht, Mose sein soll. Ich habe bereits zugegeben, dass ich nicht abgeneigt sein würde, hier an die Möglichkeit eines Nachklingens der Berufung des Mose



zu glauben. Der Anklang bezieht sich jedoch nicht auf die Gestalt des Mose oder Faust selbst, welche völlig aus dem Spiel bleibt, noch auf die Gestalt Gottes oder des erhabenen Geistes, sondern lediglich auf die Art und Weise, wie das Überirdische vor dem Irdischen erscheint. Diese Erscheinungsweise trägt 'vielleicht' und Goethe selbst sicher unbewusst Erinnerungsrreste aus der Erzählung vom Berge Horeb, Faust selbst aber ist in dem Auftritt 'Wald und Höhle' sicher *nicht* Mose.

Endlich das Vorspiel im Himmel. Dass Faust hier die Rolle des Hiob spielt, ist allgemein bekannt. Dass möglicherweise aber Hiob für Goethe ursprünglich Mose war, ist oben angedeutet. Eine gewisse anregende Rolle mag also die rabbinische Mosessage in dem himmlischen Vorspiel des Faust gespielt haben, aber Faust selbst trägt auch hier nicht die Züge des Mose.

Und so ist denn das Gesamtergebnis meines Urteils über Burdachs Untersuchungen dies: dass nicht der lebende Faust Mose ist, sondern nur der sterbende und tote und dass der sterbende und tote Faust Mose ist auf einem umfangreicheren Beweisgrunde, als Burdach annimmt. Entfernte Anregungen aus der Moseerzählung sind möglicherweise, wiewohl nicht mit Bestimmtheit, in dem himmlischen Vorspiel und in dem Auftritt Wald und Höhle, und was Burdach, soviel ich sehe, nicht in Erwägung gezogen hat, in dem Auftritt 'Trüber Tag' zu finden. Davon abgesehen hat, wenn mich mein Urteil nicht völlig täuscht, weder der erste noch der zweite Teil des Faust irgend etwas mit Moses zu tun.

GÜNTHER JACOBY.

*Berkeley, Cal., 1 November, 1912.*

## DIE FAUST PARALIPOMENA 20, 14, 41, 19, 53

Und merk dir ein für allemal  
 Den wichtigsten von allen Sprüchen,  
 Es liegt dir kein Geheimniss in der Zahl  
 Allein ein groszes in den Brüchen.<sup>1</sup>

Morris (Goethestudien <sup>2</sup> 1, 161) zitiert zur Erläuterung eine Stelle aus Goethes Winckelmann (W. A. I, 46, 32), aber nicht so vollständig, dass sie sich ohne weiteres zu empfehlen vermöchte. Es sei mir darum erlaubt, sie in seinem Sinne zu ergänzen.

Es ist dort von Winckelmanns Gründen für den Übertritt zur katholischen Kirche die Rede: "Dabei musste W. fühlen, dass man, um in Rom ein Römer zu sein... nothwendig zu jener Gemeinde sich bekennen müsse.... Doch gelang ihm die Veränderung seines Zustandes nicht ohne heftigen Kampf. Wir können... einen Entschluss fassen, der mit unserm Wollen... völlig harmonisch ist...so dass wir mit uns völlig zur Einigkeit gelangen. Ein solcher Entschluss aber kann mit der allgemeinen Denkweise, mit der Überzeugung vieler Menschen im Widerspruch stehen; dann beginnt ein neuer Streit, der zwar bei uns keine Ungewissheit, aber eine Unbehaglichkeit erregt, einen ungeduldigen Verdruss, dass wir nach aussen hie und da *Brüche* finden, wo wir nach innen eine *ganze Zahl* zu sehen glauben. Und so erscheint auch Winckelmann bei seinem vorgehabten Schritt, besorgt, ängstlich... wenn er sich die *Wirkung* dieses Unternehmens... bedenkt. Denn es bleibt freilich ein jeder, der die Religion verändert, mit einer Art von Makel bespritzt, von der es unmöglich scheint ihn zu reinigen. Wir sehen daraus, dass die Menschen den beharrenden Willen über alles zu schätzen wissen und umso mehr schätzen, als sie sämmtlich in Partheien ge-

<sup>1</sup> Bevor mir der auf den folgenden Seiten dargelegte Zusammenhang aufgegangen war, hatte ich immer an Stellen wie die folgenden gedacht, Werther 19, 61: "in der Welt ist es sehr selten mit dem Entweder Oder gethan; die Empfindungen und Handlungsweisen schattiren sich so mannigfaltig, als Abfälle zwischen einer Habichts- und Stumpfnase sind", vgl. aus desselben Werther Mund, 65, 4 ff. Diese Beispiele behalten natürlich ihre Gültigkeit.

theilt ihre eigene Sicherheit und Dauer beständig im Auge haben. *Hier ist weder von Gefühl noch von Überzeugung die Rede.* Ausdauern soll man da, wo uns mehr das Geschick als die Wahl hinstellt. Bei einem Volke, einer Stadt, einem Fürsten, einem Freunde, einem Weibe festhalten, darauf alles beziehen, desshalb alles wirken, alles entbehren, und dulden, das wird geschätzt; Abfall dagegen bleibt verhasst, Wankelmuth wird lächerlich”.

Man sieht, dieser Passus besagt doch das Gegentheil von dem was die Verse aussprechen. Zwar könnte man angesichts des Bildes, das Winckelmann bot, jene Formel anwendend sagen: Das Geheimnis seiner Unruhe lag nicht in seiner inneren Stellung zu dem vorhabenden Unternehmen, sondern in den damit verbundenen äusseren Bedenken. Aber wir dürfen schon aus methodischen Gründen unmöglich eine negative Situation als Grundlage für den Spruch voraussetzen, das Ergebnis des ganzen Beispiels kann nur lauten: Das Geheimnis des Erfolges liegt in der Zahl, nicht in den Brüchen. Ganz anders jedoch, wenn man den Fall—man erlaube den Ausdruck:—mephistophelisch betrachtete, wozu ja Goethe selbst ermuntert hat: “War dieses nun die eine schroffe, sehr ernste Seite, so lässt sich die Sache auch von einer andern ansehen, von der man sie heiterer und leichter nehmen kann. Gewisse Zustände des Menschen, die wir keineswegs billigen, gewisse sittliche Flecken an dritten Personen haben für unsere Phantasie einen besonderen Reiz. Will man uns ein Gleichniss erlauben, so möchten wir sagen, es ist damit, wie mit dem Wildbret, das dem feinen Gaumen mit einer kleinen Andeutung von Fäulniss weit besser als frisch gebraten schmeckt. Eine geschiedene Frau, ein Renegat machen auf uns einen besonders reizenden Eindruck. Personen, die uns sonst vielleicht nur merkwürdig und liebenswürdig vorkämen, erscheinen uns nun als wundersam, und es ist nicht zu läugnen, dass die Religionsveränderung Winckelmann’s das Romantische seines Lebens und Wesens vor unserer Einbildungskraft merklich erhöht”.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Das Verhältniss dieses zweiten zum ersten Abschnitt des Kapitels ist in Goethe’s Wortlaut logisch nicht ganz einwandfrei ausgedrückt.

Nicht wesentlich verschieden von der aus vorstehendem zu gewinnenden Deutung des Spruchs ist die von Burdach (Sitz. Ber. d. K. Preuss. Ak. d. W. 1912, 359) aus einer anderen Nutzenanwendung abgeleitete. "Den Sinn... erklärte ich aus einer von Boisseree aufbewahrten Äusserung Goethes über ein geologisches Buch: der Verfasser—so urteilte Goethe—verderbe seine Sache durch das falsche Bemühen, etwas zu erklären, was sich nicht erklären lasse, was man zugeben müsse; wie man in der Musik nie eine reine Oktave kriege, sondern in der zweiten immer ein neuer Ton sich bilde, ein neuer Teil, den man als Bruch in das Ganze verteile, so sei es dieser Bruch, der einem in der ganzen Natur begegne, den man nicht auflösen dürfe, den man als etwas Unauflösliches zugeben müsse".

Nimmt man es nicht zu genau, so passt auch das zweite von Morris aufgeführte Beispiel, aus dem Aufsatz über Erfahrung und Wissenschaft (W. A. 11, 38) sehr hübsch hierhin: "Die Phänomene, die wir ändern auch wohl *Facta* nennen, sind gewiss und bestimmt ihrer Natur nach, hingegen oft unbestimmt und schwankend, insofern sie erscheinen. Der Naturforscher sucht das Bestimmte der Erscheinungen zu fassen und fest zu halten, er ist in einzelnen Fällen aufmerksam nicht allein wie die Phänomene erscheinen, sondern auch wie sie erscheinen sollten. Es gibt, wie ich besonders in dem Fache das ich bearbeite oft bemerken kann, viele empirische Brüche, die man wegwerfen muss, um ein reines constantes Phänomen zu erhalten; allein sobald ich mir das erlaube, so stelle ich schon eine Art von Ideal auf. Es ist aber dennoch ein grosser Unterschied ob man, wie Theoristen thun, einer Hypothese zu lieb ganze Zahlen in die Brüche schlägt, oder ob man einen empirischen Bruch der Idee des reinen Phänomens aufopfert".

Ich bin sicher, dass die beiden Erklärer mit ihren Deutungen recht haben. In welchen Zusammenhang werden diese nun gehören? Morris bemerkt, dass die Weimarer Ausgabe das Paralipomenon der geplanten Disputation zurechne: Ohne Grund, denn sie ordnet es vor der Szene Landstrasse an. Am liebsten setzte ich es zu dem Schlusze der mit v. 2072 endenden Szene Studirzimmer, als einen Spruch auf den

Lebensweg. Aber das ist nur ein Vorschlag, in den Worten (1780 ff.) Mephistos zu Faust:

Glaub' unser einem, dieses Ganze  
Ist nur für einen Gott gemacht!  
Er findet sich in einem ew'gen Glanze,  
Uns hat er in die Finsterniss gebracht,  
Und *euch* taugt einzig Tag und Nacht,

zu denen noch 1346 zu vergleichen wären, scheint mir letzten Endes derselbe Gedanke enthalten zu sein: die Nacht entspräche dann den Brüchen. Auch an den Schüler könnte die Sentenz gerichtet sein, und damit gegen diese Vermutung nicht wieder das "du" ins Feld geführt werde, bemerke ich, dass eben ein Paralipomenon etwas anderes ist als ein zu der vollendeten Szene gehöriges Stück Text: unsere Verse wären zunächst nur in Spruchform aufs Papier geworfen worden und hätten gegebenenfalls mit einer leichten Änderung:

Und merkt euch ein für allemal  
Den wichtigsten von allen Sprüchen:  
"Es liegt dir kein Geheimniss in der Zahl,  
"Allein ein grosses in den Brüchen".

in den Fausttext aufgenommen werden können.\*

\* [Mir scheint, das Paralipomenon reiht sich viel ungewulgener hinter das Hexeneinmaleins ein. Denn hier, nach dem Unsinn der Zahlenmystik, ist die mephistophelische Weisheit vom *Geheimnis* der Brüche allein am Platze, eine Weisheit übrigens, die im Hinblick auf den Ruf geheimnisvoller Schwierigkeit, in dem Brüche und Bruchrechnung durchs Mittelalter bis auf Goethes Zeit und noch später standen, keineswegs so tiefsinnig ist, als manche Ausleger zu glauben scheinen.

Die mathematischen Disciplinen hiessen im Mittelalter auch die 'geheimen', sie wurden auf der Universität Bologna als ein Teil der Astrologie gelehrt und auf der Universität Prag bildete sogar die Chiromantie einen Zweig der Mathematik. Welche Scrupel aber die damals so schwierig scheinende Multiplication der Brüche selbst einem so hellen Kopfe wie dem verdienten Mathematiker Luca Pacioli (1445-1514) bereiten konnte, lässt sich in Cantor's *Geschichte der Mathematik* II, 315 ergänzlich nachlesen. Ist es, fragt Pacioli in seiner *Summa de Arithmetica*, nicht ein Widerspruch, wenn Brüche bei der Multiplication mit einander sich kleiner machen, während multipliciren, vervielfältigen auf das Grösserwerden hinweist, wie denn auch gesagt ist: Wachset und vervielfältigt euch und füllt die Erde.

Kein Wunder, dass eine arithmetische Form, die solche geheimnisvollen Widersprüche barg und sich im ausgesprochenen Gegensatz zum Worte Gottes gefiel, dem Teufel besonders wichtig und empfehlenswert erschien. Ed.]

In der ersten Aufnahme hat sich auch der Zustand ver-  
ändert, das ist, es ist ein neuer Zustand.

Wiederum ist der Zustand  
verändert und ist  
in der ersten Aufnahme  
der Zustand.

Die zweite Aufnahme ist der Zustand, der sich in der ersten Aufnahme  
ändert, das ist, es ist ein neuer Zustand. Die zweite Aufnahme ist  
der Zustand, der sich in der ersten Aufnahme ändert, das ist, es ist  
ein neuer Zustand. Die dritte Aufnahme ist der Zustand, der sich in  
der ersten Aufnahme ändert, das ist, es ist ein neuer Zustand.

Auch nicht jeder Zustand ist ein neuer Zustand. Die zweite Aufnahme  
ist der Zustand, der sich in der ersten Aufnahme ändert, das ist, es  
ist ein neuer Zustand. Die dritte Aufnahme ist der Zustand, der sich  
in der ersten Aufnahme ändert, das ist, es ist ein neuer Zustand. Die  
vierte Aufnahme ist der Zustand, der sich in der ersten Aufnahme  
ändert, das ist, es ist ein neuer Zustand.

Die zweite Aufnahme ist der Zustand, der sich in der ersten Aufnahme  
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der Zustand, der sich in der ersten Aufnahme ändert, das ist, es ist  
ein neuer Zustand. Die vierte Aufnahme ist der Zustand, der sich  
in der ersten Aufnahme ändert, das ist, es ist ein neuer Zustand. Die  
fünfte Aufnahme ist der Zustand, der sich in der ersten Aufnahme  
ändert, das ist, es ist ein neuer Zustand.

M. Ein Zustand ist ein neuer Zustand. Die zweite Aufnahme ist  
der Zustand, der sich in der ersten Aufnahme ändert, das ist, es  
ist ein neuer Zustand. Die dritte Aufnahme ist der Zustand, der sich  
in der ersten Aufnahme ändert, das ist, es ist ein neuer Zustand. Die  
vierte Aufnahme ist der Zustand, der sich in der ersten Aufnahme  
ändert, das ist, es ist ein neuer Zustand. Die fünfte Aufnahme ist  
der Zustand, der sich in der ersten Aufnahme ändert, das ist, es ist  
ein neuer Zustand.

u. u. u., es folgt dann beiderseits die Gebildefrage. Auch andere

Das ganze Gedicht erinnerte Goethe an ein anderes, das er—ach  
werde den Beweis an andrer Stelle führen—auswendig konnte, Löwens  
Junker Hannu aus Schwaben, wo die drittletzte Strophe lautete:

Doch, soll er ja auf kurze Frist  
Vom Hause sich entfernen:  
So schickt ihn an den Hof; und wisat  
Dort kann er Mores lernen

womit wieder die oben rechts gedruckten Worte des Schülers zu ver-  
gleichen sind.

Parallelen wären zu erwähnen, die alle beweisen—was längst bekannt ist:—wie genau Goethe Hagedorns Gedichte gekannt hat. Man vergleiche die Verse:

In Frankreich war Er ein Baron,  
In Holland Herr van Josten...  
Doch riet man Ihm mit gutem Fug;  
Den ritterlichen Degen,  
Den er an seiner Seite trug,  
Nur Sonntags anzulegen

mit den Versen, wo Mephisto sich selbst beschreibt, in der Hexenküche und im Eingang der oben erwähnten Szene Studirzimmer (2510 f, 1534 ff):

Du nennst mich Herr Baron, so ist die Sache gut;  
Ich bin ein Cavalier, wie andre Cavaliere...  
Bin ich, als edler Junker, hier...  
Mit einem langen spitzen Degen,  
Und rathe nun dir, kurz und gut,  
Dergleichen gleichfalls anzulegen...

oder die ganze Strophe mit dem Paralipomenon 14:

Der Wohlerblasste gieng auch,	Zu suchen wo auf Erden diess ge-
traun!	worden
Auf nicht zu lange Reisen...	Das steht dem Herrn Vaganten frey
Und zeigte seines Vaters Sohn	Ob es im Süden oder Norden
In Süden, Westen, Osten.	Mir ist es alles einerley

und wiederum 1542 f: "Damit du, losgebunden, frei, Erfahrest was das Leben sei". Auch dass unser Paralipomenon in Form eines Sentenz auftritt, wird auf jene Strophe Hagedorns zurückgehen, denn die zweite Hälfte lautete:

O Einmal Eins! dich sah Er ein,  
So wie ein rechter Falke.  
Durch Handlung wirst du glücklich seyn,  
Verkündigt ihm Herr Halke.

und die erste der nächsten:

Johannes Halke hatte recht:  
Wer prophezeyt behender?  
Die ihr mir etwa widerspricht,  
Lest den Naturcalender!

Die andere aber,

Seht, seht auf unsern Ehrenmann,  
Den wir so schön begraben;  
Wer sonst kein Beyspiel haben kann,  
Wird es an diesem haben!

und der Einsicht, dass er, was er dem Lesendennamen der Blätter von den ~~Verfasser~~ erzählt und ~~erzählt~~ den Namen ~~der~~ von dem ersten Male erzählen lassen, gaben keine Theilnahme an ~~den~~ in dem mit demselben Blatte wie in den letzten ~~Verfasser~~ an.

Ein ~~Verfasser~~ es von dem ersten Mal erzählt

Wie ~~es~~ in ~~den~~ von dem ~~Verfasser~~ nicht.

Es ist ~~es~~ nicht ~~es~~ noch ~~es~~ weitere ~~Verfasser~~

Das ~~es~~ ~~es~~ der ~~Verfasser~~ ~~Verfasser~~

Es ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~

Vom ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~

Das ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~

Das ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~

In ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~

Das ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~

Das ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~

In ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~

Vom ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~

Vom ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~ ~~es~~

Ich glaube, dass diese Verse nicht zufällig mit den andern zusammen gekommen sind. Denn Goethe war meiner Meinung nach in die Engländerischen Verse erst durch die im Museum des Deutschen Museums von 1771, S. 24 f. stehende kleine Schanze, in der die Spuren eines alten Wagens. Die Hälfte ist nicht als das ganze Vermindert worden, und in den zur Erläuterung dieses Spruchs hier gegebenen Beispielen finde ich die Vorbilder für die meisten Engländerischen Versen Stücke.

Mart sagt, in Pusz es gebe wohl keinen nützlicheren Einfall, als den in dem genannten Spruch niedergelegten, und Pusz macht sich anheuschlich nachzuweisen, dass dennoch eine tiefere Wahrheit darin verborgen sei:

Pusz. Und ich will es zuerst in Ihrem eignen Beispiel Ihnen beweisen.

Mart. Bravo!

Pusz. Erinnern Sie sich noch jener glücklichen Zeiten, wo Sie in Phyllis Augen—

Mart. Nun was — — was — was soll diess hier?

Pusz. Den Himmel sah — und bey einem jener halben Blicke auf Sie das entzückende Herzklopfen sich anhub, und bey einem sanften, verthöhlten Druck ihrer weichen Hand Ihre ganze Substanz sich in Wonne auflöste!



**Marr.** Sagen Sie, was wollen Sie mit mir?

**Pass.** Wer war damals glücklicher als Sie! Haben Sie nicht oft dieses Glück zurückgewünscht? *Aber Sie träumten, es könne größer noch werden, jenes Wonnegefühl.* Sie wollten mit der Hälfte nicht zufrieden seyn; Sie erhielten—Alles, wie Sie es haben wollten; und fort war Himmel und Seligkeit; O Marr, Marr! gestehen Sie, dass die Hälfte mehr ist, als das Ganze... Was sagen sie?

**Marr.** Dass Sie ein grausamer, hässlicher Mann sind!

**Pass.** Ruhen Sie sich ein wenig aus, guter Marr!—Es scheint, Sie hätten wohl schon genug an dem einen Beweis; aber ich bin nun im Dociren, und es geht den Docenten oft, wie den Sängern, dass sie nicht gern aufhören, bis sie fertig sind, wenn gleich die Zuhörer genug hätten. Zudem, Marr, eine kleine Digression von jenen Vorstellungen kann nicht schaden.<sup>5</sup> Sie sollen mir nicht traurig weggehen.<sup>6</sup> Also lassen Sie uns weiter die Weisheit jenes Spruches am Beispiele des Ruhmes erkennen. Wenn einer, sey's durch sein Genie, oder durch seine Verdienste, oder durch die Begünstigungen des Glücks, *anfängt, aus der Dunkelheit empor zu steigen*—Freude und Mut strahlet aus seinem Gesichte... seine Freunde schliessen sich näher an ihn; seine Feinde treten zurück. Was er gethan hat, wird günstiger beurtheilt bey der Vorstellung, was er noch thun kann. Noch kann man ihn loben, ohne sich zu verkleinern... Aber lasst ihn mit verdoppelter Kraft seinen Schwung immer höher nehmen... nun ertönt sein Lob an allen Orten... er kann alles ausrichten, und jeder, der sich mehr zu seyn dünkt als er ist—wer dünkt sich's nicht—ist sein Feind, sein beleidigter Richter. Seine Größe ist Täuschung, denn man schwindelt davor. Seine Verdienste sind nicht reell, denn sie sind nicht, wie der andern ihre. Seine ersten Feinde treten unter die Menge, und erzählen von den Sünden seiner Jugend, und den Gebrechen seiner schwachen Stunden. Seinen Freunden ist es nicht mehr wohl um ihn; sie trauen ihm nicht mehr, da er ihrer so entbehren kann. Die ihm noch anhangen, fordern immer mehr von ihm, je mehr er schon gethan hat... nicht wahr, Marr, die Hälfte ist auch da besser, als das Ganze?<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Diese Worte wurden im Faustfragment, zur Verknüpfung der Schüler Szene mit dem vorhergehenden Auftritt in die folgende Form gegossen: "Mir ist's nicht möglich ihn zu sehn". (322).

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. Urfaust 403 f: "Bin des Professor Tons nun satt, will wieder einmal den Teufel spielen".

<sup>7</sup> Fragment 323 f: "Der arme Knabe wartet lange, Der darf nicht ungetröstet gehn";

<sup>8</sup> Der Einfluss des Werther ist nicht zu verkennen, man vergleiche 89, 10 ff: "Was! da wo andere mit ihrem bischen Kraft und Talent vor

Ich habe die ganze Skizze ausgezogen, weil ich der Meinung bin, dass das erste der beiden Beispiele nur die Einkleidung, das zweite aber der Inhalt der beiden lyrischen Stücke geliefert hat: Das "Gesicht" ist eine Vision, ein hohes Ziel, das nicht in "holder Dunkelheit der Sinnen", sondern nur im Vollbesitze der geistigen Kraft erreicht werden kann. Aber nur im Traum, d. h. wenn der Vollendung reine Höhe nur geschaut wird, verbindet sich auch der Vollgenuss des Erreichten damit. Je näher man ihr in Wirklichkeit kommt, je weiter bleibt die Wonne, auf die man gehofft, zurück; für das Herz ist ein Bruchteil mehr als das Ganze.

Man sieht, zwischen dieser Deutung des Spruchs und der oben reproduzierten von Burdach und Morris besteht ein gewisser Unterschied. Aber beide bleiben nicht nur richtig, sondern sie verbinden sich auch mit einander. Von Winckelmann hatte Goethe gesagt, dass 1) der Entschluss zum Übertritt mit seinem Wünschen und Bedürfen völlig harmonisch, ja zur Erhaltung und Förderung seiner Existenz unausweichlich gewesen, und er selbst völlig mit sich zur Einigkeit gelangt gewesen sei; 2) dass dieser Entschluss mit der allgemeinen Denkweise in Widerspruch gestanden und den Freunden des Mannes Unbehaglichkeit erregt habe; 3) dass er sich dieser Konsequenz bewusst gewesen und darum besorgt und ängstlich geworden sei. Stimmt das alles nicht einigermassen zu dem Mann im zweiten Beispiele obiger Skizze? Es stimmt mehr als einigermassen, es stimmt genau: Wir haben in dem zweiten Beispiele die Vorlage für die eine Beurteilung des Falles durch Goethe vor uns, und das erste Beispiel hat ihm den Anlass zu der andern gegeben, die eben deutlich zeigt, wie es gekommen ist, dass die Formel von der Zahl und den Brüchen auch auf die andern, von Burdach und Morris aufgedeckten, Beispiele Anwendung gefunden hat. Alle diese Beispiele aber umschlingt das gei-

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mir in behaglicher Selbstgefälligkeit herumschwadroniren, verzweifle ich an unserer Kraft, an meinen Gaben? Guter Gott, der du mir das alles schenkest, warum hieltest du nicht die Hälfte zurück, und gabst mir Selbstvertrauen und Genügsamkeit"? vgl. auch 233, 6 ff.

stige Band, das Burdach treffend den "Dualismus des Zugänglichen und Unzugänglichen" genannt hat.

Der enge Zusammenhang zwischen der im Deutschen Museum von 1776 gedruckten Skizze und Goethes etwa dreissig Jahre später erschienenem Aufsatz muss wohl noch etwas deutlicher aufgedeckt werden: Ich wäre sonst der Ablehnung gewiss.

Herr Pasz sagt von dem grossen Mann: "Faktionen wählen ihn zum Helden und Schutzgott; er kann alles ausrichten, und jeder der sich mehr zu seyn dünkt als er ist, ist sein Freund, sein beleidigter Richter..." Goethe von Winckelmann: "Wir sehen daraus, dass die Menschen den beharrlichen Willen über alles zu schätzen wissen und umsomehr schätzen, als sie sämmtlich in Partheien getheilt ihre eigene Sicherheit und Dauer beständig im Auge haben..." Pasz fährt fort: "Seine ersten Feinde treten unter die Menge, und erzählen von den Sünden seiner Jugend, und den Gebrechen seiner schwachen Stunden". Dieser Satz hat zwischen Pasz's erstem Beispiel von Phyllis und Goethes zweiter Beurtheilung des Winckelmannischen Falls, in der er ja auch eine Frau erwähnt, die Brücke gebildet, er wird ihm zu dem Folgenden: "Gewisse Zustände des Menschen, die wir keineswegs billigen, gewisse sittliche Flecken, an dritten Personen haben für unsere Phantasie einen besonderen Reiz". Der nächste Satz im Museum heisst: "Seinen Freunden ist es nicht mehr um ihn", er wird bei Goethe zu: "ein neuer Streit, der... bei uns... eine Unbehaglichkeit erregt". Der folgende dort, "sie trauen ihm nicht mehr" gibt Goethe Veranlassung zu diesem: "ein neuer Streit, der zwar bei uns keine Ungewissheit... erregt". Und schliesslich wird der Satz: "Die ihm noch anhangen, fordern immer mehr von ihm, je mehr er schon gethan hat" zu Goethe's Worten, der Streit erregt "einen ungeduldigen Verdruss, dass wir nach aussen hier und da Brücke finden, wo wir nach innen eine ganze Zahl zu sehen glauben". Hiermit schliesst der Absatz bei Goethe, an der andern Stelle folgt, ebenfalls als Schlusssatz: "Nicht wahr, Marr, die Hälfte ist auch da besser, als des Ganze"?

Wer in der Nummer des Museums ein paar Blätter zu-

rückschlägt—bis S. 279, die genannte Skizze steht S. 284—, der sieht auch, dass hier kein Zufall im Spiel gewesen ist: dort enden "Winckelmann's Briefe an Hrn. H[eyne], die Goethe bei seinem Aufsatz benutzt hat. Man vergl. z. B. W. A. 46, 32, 1 ff: 'dieser Entschluss ward ihm dadurch gar sehr erleichtert, dass ihn, als einen gründlich gebornen Heiden, die protestantische Taufe zum Christen einzuweihen nicht vermögend gewesen', und: für Winckelmann selbst hatte die katholische Religion nichts Anzüglichen. Er sah in ihr bloss des Maskenkleid, das er annahm, und drückt sich darüber hart genug aus..." Mit D. M. 264: "Es kommt mir auch nichts von dem zu, was der Misbrauch einer ehrwürdigen Benennung, welche man Personen, die wie ich, einen kurzen Mantel und Kragen tragen, gibt, zu erfordern scheint; denn ich bin der Kirche nicht geweiht, geniesse auch nichts von derselben; ja, um meine Freyheit zu behaupten, habe ich freiwillig der Stelle... entsagt". Goethe ist auch hier Poet.

Ich kehre zu unserm Paralipomenon nicht zurück: Wenn ich hier zeigen wollte, wie auch die noch übrigbleibenden drei Verse—obzwar sie im Paralipomenon 82 wiederkehren—in engster Beziehung zu den besprochenen stehen, würde aus diesen Miszellen leicht ein Buch werden.

Zwei andere, die Nummern 19 und 53, bedürfen nur weniger Worte. Vollkommen richtig hat die Weimarer Ausgabe, Nummer 19 in nächste Nähe von 20 gesetzt. Einem jeden Leser wird die asyndetische Fügung der letzten Verse der dritten Gruppe in No. 20,

Konnt ich wohl diesen Traum beginnen,  
Vollenden nicht.

auffallen. Die Verse

Die Wahrheit zu ergründen  
Spannt ihr vergebens euer blöd<sup>a</sup> Gesicht  
Das Wahre wäre *leicht* zu finden  
Doch eben *das* genügt euch nicht,

die ja nicht nur mit den Reimen "Gesicht: nicht" an die an-

<sup>a</sup> Dies "blöd" wird im neunten Spruch des Bakis zu "taub", weil es sich dort um die *Erzählung* von einem verborgenen Schatz handelt. Mit der Doppeldeutigkeit des Worts *Tauben* ahmt der Spruch aufs deutlichste die vielen ähnlichen aus dem Altertum überlieferten Orakel oder Omina nach.

dem erinnern, gehen auf ein Gedicht Gellerts zurück, das ich meiner Untersuchung über die Weissagungen der Bakis<sup>o</sup> vorausgestellt habe. Der Schatz (Werke 1784, 1, 91 f); es schliesst genau so:

Vielleicht, dass mancher eh die Wahrheit finden sollte,  
Wenn er mit mindrer Müh die Wahrheit suchen wollte.  
Und mancher hätte sie wohl zeitiger entdeckt,  
Wofern er nicht geglaubt, sie wäre tief versteckt...  
Die Wahrheit, lieber Freund! die alle nöthig haben,  
Die uns, als Menschen, glücklich macht,  
Ward von der weisen Hand, die sie uns zugedacht,  
Nur leicht verdeckt, nicht tief vergraben.

Ich könnte auch noch die Strophe nachweisen, wenn das nicht zu weit führte. No. 53 endlich,

Fleisch dorrt wie Heu und Bein zerbricht wie Glas  
Und alle Schönheit ist ein wahrer Mottenfrass.

das auch an bekannte biblischen Stellen erinnert, wird durch ein paar Verse in Vossens Gedicht von der Leibeigenschaft angeregt sein. Nachdem Henning sein Freiheitsliedchen beendet hat, sagt Sabine:

Ach, denk dir das, Henning,

Wenn der Baron einst stirbt, und wir ihm Blumen aufs Grab streun!  
und erhält zur Antwort:

Anders weint man dann hier, als dort, wo der Bauer mit Knochen  
Seiner verfaulten Tyrannen das Obst abschleudert, und fluchend  
Hin in die Grube sie wirft, wo der Pferd' und Hunde Gebein dorrt!

St. Andrews.

G. SCHAAFFS.

<sup>o</sup> Leipzig 1912.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE TANNHÄUSER-LEGEND \*

## THE PRESENT STATE OF THE QUESTION

Since the appearance in 1897 and 1898 of two notable essays by Gaston Paris in the *Revue de Paris*<sup>1</sup> the origin and development of the Tannhäuserlegend has been the subject of frequent discussion. A legend, the German character of which has been unquestioned since the days of the Romantics and Wagner, was now claimed to be of Italian origin and to have its starting-point in a tradition connected with a mountain-peak in the central Apennine range. The distinctively German features of the story, the name of the hero and the *Venusberg*, were explained as later changes or additions introduced into the legend after it had come to Germany by way of Switzerland. The ultimate source of the legend itself was to be found in Celtic literature, whence the material came to Italy with the rest of the matter of Britain thru French mediation, tho in this case, it had to be admitted, no French version is known.

These views of Gaston Paris gave rise to a fruitful discussion. The *Venusberg* in particular was made the subject of an essay by Friedrich Kluge.<sup>2</sup> He conceded the Italian provenience for the unholy paradise, but denied it for the other features of the legend, which he regarded as of German development and to have been carried to Italy by German travellers. Erich Schmidt<sup>3</sup> is inclined to agree with Kluge and upholds the identification of the legendary Tannhäuser with the historical Minnesinger of that name. Reuschel<sup>4</sup> suggests that

\* Victor Junk's book, entitled *Tannhäuser in Saga und Dichtung* (Munich 1912), was not available when this article was sent to press.

<sup>1</sup> *Le Paradis de la Reine Sibylle* Sept. 1897 and *La Légende du Tannhäuser* March 1898; reprinted in *Légendes du Moyen Age*, Paris 1903, pp. 65-109, 111-145.

<sup>2</sup> In *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung vom 23. und 24. März 1898*. Reprinted with some omissions in *Bunte Blätter*, Freiburg, 1910 pp. 28-60.

<sup>3</sup> In *Characteristiken* Berlin 1901, pp. 24-45.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Tannhäusersage in Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur*, 1904, pp. 653-667.

the origin of the legend may be connected with the Venus-mountain of classical fame in Cyprus, where Tannhäuser's story was localized possibly because the poet refers to his having suffered shipwreck in Crete. Dübi<sup>5</sup> repeated and amplified the arguments of Gaston Paris in support of the Italian origin of the entire legend; only the staff-miracle was regarded as a German addition. Further material was presented to prove that the story came from Italy thru Switzerland. A comprehensive presentation of the subject, with full cognizance of the arguments of previous investigators, was given by Wolfgang Golther.<sup>6</sup> He traces the beginnings of the legend to the checkered career of the well known minnesinger, to whom a fairy-tale was attached soon after his death. The myth of the *Venusberg* and the staff-miracle are regarded as subsequent additions. Friedrich Pfaff,<sup>7</sup> on the other hand, connects the *Venusberg* with the legend from its very beginning. Possibly a visit of Tannhäuser to the shrine of the Cyprian Venus may have started the story in which the *Venusberg* was of fundamental importance. The legend with all its characteristic features, including the staff-miracle was developed in Germany by the end of the 14th century. Elster<sup>8</sup> believes that the story was invented by zealous adherents of the church as a terrible example to the church's enemies. He too thinks that the *Venusberg* figured in the legend from the very start, but the staff-miracle he explains as a late anti-papal addition. The Italian origin of the legend with all its important traits is again maintained by the Danish scholar Nyrop,<sup>9</sup> whose arguments are practically a repetition of those of Gaston Paris. The latest contribution to the subject is an article by Barto<sup>10</sup> who controverts Kluge's arguments for the

<sup>5</sup> *Frau Vrene und der Tannhäuser in Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 17, 1907, pp. 249-264.

<sup>6</sup> *Tannhäuser in Sage und Dichtung des Mittelalters und der neuen Zeit, Walkalla*, Munich, 1907, 3, pp. 15-67.

<sup>7</sup> In *Verhandlungen der 49. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner* Leipzig, 1907, pp. 104-107.

<sup>8</sup> *Tannhäuser in Geschichte, Sage und Dichtung*, Bromberg, 1908.

<sup>9</sup> *Tannhäuser i Venusbjaergiet in Fortid Sagn og Sange*, Copenhagen, 1907-9, 6, 1 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Studies in the Tannhäuserlegend* in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 9, July 1910, pp. 293-320.

Italian origin of the *Venusberg*-myth and attempts to prove that it sprang from later conceptions connected with the Holy Grail.

This concise chronological survey shows great differences of opinion, not only concerning details and minor features of the legend, but concerning questions of fundamental import. Especially is this true in regard to the *Venusberg*, which by some is held to be a cardinal and basic feature of the legend, present from its very inception, while others consider it extraneous to the primitive form and assert that it was introduced at a later stage of development. Also, whether this feature originated in Germany or in Italy, is still an open question. Moreover, while most scholars assume the identity of the legendary and historical Tannhäuser, there are some who question this and are inclined to assign to the hero a purely mythical character. The origin and significance of the staff-miracle is also very much in dispute, and as to minor details, the most divergent views have been advanced. In this essay the arguments concerning the chief points in dispute will be critically examined with a view to ascertaining what may be regarded as probable, or at least reasonably certain, and to do away with what is clearly erroneous or untenable. It will be impossible to dispense entirely with speculation and hypothesis in investigating the origin of a legend, the earliest stages of which are not attested by literary monuments, but, it is hoped, that conjecture will always be offered as such and not be presented for fact.

#### THE ITALIAN VERSIONS OF THE LEGEND <sup>11</sup>

Gaston Paris was led to his conclusions as to the Italian origin of the legend by the striking parallels found in Italy. There a tradition, which offers a resemblance to the Tannhäuser-story too close to be merely accidental, is connected with the Monte della Sibilla in the duchy of Spoleto between Norcia and Ascoli. Its first recorded appearance in literature is in the romance "*Guerino il Meschino*" by Andrea dei Magnabotti (1391). The hero, in search of information concerning

<sup>11</sup> These versions are summarized and discussed in the essays of Gaston Paris, Kluge, Dübi, Golther, and Nyrop.



his parentage, is advised to apply to the Cumean Sibyl of ancient prophetic fame, whose abode is no longer at Cumae, but in the mountain near Norcia. He succeeds in penetrating thru the cave to the subterranean paradise, where he stays for a year. The pious knight, who is not urged on by wanton lust, but by the desire to obtain much needed information, stoutly resists the blandishments of the fay and her damsels, whose sinister nature he suspects, and, tho he does not succeed in accomplishing his purpose, he quits the Sibyl's abode unstained by sin. His confession to the pope is consequently a mere formality and his absolution a matter of course. Much closer to the German form of the legend is the version given by the Provençal author Antoine de la Sale,<sup>12</sup> who visited the fabled mountain in 1420 and claims to have heard the story from the inhabitants of Montemonaco, a village situated on the slope of the mountain. It is found in the "Salade", written between 1438 and 1442, and tells how a German cavalier and his squire, impelled by unholy curiosity, enter the Sibyl's kingdom and revel for a year in its forbidden pleasures. At last the knight is awakened to a realization of the sinfulness of his stay thru witnessing the uncanny transformation of the fair ladies every Saturday night into adders and scorpions; he tears himself away just before the expiration of the fatal period and hurries to Rome to confess to the pope. The latter, tho in his heart willing to absolve, feigns anger and delays. Meanwhile the knight, frightened by hints of impending prosecution, craftily insinuated by the squire, who regrets having left the pleasures of the fairy-realm, flees from Rome and in despair returns to the Sibyl's paradise. The pope conscience-stricken despatches messengers with the news of the absolution, but they arrive too late.

The resemblance of this story to that of Tannhäuser cannot be the result of coincidence. De Reumont, who was the first to call attention to it,<sup>13</sup> declared the Italian story an echo

<sup>12</sup> Edited by Werner Söderhjelm, *Antoine de la Sale et la légende de Tannhäuser* in *Mémoires de la Société néo-Philologique à Helsingfors*, 2 (1897) pp. 101-167.

<sup>13</sup> In a discourse delivered May 25, 1871 to the Società Colombaria of Florence, inserted in *Saggi di storia e letteratura* (Florence 1880)

of the German Tannhäuserlegend and Söderhjelm was of the same opinion. Gaston Paris, however, took a directly opposite view.

To complete the testimony for the legend in Italy mention must be made of the account given by the Swiss canon Felix Hemmerlin (Malleolus)<sup>14</sup> who claims to have obtained his information while he was at the court of pope John in Bologna about 1420. There he saw a rustic (simplicianus) from Schwyz, who confessed to the pope that he had spent a year with the unclean spirits in the mountains near Norcia. With him were two companions from Germany (Alemania). At the end of a year he had torn himself away, but his companions, held by the spell of the damsels, remained. At Hemmerlin's intercession he received absolution from a specially designated papal confessor.

And lastly we have the testimony of the Dominican friar Leandro Alberti<sup>15</sup> who characterizes the stories of the Sibyl's paradise as nursery-tales which he has heard in his youth. Here we learn that none of the Sibyl's lovers are forced to stay more than a year, but each year one of those who enter must remain.

From this it is clear that a legend containing all the essential features of the Tannhäuserlegend,—the entrance of the knight into a subterranean paradise, his repentance, his journey to Rome, his condemnation by the pope, his return in despair to the abode of sin and the pope's tardy repentance—was known in Italy at the end of the 14th century and localized on the Monte della Sibilla. But this evidence does not point further back than 1350. Now the chief argument for the Italian origin is that the appearance of the legend in Italy antedates the earliest references to it in German literature. It becomes necessary therefore to ascertain how far back the legend can be traced in Germany.

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under the title *Un Monte di Venere in Italia*. See Paris, *Légendes*, p. 107, note 1.

<sup>14</sup> In *De nobilitate et rusticitate dialogus* (Basel 1497) chap. 26, p. XCIII. I cite according to Dübi p. 251; see also p. 55.

<sup>15</sup> *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia, XIII<sup>a</sup> regione Marca Anconitana* (Bologna 1550). Passage cited by Dübi, op. cit. pp. 258 and 60 on the authority of Graf.

THE EARLIEST TRACES OF THE LEGEND IN GERMANY

In Germany the earliest explicit reference to the legend dates from 1453 and is found in Hermann von Sachsenheim's allegorical poem "Die Mörin",<sup>16</sup> where *Der Tannhuser* is mentioned as the husband of Dame Venus (l. 838), whose abode is called *Venusberg* (l. 156). The place seems to be located somewhere in the East; the description of the scenery exhibits Oriental coloring. We meet elegant knights and fair ladies. An old gray-bearded man who looks

Als ob er wear der Eckhard,  
Von dem man sagt, in Venusbergk (ll. 28, 29).

informs the poet:

Guot man, frou Venus Min  
Hat in erkorn zus underhemd (ll. 834, 835).

He also tells him:

Als by ainr predig tuot ain gaiß  
Also so siczt er by der ee (ll. 840, 841),

from which it would appear that the knight was a reluctant lover whom Venus had lured into her realm. But no details are given; the poet evidently takes it for granted that his readers are acquainted with the legend.

There are also a number of mastersongs to be considered. Unfortunately it is impossible with most of them to fix the date of their composition with anything like accuracy. Two such poems, one a dialogue between Tannhäuser and Venus in which the knight expresses poignant repentance and hope for salvation thru the Virgin Mary, and the other a soliloquy called "Tanhusers Tagweis" expressive of similar sentiments, are preserved in a Karlsruhe manuscript from 1453.<sup>17</sup> Of course, that is not necessarily the date of their composition. As far as the linguistic evidence is concerned, this date may be assigned to the beginning of the 15th century, and in the case of the former poem even earlier. A poem of similar tenor as the preceding is found among some shrovetide-plays of the

<sup>16</sup> Ed. Ernst Martin, Tübingen, 1878, in *Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins zu Stuttgart*, 87.

<sup>17</sup> Published by Mone in *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit*, 5, (1835) pp. 169-171; reprinted in Grässe, *Der Tannhäuser und Ewige Jude* (Dresden 1861) pp. 33-40. Extracts in Golther, *op. cit.* pp. 26-28.

15th century. It is a dramatic dialogue between Tannhäuser and Dame World.<sup>18</sup> She tempts him with the blandishments of Venus, but he spurns them and invokes the aid of Mary. Then there are four poems in "Tanhusers haupt oder gulden ton" in the Colmar manuscript of mastersongs, also from the 15th century.<sup>19</sup> Here likewise a sinner expresses his repentance and fear of hell but puts his trust in the Virgin. The *Venusberg* and the pope's harsh sentence are plainly alluded to

wie geren ich got nun wonet bei  
die pfaffen mir das wenden  
der wilden zoberey  
gelebt ich geren ein endt

And again

kaum ward mir geben buesse dort zuo Romen  
man wil mich in den sunden schwer verdommen.

Evidently the whole legend was known to the poet.

Still another mastersong dealing with the legend is found in the Weimar manuscript written by Wolf Bauttner in the 17th century.<sup>20</sup> Here Tannhäuser himself relates his story,—his stay in the *Venusberg*, his repentance, his pilgrimage to Rome and the pope's refusal to absolve. But no mention is made of the staff-miracle. Still the knight does not return to Venus; he continues to hope for God's mercy:

got kainem sündner nie verseit.  
auf got bau ich die weil ich hab das leben.

When this song was first written is not known; probably not before the 16. century.<sup>21</sup>

Now all the mastersongs (except those in the Colmar MS)

<sup>18</sup> Keller, *Fastnachtspiele aus dem 15. Jahrhundert. Nachlese Bibl. lit. Ver.* 46, No. 124, pp. 47-53; extract in Golther, *op. cit.* p. 29.

<sup>19</sup> Published by Zingerle in *Germania* 5, pp. 361-365; reprinted in Grässe *op. cit.* pp. 70-73.

<sup>20</sup> Published by Goedeke in *Germania* 28 (1883) p. 44; reprinted in Golther, *op. cit.* pp. 32, 33.

<sup>21</sup> See Golther p. 33. Goedeke regarded this as the oldest known Tannhäuser-poem because the staff-miracle is lacking; but the poet probably omitted it to bring about a more satisfactory ending. Nyrop *op. cit.* p. 14 simply dates the poem about 1453 without attempting any proof and uses it as an argument for the priority of the Italian versions.

show such unmistakable correspondences with the famous folksong which offers what may be called the vulgate version of the legend, that there must be dependency somewhere, and there is little doubt that the folksong is their basis.<sup>22</sup> For, altho the song did not appear in print until 1515, its origin is much older. Faber in his "Evagatorium" about 1484 refers to it as known all over Germany.<sup>23</sup> The Bavarian chronicler Johannes Turmair or Aventin (died 1534) also testifies to the fame of Tannhäuser's exploits and adds: "man heisst noch die alten Meistergesäng von ihm sprichwortsweiss der alt Danhäuser."<sup>24</sup> In Hans Sachs' "Veneris Hofgesind" (1517) Tannhäuser is made to say of himself, "mein nam der ist gar weit erkant". Agricola in his collection of proverbs (1529) refers to the legend as a commonplace. So by the end of the 15. century Tannhäuser's name and exploits had become proverbial in Germany. A poem—and notice that Faber uses the singular—celebrating these exploits was widely known by 1484; mastersongs written before 1453 presuppose the existence of such a poem, which therefore, if not identical with the *Volkslied* as known to us, was at any rate its basis and consequently cannot well have arisen later than the beginning of the 15. century. Even if the legend were no older than the poem, its existence in Germany would thus be attested for a period almost as far back as its appearance in Italy. But already in the 14. century a legend of some kind was connected with the name of Tannhäuser in Germany. For, whether the well-known *Busslied* or penitential hymn contained in the Jena manuscript and ascribed to Tannhäuser himself be authentic or not, it surely has something to do with the legend and shows that even at this early date the Minnesinger was

<sup>22</sup> See Golther, pp. 28, 29, 33. Reuschel, accepting Goedeke's opinion about the age of the Bautner poem, thought this poem to be the basis of the folksong.

<sup>23</sup> "Unde de hoc carmen confictum habetur, quod manifeste a vulgo per Alemanniam canitur de quodam nobili Suevo, quem nominant Danhuser, de Danhusen villa prope Dünckelspüchel". Fabri *Evag.* ed. Hassler in *Bibl. Lit. Ver.*, 18, vol. 3, p. 221. See also Kluge, *Bunte Blätter*, p. 57.

<sup>24</sup> Grässe p. 25; Golther p. 30.

regarded as a typical penitent.<sup>25</sup> The mention in the folksong of pope Urban IV. (1261-64), who actually was a contemporary of the poet, would indicate that the story took shape shortly after Tannhäuser's death about 1270 or so, before sufficient time had elapsed to confuse the dates. This is essentially the argument advanced by Erich Schmidt and Golther.<sup>26</sup> Gaston Paris,<sup>27</sup> however, pointed out that, when Urban IV. reigned, the historical Minnesinger must have been a sexagenarian and was therefore scarcely the proper hero for an adventure in the Venusberg. He believes the name of the pope came from Italy; de la Sale hesitates between Urban V. and Urban VI. For some reason or other the German poet changed it to Urban IV. Paris regards the historic accuracy as highly suspicious; "la légende ne connaît guère de telles précisions". True, and for that very reason the historic difficulty which distressed the learned Frenchman gave no trouble whatever to the unsophisticated author of the earliest Tannhäuser-poem, who would most likely put in the name of the pope whom he still remembered. For similar reasons de la Sale or his talesman introduced a pope who was nearer to their own time and evidently their versions did not tally.

It is clear, therefore, that a Tannhäuserlegend was known in Germany before we hear of a similar one in Italy. But the form which it had assumed in the 14. century can only be conjectured. From the *Busslied* it appears that that the repentant sinner was already at that time the central figure, but, whether the other features of the vulgate were already present in this *Urform*, is a question on which, as we have seen, there is a great difference of opinion. Particularly is this true in regard to the *Venusberg*, the origin of which must now be considered.

#### THE ORIGIN OF THE VENUSBERG

In any discussion of the Tannhäuserlegend the question of the *Venusberg* is of fundamental importance; without this

<sup>25</sup> Golther *op. cit.* pp. 20, 21.

<sup>26</sup> Schmidt in *Nord und Süd*, Nov. 1892, p. 179; Golther *op. cit.* p. 21; see also Schmidt *Charakteristiken*, 2, p. 28.

<sup>27</sup> *Légendes* pp. 129, 130.

feature the legend loses its individuality and much of its charm. Of course, the exponents of the Italian theory claim an Italian origin for this subterranean paradise. Kluge, who rejects such an origin for the entire legend, admits it for this particular feature. Golther postulates an independent origin for the myth and believes it was introduced into the legend at a subsequent stage of its development; whether it arose in Italy or in Germany he does not decide, but believes that the mountain referred to in the *Volkslied* is either the Monte della Sibilla or the Venus-mountain in Cyprus. Pfaff, on the other hand, maintains that the Venusberg was present in the legend from its very beginning. Barto, in opposition to Kluge, insists on the German origin of the myth, which he traces back to conceptions connected with the later development of the legends of Arthur and the Holy Grail.

From the numerous references cited in the essays of Kluge, Dübi, and Barto we gather the following results. From the middle of the 15. century on the *Venusberg* is frequently mentioned by German authors, and in the following century the myth is a commonplace in Germany. Allusion is made to it in the 15. century by the "Heldenbuch", Sachsenheim, Faber and Bernhard von Breitenbach; in the 16. by Murner, Sachs, the *Zimmerische Chronik*, Fischart and Paracelsus. Some of these references are to a mountain of love; others, however, are to a mountain of magic wholly different from the *Venusberg* of the Tannhäuserlegend. In these the place appears as one to which magicians and sorcerers resort to learn the black art. Especially is it frequented by the travelling scholars who there learn the tricks by which they dupe the credulous peasants.<sup>28</sup> In most of these references the locality of the mountain is left undefined; when a more exact localization is attempted it is placed in Italy or in Cyprus. Thus Faber and Breitenbach both know of a Venus-mountain in Italy, but assert that the one in Cyprus is the genuine one.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> See the article by Kluge entitled *Die fahrenden Schüler* in *Bunte Blätter* pp. 61 ff.; particularly the passages cited from Bebel's *Facetiae* (1508) and the *Liber Vagatorum* (1510).

<sup>29</sup> "Et hodie plures credunt Venerem in monte Veneris qui est in insula Cypri, ducere vitam voluptuosam cum suis cum qua canunt esse quendam dictum Tannhuser." Faber, op. cit. 1, p. 153.

Now the Italian mountain here referred to is the Monte della Sibilla of the Guerino-romance and de la Sale. In the 17. century this mountain was repeatedly identified with the Venusberg.<sup>30</sup> On the other hand, Kornemann's well-known "Mons Veneris" (1614) makes no attempt at localization; neither does a Czech version of the story of the Sibyl's paradise dating from 1579. The very existence of the Venusberg is emphatically denied by Nider (about 1470) and by Geiler von Keiserberg (about 1500).<sup>31</sup>

From all this it is clear that the story of the *Venusberg* had wide currency in Germany from the 15. to the 17. century; but the location was anything but fixed. Most of the German references give no information on this point; of those that attempt to assign to the mountain a definite location the majority point to Italy, particularly to Tuscany.

Now let us turn to the Italian testimony. It is strange that in Italy the name of Venus in connection with an enchanted mountain does not occur. The paradise described by de la Sale has all the characteristics of the German *Venusberg*, but nowhere is it ever called by any such name. It is always designated as the paradise of the queen Sibyl. The same is true of the Italian versions given by Leandro Alberti and the Guerino-romance. Now this designation must have been recent, for as has been pointed out by Romance scholars,<sup>32</sup> the word *Sibilla* does not come from the vernacular, in which case its form would be either *Sevella* or *Sevolla*. It is evidently the invention of learned humanists. Nor is there any evidence to show that the legend is any older than the name. The earliest references in Italy to the fabled mountain near Norcia do not date further back than about the middle of the 14. century<sup>33</sup> the first in point of time being found in a sermon of Pierre Bersuire who died about 1362. But all these references are to a lake of Pilate or to a lake of the Sibyl to which nec-

<sup>30</sup> So by Frölich in his *Viatorium* (1644), by von Birken in *Brandenburgischer Ulysses* (1669), by the Jesuit Schönsleder in *Promptuarium Germanico-Latinum* (1681). See Kluge, pp. 59, 60.

<sup>31</sup> Kluge *op. cit.* p. 35, note 1.

<sup>32</sup> Paris *Légendes* p. 91, note 1; Kluge *op. cit.* p. 52.

<sup>33</sup> For these references see the essays of Kluge, Dübi and Barto.



romancers resort; not one reference to a mountain of love can be found in Italy before the Guerino-romance and even in the 15. and 16. centuries the mountain near Norcia was far better known as a mountain of magic than one of love. Even as such its fame cannot have been very great in Italy, for the learned humanist Eneo Silvio, later pope Pius II, when appealed to by his brother to find out for a distinguished German physician the location of a Venus-mountain in Italy where black art was taught, had difficulty recalling such a tradition to mind.<sup>34</sup> And in Italian literature the mountain and its legend never played much of a rôle; it is only casually referred to by Pulci, Ariosto and Trissino, and then in connection with magic, not love.<sup>35</sup> In Germany, on the other hand, the legend of the *Venusberg* enjoyed the greatest fame, else why should so many attempts be made by Germans to find the exact location of the fabled mountain? Why should German travelers visit Italy and Cyprus in search thereof? Why should the Italian versions of the story as given by Hemmerlin and de la Sale credit the adventure of the entrance into the forbidden paradise to a German or to Germans, even tho their names are not mentioned? Surely Kluge was right, when, in view of this evidence, he asserted the German origin of the Tannhäuser-legend against Gaston Paris, and claimed that the account in the "Salade" was but an echo of the German story. But he should have gone still further and like Barto rejected also the hypothesis of the Italian origin of the *Venusberg*.

It has been noted by different scholars that the German *Venusberg* is more appropriately named than the Italian Monte della Sibilla. If the latter had been originally famed as a love-mountain, why was it not called Monte di Venere? The goddess of love was always well known in Italy, where

<sup>34</sup> Aeneas Sylvius, *Epistolae* I, 46, cited by Dübi *op. cit.*, p. 256. The letter dates from about 1431. Dübi says it shows that the legend was not yet localized in Germany; he should have said the *Venusberg*. Evidently the myth was already well known there. Notice also that the *Venusberg* was regarded both as famous for magic as well as for love, whereas in Italy Eneo knows only of its magic repute.

<sup>35</sup> See Dübi *op. cit.*, pp. 257, 258.

classic tradition never died out.<sup>36</sup> That the name of Venus should have been substituted in Germany for that of the less familiar Sibyl, as Nyrop contends, is wholly incredible.<sup>37</sup> The Sibyl was not at all unknown in Germany. She is mentioned in the "Wartburgkrieg";<sup>38</sup> her prophecies are the subject of a lengthy mastersong.<sup>39</sup> If an Italian Sibyl's paradise had been imported into Germany it is safe to say it would have appeared there as a *Sibyllenberg*; but there never was such a mountain in Germany.

From what has been said there is no ground for believing that the Italian legend of the Sibyl's paradise existed previous to the 14. century, tho the Grotto near Norcia seems to have been reputed for magic. Learned humanists, who heard of this fabled grotto and who knew from Virgil that the Sibylla Cumana lived in a cave, originated the name Monte della Sibilla. But the legend which they heard was not concerning a mountain of love, else they would have called this mountain a Monte di Venere; what they did hear was a story of necromancy and in such the Sibyl was not out of place. For let it be remembered that the medieval conception of the Sibyl was not as a seductive and amorous fay, but rather as the stern prophetess, half Christian, half pagan, that we know from the *Dies Irae* and the frescoes of Michael Angelo in the Sistine chapel. From prophetess to enchantress the gradual transition is intelligible enough. When she became connected with the ill-famed mountain near Norcia it was in her capacity as prophetess. In the Guerino-romance she still plainly exhibits her original character, for Guerino visits her to obtain information. In de la Sale's account, however, she appears only as the wicked enchantress, the exact counterpart of the German Venus. This transformation in her character is, I believe, due to the influence of the Tannhäuserlegend, which had by that time been carried to Italy by German travel-

<sup>36</sup> See L. Friedländer *Das Nachleben der Antike im Mittelalter* in *Die Deutsche Rundschau* 92 (1897), pp. 370 ff.

<sup>37</sup> *Fortids Sagn*, p. 82.

<sup>38</sup> Ed. Simrock, Stuttgart & Augsburg, 1858, Strophe 82.

<sup>39</sup> *Sibyllen Weissagung* publ. in Paul und Braune *Beiträge* 4. 48. See Vogt in *Grundriss der Germ. Phil.* 2. p. 296.

lers and wandering clerics. Possibly it was already known to the author of the Guerin-romance and affected his conception of the Sibyl. At any rate, to Italian authors of the 16. century she appeared rather as the demonic sorceress than the seductive nymph. So for instance in Trissino's "L'Italia liberata da' Goti" (1547-8), tho here she has a retinue of amorous nymphs.<sup>40</sup> Ariosto knows of the grottoes near Norcia as infested by demons thru whose aid Merlin was enabled to construct a palace in one night.<sup>41</sup> Surely, if the story of the

La sala ch'io dicea ne l'altro canto,  
Merlin col libro, o fosse al lago Averno,  
O fosse sacro alle Nursine grotte,  
Fece far dai demonii in una notte.

Sibyl's paradise is really an old Italian folk-myth, it never found its way into literature, where it plays an insignificant rôle. Whatever prominence it attained in Italy seems to be due to the fame of the related Tannhäuserlegend.

We conclude then that the origin of the *Venusberg* cannot be traced to a legend connected with a particular mountain in Italy; nor to one connected with any particular mountain anywhere else. To be sure, we hear of Venus-mountains in Germany as well as elsewhere, but in almost every case it can be shown that the legend to which they owe their name was attached to them at a late date. The Hörselberg in particular was not identified with the Venusberg before the 19. century and owes its fame chiefly to Wagner. In older tradition it is represented as the abode of departed spirits, a place of horror and gloom, whence issued fearful sounds, supposed to be the wails of the damned, for which reason it was called in ancient chronicles Mons Horrisonus.<sup>42</sup> A variant of the Tannhäuser-legend is attached to the Schönberg near Freiburg in Breisgau; but the introductory story of Tannhäuser in the realm of the heathen goddess is lacking. The age of this tradition has not been definitely ascertained and its relation to the Volkslied is a disputed question.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> See Gaston Paris. *Légendes* p. 94, note.

<sup>41</sup> *Orlando furioso* Canto 33, Strophe 4:

<sup>42</sup> For this tradition see Grässe *op. cit.*, pp. 1-6.

<sup>43</sup> The story is known only from the account given by Schreiber in

The persistent attempts to explain the origin of the *Venusberg*-myth by identifying the goddess with supposed goddesses like Holda and Berchta, even if these identifications were tenable, are absolutely futile. Only by a *tour de force* of interpretation can these goddesses be regarded as amorous queens. As represented in Germanic mythology they are neither beautiful nor seductive and their abodes in mountains are dismal and joyless and wholly unlike the paradise of sensual love to which Tannhäuser is lured. Gaston Paris was perfectly right in rejecting all these and similar arguments.<sup>44</sup>

Yet the conception of a realm of love ruled by a queen is a commonplace in late medieval literature and frequently enough this queen is Venus. On Germanic soil such a realm is met with already at the beginning of the 14. century in the Dutch romance "*Die Kinder von Limborch*" by Hein van Aken finished by 1318.<sup>45</sup> There the hero in search of his sister comes to a forest, which he traverses, and reaches a fair plain with a splendid castle. He is received with all kindness by Venus and her ladies, but is compelled to remain for two years until his companion Echites arrives (Book V), when both are allowed to depart. The stay of the knight, to be sure, is compulsory; he is threatened with death in case of refusal;<sup>46</sup>

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*Taschenbuch für Geschichte und Alterthum in Süddeutschland*, Freiburg 1839 p. 348 ff. whence it was taken by Grässe, p. 12; Kluge doubts that the story is old (*Bunte Blätter* p. 30); Golther (*op. cit.*, p. 36) thinks it to be the content of a lost Tannhäuser-poem; Pfaff (*op. cit.* p. 104) regards it as an independent variant.

<sup>44</sup> *Légendes*, p. 131. See also Golther *op. cit.* p. 35 and Mogk, *Mythologie in Grundr. Germ. Phil.* II, p. 278.

<sup>45</sup> See te Winkel in *Grundr. Germ. Phil.* 2, p. 433; Jonckblot *Gesch. der niederl. Lit.* tr. by Berg, Leipzig 1870, 1, pp. 280, 281. Barto erroneously puts the date at 1357 and speaks of the realm as a *Venusberg*. The poem, however, knows only of a forest (*Venuswoud*).

<sup>46</sup> *Roman van Heinric en Margriete van Limborch* ed. by L. Ph. C. van den Bergh (Leiden, 1846) Vol 1:

Ghi moet hier in miin conincrike

Bliven ghevaen, nu gaet met mi (ll. 1192-3).

And again:

ghi hebt recht, en dadiis niet

le scotu doet met derre stralen. (ll. 1196-7).

but otherwise it is exceedingly pleasant. The Venus of this poem has little in common with the demoniac temptress of the Tannhäuserlegend; she is simply the conventional Love-queen familiar from medieval allegory. There is really nothing sinful about her. She says of herself (ll. 2068-72):

Ghi wet wel ic ben geheten  
Vrouwe over gherechte minne,  
Ende waer ontrouwe es inne  
Soe ben ic ene sware wrake  
Ende wreke altoes dese zake....

Far from being a seductress, she is the source of all virtue; her servitors must be blameless. For the German origin of the *Venusberg* this reference proves nothing. The author drew largely from foreign sources;

Seide d'Walsch daer ict inlas (l. 1170).

Moreover the Venus-realm is localized in Calabria (l. 1115 ff.) and is in no way conceived as a hollow-hill or underground paradise.<sup>47</sup> In connection with the origin of the *Venusberg* the prominent part assigned in medieval literature to the ancient goddess of love cannot be disregarded. The blameless Queen of Love, before whose tribunal all questions concerning the gentle passion are decided, is a heritage from the silver age of Latin literature.<sup>48</sup> Venus as queen and residing in a splendid castle figures in the poems of Claudian; as judge and arbiter of erotic questions she appears in the "Pervigilium Veneris", an anonymous poem of the second century.<sup>49</sup> These conceptions found high favor with troubadours and

"Barto's arguments (*op. cit.* pp. 303, 308) based on this reference are not valid because his information concerning the poem is incomplete and inaccurate. The assertion that this is the first appearance of the *Venusberg* in literature is entirely erroneous.

"For a discussion of this subject see Neilson, *The Origin and Sources of the Court of Love* in *Harvard Studies and Notes in Phil. and Lit.*, Boston 1899.

\* Ed. Riese in *Anthologia Latina* (Leipzig 1869) No. 200, pp. 144-148.

Cras Dione dicit jura fulta sublimi throno (l. 7);

and again

Jussit Hyblaeis tribunal stare diua floribus.

Præses ipsa iura dicit, adsidebunt Gratiae (ll. 49, 50).

courtly poets in France and Italy<sup>50</sup> and spread thru Europe. In Germany, too, Venus as Minne-queen is a prominent figure. With the Goliards or *scholares vagantes* she seems to have been a special favorite: they were untiring in singing her praises as the "*dulcis prae potens amoris regina*".<sup>51</sup> The number of Middle High German poems dealing with Venus and her allegorical Court of Love is large and it is noteworthy that in this class of literature French influence is less conspicuous than in the courtly epic. Nor is this influence, so far as Love-allegory is concerned, as strong in Germany as it was in Italy or England. As a result this genre in Germany developed forms and traits not found elsewhere.<sup>52</sup> Such a trait seems to be the hollow-hill paradise as the abode of the Minne-queen which we meet in a number of poems of the 14. and 15. centuries. In this connection the poems attributed to Meister Altswert and dating from the 15. century claim our special attention.<sup>53</sup> In "*Der Kittel*" Venus is represented as residing in a beautiful castle in a fair valley, but in "*Der Tugenden Schatz*" she is described as dwelling in a mountain and as ruling conjointly with Frou Ere:

Dirre berg was fro Venus allein

Nun ist er ir beder gemein (l. 7, 8, p. 83).

This abode is exceedingly splendid, abounding in jewels and treasure; gardens of delight furnish opportunity for continuous revelry. No attempt is made, however, to assign to this paradise a definite locality.

Nor is such an attempt made in the "*Möriu*", except that the introduction of unicorns and elephants as well as a general Oriental atmosphere conveys the impression that the *Venusberg* is somewhere in the far East. It bears but little resemblance to the real *Venusberg*. The poet evidently knew the *Tannhäuser* legend, but his chief interest was not in that, but in the insipid allegory with its fantastic accessories. The position of Venus is rather peculiar, for, while she is the real

<sup>50</sup> Neilson pp. 23 ff.

<sup>51</sup> *Carmina Burana* in *Bibl. Lit. Ver.* 16, p. 139.

<sup>52</sup> Neilson, *op. cit.* pp. 120-132.

<sup>53</sup> Ed. by Holland and Keller, *Bibl. Lit. Ver.* 21.

ruler, it is Danheuser, whom she has chosen as her spouse, who is expected to pass sentence on the accused poet. For the rest she is nothing more than the conventional Minne-queen familiar from the poems considered above. There is nothing about her to suggest the *teufelinne* of the *Volkslied*.

A true love-queen without a trace of allegorical attributes and dwelling in a mountain is met with in the poem of "Friedrich von Schwaben" which probably dates from the 14. century.<sup>54</sup> The hero, after traversing a large forest, comes to a beautiful field, where he is greeted by the dwarf-queen Jerome and enters her realm in a hollow mountain (*die hollen berg*, l. 2509). It is described as a typical underground paradise inhabited by dwarfs who indulge in knightly pastimes. In spite of his pleadings the hero is detained and finally yields to the queen's blandishments. The fruit of their love is a child, which unlike its mother is of normal human stature;

wann sy was ain claines zwerg

Ir frucht was gen ir ain berg. (ll. 2869-70).

In the end the knight is allowed to depart.

And here we are face to face with a significant feature of the legend that has been ignored by previous investigators,—the presence of dwarfs in the Venus-mountains. Dwarfs invariably figure in the German Love-mountains, and often also in purely allegorical love-realms. In the poem just mentioned the queen herself as a dwarf. In the "Mörin" it is a malicious dwarf who helps Eckart capture the poet and leads the way to the *Venusberg* (ll. 155-6). In "Der Kittel" the poet's guide is invisible thru a tarn-cap,—a characteristic dwarfish attribute. In "Der Tugenden Schatz" a dwarf guards the entrance to the hollow mountain and acts as the poet's guide and instructor. Dwarfs are mentioned in all the oldest Tannhäuser-poems. In the Swabian dialogue Venus says:

ich han so vil der edlen zwerg,  
helt die müssen dienen dir  
mit stechen, singen, seitenspil....

<sup>54</sup> Ed. by Jellinek in *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters herausgegeben von der Königl. Preuss. Akad. der Wissensch.* 1 (Berlin 1904). The oldest datable MS. is from 1464.

And again :

ewer selend dienen mine zwerg  
ewer truren gewint ein ende.

In the "Fastnachtspiel" Dame World speaks to Tannhäuser  
Asterot die fragt nach dir  
Fraw Venus lat dich in den berck :  
bald so kom du hin zu ihr  
so enphahen dich die edlen twerck....

And in the High German version of the *Volkslied*, when Venus gives her consent to her lover's departure, she bids him take "urlob von dem greisen". This passage has been a *crux* to commentators; it has been suggested that the old Eckart is meant. But the Low German version has the plural "van den grysen" and with this the Dutch version and that of Kornemann agree. Most likely therefore the reference is to dwarfs.<sup>55</sup>

The *Venusberg* then shows unmistakable kinship with the underground dwarf-abodes of Germanic folklore. Dwarf-kings, like Laurin, Goldemar and Alberich, are familiar to all students of Middle High German literature; and dwarf-queens like Virginal and Albiun are also well known. But their kingdoms are not realms of love and these queens are not seductive temptresses. The *Venusberg*-myth cannot be traced back to such sources. The distinctive feature of the amorous queen is lacking in them. Elves who entice mortals into their realm are familiar figures in German folklore, but they are not conceived as queens ruling a paradise in a hollow mountain. Comparisons between the *Venusberg* and the enchanted mountain-abodes occurring in legends of the Kyffhäuser-type, so wide-spread in all Germanic lands,<sup>56</sup> are also inadequate as an explanation. These realms were originally the habitations of departed spirits and, altho now peopled by emperors and kings with splendid retinues, they are not abodes of joy, least of all of love. No Minne-queen rules there. Nor can such a

<sup>55</sup> The Bauttner-poem reads "von dem grünen reise" and Reuschel believes that this was the original reading. But he takes it for granted that this is the oldest of the extant Tannhäuser-poems, which is more than doubtful.

<sup>56</sup> See Golther, *Handbuch der Germanischen Mythologie* (Leipzig 1895) p. 89; Mogk in *Grundriss* 3, p. 257.



one be found in the fabled mountain, where according to a tradition alluded to in the "Wartburgkrieg,"<sup>57</sup> Arthur holds court with a goodly company of knights and ladies.

Felicia, Sibillen kint,  
und Juno, die mit Artus in dem berge sint,  
die habent vleisch sam wir und ouch gebeine.

In strophe 86 the poet claims to have his information from no less a personage than St. Brandan, who is likewise in this mountain, from which, among other champions, Loherangrin is sent forth on his well known mission. We have here a blending of the Celtic traditions concerning Avalon and the Terra repromissionis of the Brandan-legend with a legend of the Kyffhäuser type and the story of the Holy Grail. But nowhere in this poem is this mountain represented as anything like a *Venusberg*, as Barto would have us believe.<sup>58</sup> This tra-

<sup>57</sup> Ed. Simrock (Stuttgart and Augsburg 1858), strophe 83.

<sup>58</sup> *Studies* p. 312 ff. As Barto's chief argument for deriving the Tannhäuserlegend from that of Arthur and the Grail is based on his interpretation of strophes 82-87 of the poem, a brief criticism may be in order. Connection of our legend with Arthurian romance was already suspected by Menzel (according to Grässe p. 29) and Grässe also called attention to these strophes (op. cit. pp. 17, 30). Like Barto he considered them by themselves. That they refer to Arthur and The Grail is unquestioned (see Martin, *Zur Gralsage in Quellen und Forschungen* 42, p. 34 ff.) But the place appears here as anything but a place of sin. The mere presence of women does not stamp it as such. The king himself is repeatedly characterized as "wandels vri" (Lohengrin, ed. Rückert, ll. 404, 511 et passim). As regards the women, the Sibyl, as we had occasion before to point out, was not necessarily an evil creature; and here she seems to fit in as a prophetess. At any rate, her daughter Felicia appears in such a rôle in strophe 84. Therefore the fact that the latter is still a maiden should not arouse suspicion; the gift of prophecy and virginity are associated (bi derselben wurde hat si mir gesaget 84). Moreover she is with St. Brandan whose saintliness is above suspicion. Furthermore, if she be identical with Vrou Saelde, her character must be free from taint. In "Diu Crone" that lady is represented as the foster-mother and protectress of Arthur, who is repeatedly referred to as "der saelden sun" (l. 5028 et passim). That she is mentioned in one breath with *minne* is no argument against her; The medieval idea of *minne* warrants no such inference. Besides we find "Got, Saelde und vrou Minne" occurring in one line (l. 17213). The relations of Vrou Saelde to the king are therefore eminently proper, and the sinister significance attributed to them by Barto is wholly unjustified. (See

dition, therefore, cannot be used to explain the origin of the myth, but it furnishes valuable testimony to show how prone the German fancy was to conceive of the Otherworld as a hollow-mountain paradise.

Some scholars profess to find the sources of the myth in the fairylore of Arthurian romance which found its way into every European literature. But the fays of these romances, tho they often have a queenly character and in this respect resemble the German Venus, do not live in mountains. *Fairie* in medieval French romance assumes many different names and shapes.<sup>59</sup> It may be an enchanted valley (*Le Vallon des Faux Amants*, *Val sanz Retor*) an island (*Isle Celée*, *Isle d'Or*), an inaccessible, faraway land (*Terre Lointaine*), a forest (*Forêt sanz Retor*), a splendid castle (*Chastel as Pucèles*). It may be located on a mountain, as Morgain's castle on Mt. Mongibello in Sicily.<sup>60</sup> But nowhere in French literature do

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Zingerle, *Frau Salde nach Heinrich von dem Türlin*, Germ. 8, 414 ff.) And then the religious character of the place. First the king and priests pray before the Grail, then the ladies and, when all this does not avail, the innocent maidens are sent. Felicia helps to array them in proper fashion (Loh. 49). In fact we have here a sacred Grail-realm. Only by the most one-sided interpretation can it be construed as a *Venusberg*.

The contention that the degeneration of the Arthurian legend, noticeable in "Dieu Crone", began in and was peculiar to Germany seems to me, entirely wrong. It is already evident in the "Lancelot" of Chrestien (about 1170), and Ulrich von Zatzikhoven (about 1195. See Vogt in *Grundr.* 2, pp. 195, 208), as well as in the still older French "lais du Cor" and "del Mantel maltaillie". The incidents there related are quite sufficient to bring shame upon Arthur, even tho he himself be blameless. The passages from the mastersongs adduced by Barto (p. 317) do not imply the king's personal guilt.

As for the word *grail*, it is true that at a later period it came to mean, particularly in Northern Germany, a festival or carousal, and then even sinful pleasure. It could therefore very well become synonymous with *Venusberg*. But that proves nothing as to the origin of the myth. Dietrich von Niemi (about 1410), alluding to a tradition similar to the *Venusberg*, attached to a mountain near Pozzuoli, uses the word in its later sense, but does not connect it with Venus. Such connection is not attested before the end of the 15th century, and cannot be taken as the starting-point of the myth, which is much older.

<sup>59</sup> See Paton, *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance* in *Radcliffe College Monographs* No. 13 (Boston 1903) p. 40, note 2.

<sup>60</sup> In *Florian et Florete*, (13 century).

we meet with a fairy-realm in a hollow mountain corresponding to the *Venusberg*. Avalon, Morgain's special realm and the fairyland *par excellence* of the whole *Matière de Bretagne*, is generally described as an island, "un isle qui mult est beals".<sup>61</sup> Sometimes, especially in English sources, Avalon appears as a vale. Only in German poems is it ever spoken of as a mountain, and there it is the abode of the fay Melusine, not of Morgain.<sup>62</sup> So the origin of the German *Venusberg* cannot simply be referred to a Breton fairy-tale transmitted to Germany thru French mediation. If such transmission is assumed, it remains to be explained why the change was made in regard to the fairy paradise. It is certainly more reasonable to trace the myth to some land where the conception of the fairy-paradise in the hollow hill is at home.

Now the most significant parallels, not only to the *Venusberg*, but to the entire Tannhäuserlegend, are not found in France or Italy (excepting of course the Italian versions discussed above), but in the British isles and the Scandinavian North.

The resemblance of the story of Thomas of Erceldoune, as told in a Middle English poem<sup>63</sup> and in a Scotch ballad, to that of Tannhäuser has attracted attention before,<sup>64</sup> but a connection has not been proven. But it is undeniable that the parallelism is close, closer than between our legend and any other story of fairy-abduction. Like the German hero, Thomas

<sup>61</sup> Lanval ed. Warnke v. 661. See also Geoffrey of Monmouth Bk. 11, ch. 2; *ad sananda vulnera in insulam Avallonis advectus*. . . See Paton p. 25.

<sup>62</sup> Tübing von Ruggeltingen, *Historie der Melusine* etc. For titles see Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Gesch. der deutschen Dichtung* (Dresden 1884) 1, p. 355.

<sup>63</sup> Ed. Murray in *Early Engl. Text. Soc.*, 61 (London 1875) and Brandl in *Sammlung engl. Denkmäler* 2 (Berlin 1880).

<sup>64</sup> Simrock believed the two stories to be identical (*Deutsche Mythologie* 1874, p. 330) and suggested a connection between Hörselberg and Erceldoune. Weston also is convinced that there is some connection (*Legends of the Wagner Drama* (London 1903, p. 353). But, even if the two names were etymologically identical, it would prove nothing for the identity of the legends, since the connection between the Hörselberg and the Tannhäuserlegend is late. See also Burnham, *A Study of Thomas of Erceldoune* in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* 23 (1908) pp. 390-1.

has also been identified with a historical personage of the 13. century. The lady who entices him is a real queen; her abode a real underground paradise beneath Eldon Hill. Unlike Tannhäuser, Thomas enters the hill reluctantly:

Allas he sayd wa es mee!  
 I trowe my dedis wyll wirke me care.  
 My saulle, Jesu, byteche i the,  
 Whedirsome ever my banes shall fare (Fytte I, 27).

But once in fairie he is quite happy and is loath to depart. In the Scotch ballad he is summoned to return to the mountain by the apparition of a hart and a hind,—sure signs of a fairy-message. He follows against his will and is seen no more. But the religious element, which looms so large in the German legend, plays a very subordinate part. As a result of his adventure Thomas gets the gift of prophecy; in fact, the fairy-abduction serves only as a setting for the historical prophecies with which the Middle English poem is mainly concerned.

Apart from the subject-matter the English romance shows some remarkable correspondences to the German *Volkslied*. Thomas pledges his unconditional loyalty (Fytte 19):

Here my trouthe i plyghte to the,  
 Whethir þou will in heven or helle,

and yet later on hesitates to enter Eldon Hill. So Venus reminds her lover:

ir habt mir ainen aid geschworn:  
 ir wölt von mir nit wenken.

and Tannhäuser makes vehement denial. Can it be that originally he did give such an oath? Again in the German poem the hero abruptly turns and exclaims:

fraw Venus, edle fraw so zart!  
 ir seid ain teufelinne,

whereupon he is rebuked. No explanation is given why he suddenly thinks the goddess to be a fiend. In the English poem the lady loses her beauty after Thomas has enjoyed her love, and, according to an interpolated passage in one MS.,<sup>65</sup> this makes him think she is the devil, whereupon he likewise is rebuked. The Italian versions of the Tannhäuser-story

<sup>65</sup> The Lansdowne MS. See Burnham *op. cit.* pp. 381-2.

and some of the Swiss variants also know of a hideous weekly transformation of the ladies, which brings to the cavalier a realization of the sinful nature of his surroundings. This feature would seem therefore to have belonged to the original form of the story. Again Tannhäuser is enjoined by Venus to sing her praise wherever he goes; similarly the elfin-queen says to Thomas:

Whare ever pou fare by frythe or felle,

I praye the, speke none evyll of me. (Fytte 2, strophe 3.)

Other resemblances that might be pointed out are too commonplace in fairy-lore to carry weight. Thus the length of Tannhäuser's stay in the *Venusberg* is in most of the versions given as one year, but in the Dutch poem as seven. The same variation is found in the English romance, a twelve month (1, 26) and seven years (in the Cambridge MS). In a Swiss variant the hero falls asleep under a fig-tree and in a dream is bidden to repent; so Thomas sees the elfin-queen while he is reposing under a tree.<sup>66</sup> Her command:

Take leve Thomas at sonne and mon

And also at lefe that grewes on tree

reminds us of the touching lines in the Low German version, where the knight, before entering the mountain, gives a last glance at earth:

Godt gesegen dy Suenne und Maen

Darto myne leuen Freunde.

Another parallel to our legend, already noticed by Grässe, is the Scotch ballad of Young Tamlane,<sup>67</sup> where the hero, however, is rescued from fairie thru the heroism of his sweetheart. The elfin-queen, furious at the loss of her lover, exclaims:

But had I kenned, Tamlane, she says

A lady wad borrow'd thee—

I wad ta'en out thy twa grey een,

Put in twa een o' tree.

<sup>66</sup> The motive is a commonplace in fairy-lore. In *Sir Orfeo* the fairy-king likewise approaches the queen while she is asleep under an "impe-tree".

<sup>67</sup> Scott, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (Edinb. 1880) 2, pp. 337-350.

In a Norse story of fairy-abduction the hero does not escape this sad fate. Helgi Thorisson, who has been enticed by Ingiborg, daughter of the mythical king Gudmund of Glaesivellir, returns to earth blinded. The jealous fay, before releasing him, puts out his eyes so that the women of Norway shall take no joy in him.<sup>68</sup> Here we encounter the motif, familiar from Celtic and other medieval romance, that the hero who enters fairie cannot return unscathed. The realm to which Helgi is enticed is not conceived as a hollow-hill paradise. Such a paradise, however, is that of king Dofri in the *Kjalnesinga-saga*.<sup>69</sup> There Bui, the son of Harald Harfagr, stayed for some time with Frid, the king's beautiful daughter.

These parallels from different lands so widely separated are unquestionably independent of each other; but they are rooted in a common soil, and that soil is Celtic folklore. It is in Celtic literature that the amorous queen, the closest analogue to the German Venus, is most conspicuous, particularly in that kind of story represented by the Irish *Echtra*.<sup>70</sup> She is known to be the prototype of the fays that figure in the medieval romances dealing with the matter of Britain, which is admittedly of Celtic origin. But she is also the prototype of the elfin-queen that enticed Thomas the Rhymer into Eldon hill, for there can be no doubt that in this case we have Celtic material.<sup>71</sup> The English romance originated near the Scotch border<sup>72</sup> and popular tradition is embodied in the Scotch ballad, which seems to be entirely independent of the Middle English poem and to have its sources in folklore.<sup>73</sup> As for the

<sup>68</sup> *Helga Þórissonar in Fornmanna Sögur* (Copenh. 1827) 3, pp. 133 ff.

<sup>69</sup> *Kd. Islendinga Sögur* (Copenh. 1847) 2, pp. 395 ff. The episode in question is found in chap. 12-14.

<sup>70</sup> The classic example is the *Echtra Condla*. For a discussion of this genre see essay of Nutt *The Irish Vision of the Happy Otherworld* in Meyer and Nutt *The Voyage of Bran, Son of Febal* (London 1895).

<sup>71</sup> See Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer* (New York 1906) p. 199 ff.

<sup>72</sup> Murray thinks the author was a Scotchman *op. cit.* p. XVII; Brandl assigns him to the North of England *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 42.

<sup>73</sup> In this connection compare the story of Meilerius and the elf recounted by Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itin.* 1, 10.

parallels adduced from Norse literature, they too seem to contain Celtic material. At least the story of Helgi belongs to a *genre* of late origin and admittedly subject to foreign influence.<sup>74</sup>

In Celtic literature and folklore we meet with various conceptions of fairy-land, but two main types stand out prominently,—the Over-sea elysium and the hollow-hill paradise. Now the latter type, as was pointed out, is completely unknown to medieval French romance; nor does it play a rôle in any Romance literature. In Germanic lands, on the other hand, it is met with everywhere, in England and Scandinavia as well as in Germany, where kindred conceptions of dwarf-kingdoms and splendid courts in the interior of mountains were current from remotest times. In view of these facts it seems fatuous to seek the origin of the *Venusberg*-myth in Italy or on Romance soil. Nothing but the clearest proofs of the priority and originality of the Italian legend of the Sibyl's paradise could make such an origin credible, and such proofs are entirely lacking. The Sibyl-paradise is a wholly isolated phenomenon in Italian literature, and its existence cannot be attested prior to the middle of the 14. century, by which time the conception of fairy-realms in hollow mountains was already a commonplace in Germanic lands.

From the evidence thus far presented I infer that the legend of Venus and her fabled mountain arose in Germany thru a fusion of the Celtic conception of the amorous fairy-queen with the German traditions of dwarf-kingdoms and imperial courts in the interior of mountains. In Germany faerie would most naturally assume the shape of a hollow-hill paradise. The fay was called Venus because the heathen goddess was thoroughly familiar from the poetry of the Minnesingers and the Goliards. If the latter were responsible for the name, as some scholars maintain,<sup>75</sup> this would tend to confirm the

<sup>74</sup> See Müller *Sagabibliothek* (Copenhagen 1820) 3, pp. 238-251. The *páttir* in question is not older than the 14th century. That the Icelandic sagas telling of expeditions to the Otherworld, especially *Óðáinsakr*, show Celtic influence, is now generally conceded. See Olrik, *Nordisches Geistesleben* tr. by Ranisch (Heidelberg 1908) p. 88.

<sup>75</sup> Kluge *op. cit.*, p. 55.

theory of the German origin, for the Goliards were practically unknown in Italy. Whether the Celtic fairy-queen came to Germany thru French mediation, as part of the *matière de Bretagne*, or directly from the British isles, I do not venture to decide. The evidence of the English and Scotch parallels seems to point in the latter direction. The question cannot be definitely settled until the literary relations between England and Germany during the Middle Ages are better known.<sup>76</sup>

The assertion that the *Venusberg* is of German origin does not imply that the Italian Sibyl-paradise must be imported from Germany. At the basis of both myths is a conception rooted in Celtic folklore and with the matter of Britain this could come to Italy quite independently of Germany. The author of the *Guerino-romance*, who is also the author of the *Real di Francia*, was certainly conversant with French literature and with the Celtic material that figures so prominently therein. Let it be noted in passing that he sends his hero to St. Patrick's purgatory. Celtic legends may also have come in thru the Normans to whom some scholars are inclined to attribute the localization of the Arthurian fay Morgana on Mt. Aetna or Mongibel. That the British tradition concerning Arthur and his court was connected with this mountain in the 13. century is attested by Gervase of Tilbury<sup>77</sup> and Caesarius von Heisterbach.<sup>78</sup> But the king is not rep-

<sup>76</sup> For the 16th century these relations have been admirably set forth by Herford, *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the 16th century* (Cambridge 1886). They were of no small importance and surely cannot have sprung up all at once. It is significant that we have in medieval German literature Celtic material that did not come in by way of France, e. g. the Irish legend of Tundale, which was first written down in Ratisbon by a monk, Marcus, who, it seems, was an Irishman. Irish monasteries existed in Ratisbon since 1076. See Wagner, *Visio Tnugdali* (Erlangen 1882) p. X and the introduction to Friedel and Meyer, *La Vision de Tondale* (Paris 1907). Furthermore, the *Wartburgkrieg* knows of a version of the St. Brandan-legend which differs materially from that attested by the extant Latin and French versions as well as the English and Irish versions dependent on these. See Schröder, *Sanct Brandan* (Erlangen 1871) p. IX.

<sup>77</sup> *Otia Imperialia*, 1. 921; also Liebrecht *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imp.* (Hannover 1856) pp. 12 and 95.

<sup>78</sup> *Dialogus Miraculorum* ed. Strange 1851 Dist. XII, cap. XII.



resented as living in the mountain; his place is situated in a plain on the slope. Nor is there any mention of love's delights. Gervase simply describes the plain as "omnibusque deliciis plenam", but fails to indicate the presence of any feminine beings. The king reclining on a couch is evidently a reminiscence of the wounded Arthur in Avalon. There is no resemblance here to the Sibyl's paradise.<sup>79</sup> A proverb current in Sicily in the 14. century: "Malo esse in monte Bel cum regibus et principiis quam in coelo cum claudis et caecis"<sup>80</sup> also indicates that we have here nothing more than a legend of the Kyffhäuser-type without a trace of the erotic element. Traditions representing Mt. Aetna as the entrance to hell are wholly beside the point in this connection.<sup>81</sup> The Mongibel-legend cannot be used to explain the Sibyl's paradise. Nor are the love-realms we meet with in Italian literature available for this purpose. Boccaccio's "Labirinto d'Amore" or the Venus-park in his "Corbaccio", the Venus-realm in Frezzi's "Quadriregio" (about 1403) and similar conceptions bear a purely conventional and allegorical stamp. The Sibyl's paradise has a wholly different character, resembling in most of its essentials traits the faerie of Arthurian romance, in which, moreover, a *Sebile l'enchanteresse* plays a rôle. No doubt, there is some connection, beyond the mere identity of name, between the French and the Italian fay and the sources of the Italian legend are to be sought in the *matière de Bretagne*.<sup>82</sup> In that case the myth of the Sibyl's paradise is entirely independent of the German myth of the *Venusberg*. In the Italian legend this paradise is the main feature; the

<sup>79</sup> Nyrop *op. cit.*, pp. 86, 87 to the contrary. There we are told that Arthur and Morgain hold court in Mongibello. But these two personages are not mentioned together as living in Mt. Aetna. Morgain's palace is on the mountain, not within. On this point the testimony of the French *Floriant et Florete* is explicit. See Paton *op. cit.*, p. 250. The attempt to identify Morgain with the Sibyl involves wholly erroneous assumptions.

<sup>80</sup> Ludolf, *De Itinere Terrae Sanctae Liber*, ed. Deycks (*Bibl. Lit. Ver.* 25) Stuttgart 1851, p. 20.

<sup>81</sup> For these see Mausser, *Die Geschichte vom Höllenberg in Walkalla* 6 (Leipzig 1910) pp. 250-8.

<sup>82</sup> See Paton *op. cit.*, p. 52, note 2.

chief stress falls on the description of its allurements and its marvels. In the German *Tannhäuser* legend, on the other hand, the *Venusberg* receives but scant notice; there the stress falls on the hero's sorrowful fate. Thru the influence of the German legend the Italian tradition of the Sibil's paradise expanded into the story which the people of Montemonaco told to de la Sale. Possibly also thru this same influence the Sibyl's realm assumed the character of a hollow-hill paradise.

#### THE NAME OF THE HERO OF THE LEGEND

If it is improbable that the *Venusberg* came from Italy it is far more improbable that the other features came from there. Yet such a provenience has been claimed for the hero of the legend, his German name notwithstanding.<sup>83</sup> Now in all the German versions and allusions this name is always the same, variations being purely dialectic or orthographic: *Tanhuser* in the mastersong, *Tannhuser* and *Danhuser* in Faber, *Danhauser* in the High German *Volkslied*, *Danhueser* in the Low German version, *Donhauser* in Hans Sachs, *Danyser* in Danish. The old Flemish song has *Daniel* or *Danielken*, which seems to be a corruption of the real name, brought about in all probability by the identity of the first syllable with that in the Low German form, just as in modern Austrian variants the forms *Antoni* and *Balthauser* are due to consonance of some syllables with certain syllables in *Tanhuser* and *Balthasar* respectively.<sup>84</sup>

In the Italian versions the knight is not named, but excepting the *Guerino*-romance, where *Guerino* himself undertakes the adventure, he is almost invariably reported to be a German. So distinctly by Hemmerlin and de la Sale. Nyrop makes light of this evidence and quotes de la Sale to the effect that the Germans were great travellers. This, I submit, is no argument at all. But the adherents of the Italian theory deny the identity of the legendary *Tannhäuser* with the historic *Minnesinger* of that name and claim that his name was introduced into the legend later on, possibly, as Paris suggests,<sup>85</sup>

<sup>83</sup> By Paris, *Légendes*, p. 128; Nyrop *op. cit.* p. 44.

<sup>84</sup> See Erich Schmidt *op. cit.* p. 35; Nagl und Zeidler, *Deutsch-Österreichische Literaturgesch.* (Vienna 1899) p. 264.

<sup>85</sup> *Légendes* p. 129.

because in the schools of the mastersingers it was associated with a certain rhythmical form or *ton* in which some of the earliest Tannhäuser-poems were written and which was ascribed to the poet himself. But this conjecture fails to explain why two Italian versions independent of each other concur in making the hero a German even if they do not name him. If he really was anonymous at the outset, it is very strange that all the versions agree on his German nationality and all the German versions, furthermore, agree as to his name. The swan-knight appears in literature under a variety of names, Helyas, Lohengrin, Lorengel or simply as the knight of the swan. But the hero of our legend, if he is named at all, has only one name and that is unmistakably German.<sup>86</sup> Yet the sources of the legend come from regions far apart and are not very near together in point of time.

Now it must be admitted that a stringent proof of the identity of the legendary and historical Tannhäuser has never been given. The *Busslied*, while expressing the poet's repentance for past sins, does not specify their nature. The *Tag-wise*, which is similar in tone, tells us that woman is the cause of the poet's trouble, "wibe schön hat mich geschand". Two of the songs in the Colmar MS. are more explicit; mention is made of "der wilden zoberey", clearly a reference to the *Venusberg* and its demoniac magic. But not one of these poems attributed to the minnesinger is authentic, with the possible exception of the *Busslied*, which is in doubt. The extant poems known to be authentic do not contain any allusion to an experience like that related in the folksong.

Furthermore the name of Tannhäuser as a family-name is attested for several places, especially for Switzerland and Austria.<sup>87</sup> The historical Minnesinger probably hailed from Bavarian-Austrian territory, more specifically from the neighborhood of Salzburg. As for the legendary Tannhäuser, accounts differ in regard to his home. In the "Mörin" he

<sup>86</sup> Unless the identity of Danielken and Tannhäuser be denied.

<sup>87</sup> See Dübi *op. cit.* p. 261; Tobler *Schweizerische Volkslieder in Bibl. älterer Schriftwerke der deutsch. Schweiz*, 5, (Frauenfeld 1882) p. 163, note; Nagl und Zeidler *op. cit.* p. 260 note 2, p. 261. Facsimile of the tomb of Chounrat Tannhawser (1483) *ibid.* p. 263.

is said to be from Frankenland; so also in the "Veneris Hofgesind" of Hans Sachs. Faber in his "Evagatorium" states that he came from Tanhusen near Dünkelsbühl in Swabia.<sup>88</sup> Not one of these allusions refers explicitly to the historic minnesinger. Some scholars regard the legendary hero as purely mythical<sup>89</sup> and the meaning of the name Tannhäuser, which is equivalent to *Waldhauser* or forestdweller, lends support to this view.

The question of Tannhäuser's identity was already debated in the 16. century. Aventin emphatically protests against the representation of the hero as a lover and insists that he was a great warrior; in fact, he identifies him with an old Gothic king Thananses (sic), whose warlike deeds had been perverted by "etliche alte Römer, vorauss Wolfram von Eschenbach" into gallant adventures in order to please the ladies.<sup>90</sup> Evidently he did not regard the legendary Tannhäuser and the historical minnesinger as one and the same person. Incidentally we may note that already at the time when Aventin wrote, nothing was known of the authorship of the *Volkslied*. In the following century Goldast<sup>91</sup> credits it to Tannhäuser himself and explains the poem as a fling against the pope, the production of an imperial partisan.

But if the arguments for the identity of the historical and legendary Tannhäuser are not absolutely convincing, they are at least plausible.<sup>92</sup> Of all the individuals bearing that name he is the only one known to fame, and this fame survived in the schools of the mastersingers until the 17. century. Moreover, the sensual character of his poetry, the wild and dissolute life of which it gives glimpses, his wanderings

<sup>88</sup> *Evag.* 3, p. 221.

<sup>89</sup> So Böckel, *Handbuch des deutschen Volksliedes* (Marburg 1908) p. 51.

<sup>90</sup> The passage is cited by Grässe *op. cit.* pp. 25, 26. Thananses stands for Tanausis, whose exploits are related by Jordanes in his *History of the Goths*, chap. 6. See Amersbach *Zur Tannhäusersage in Alemannia*, 24 (1895), pp. 74-83.

<sup>91</sup> *Paraeneticus veteres* (1604). Cited by Grässe p. 27.

<sup>92</sup> They are fully stated by Erich Schmidt in *Nord und Süd*, Nov. 1892; see also *Characteristiken* 2, p. 24 ff. and the essays of Golther and Elster.

and adventures, including a shipwreck, his steadfast opposition to the papacy and finally the hints of repentance for past sin and folly,—all this lends color to the theory. That Urban IV, the pope mentioned in the folksong, and the poet were actually contemporaries may not be a proof positive of the identity of the historical and legendary hero, but it surely is not, as Paris and Nyrop would have us believe, an argument against it. That legends were readily attached to historical personages can be shown in numerous instances; we need only recall Wirnt von Gravenberg, Heinrich von Morungen, Neidhart von Reuenthal, Wolfram von Erschenbach and Thomas of Erceldoune.<sup>93</sup>

After all the chief reasons for denying the identity in question was to uphold the theory of the Italian origin of the legend. The exponents of this theory in claiming the priority of the Italian version to the German one also claim that, therefore, the former is nearer to the primitive form of the legend. Consequently all those features not found in the Italian version must be subsequent German additions. In Germany the name of the paradise was changed to *Venusberg*, that of the hero to Tannhäuser, and the staff-miracle, as well as the figure of the trusty Eckhart, was introduced. I hope that for the *Venusberg* I have shown such an assumption to be very improbable. Still more so for the name Tannhäuser. It is difficult to understand how this assumption could ever be made in view of the fact that even the supporters of the Italian theory concede the unoriginal character of the Guerino and de la Sale versions.<sup>94</sup> The former, we are told, is nothing more than an edifying variant, the impeccable knight being contrasted with the sinner of the original story. What could this story have been like? It surely resembled that of the Salade, for the two versions, while independent of each other, must have a common source. Now de la Sale's account is palpably a recension, and not a very skilfull one either. The pope in merely pretending to hesitate with the absolution is represented in a rôle that is as unworthy as it is undignified; in fact, he is a mere trifler. The cavalier is not so much a re-

<sup>93</sup> See Golther *op. cit.* p. 22.

<sup>94</sup> Paris *Légendes*, p. 91; Dübi *op. cit.*, p. 257.

pentant sinner as he is a coward and a fool, and the squire is a useless addition. The chief concern of the narrator is with the Sibyl's paradise; the story itself is flabby and without backbone.<sup>95</sup> It bears on the face of it the evidences of being a weak-kneed recension of an older legend like the German one, with the rôle of the unforgiving pope softened and toned down. That this older form of the story first took shape in Italy, as Paris, Dübi and Nyrop assume, is simply incredible. Where is there an example from Italian or any Romance literature of a pope in such an odious rôle, which is moreover entirely opposed to the doctrine of the Catholic church, which teaches and always has taught that no sin is too great to be forgiven provided there be true repentance? The pope who pitilessly drives away the penitent sinner—and Tannhäuser surely was such <sup>96</sup>—is a creation inspired by a sentiment of hostility that did not exist in medieval Italy, where, whatever may have been the feeling towards individual popes, the papacy as an institution was not an object of aversion. A typical legend of the penitent sinner in Romance literature is that of Robert the Devil and a comparison with the Tannhäuserlegend in regard to the pope's attitude is highly instructive. Robert is the devil's own child, tho born of a human mother, and he is guilty of every atrocious crime against God and his fellowmen. Yet, when he confesses himself to the pope, he is received with every kindness. The Holy Father, at a loss for the proper penance to impose, directs him to a holy hermit, who receives a message from heaven with instructions on this point.<sup>97</sup> The penance Robert has to undergo is dreadfully

<sup>95</sup> Compare the words of Gaston Paris, *Légendes*, p. 135: "Seulement la dureté du pape a été atténuée.....avec une visible gaucherie"... and of the cavalier's return he says: "C'est avec cette atténuation maladroite que la légende italienne passa en Allemagne...."

<sup>96</sup> What Paris says (*Légendes* p. 138) about Tannhäuser's being damned in the end in spite of the miracle, because he was guilty of the one unpardonable sin, despair of God's mercy, obviously has no bearing on this statement. When T. confessed to the pope he was truly penitent. His despair is the result of the pope's harsh refusal.

<sup>97</sup> *Robert le Diable* ed. Löseth, *Société des Anciens Textes Français* (Paris 1903) ll. 671-4:

Et il par Dieu et par sa grasse,

severe, but he cheerfully submits and in the end is forgiven. Here we behold the pope as the true representative of God, the dispenser of His mercy and His justice, and wholly different from the heartless, cruel priest of the German folksong. In the face of crime transcending human bounds he asks for a sign from heaven, not to find out whether to absolve the sinner, but to ascertain the nature of the penance to be imposed. The Swiss rustic of Hemmerlin's version also receives absolution, if not from the pope himself, at least from a specially designated confessor. Not one of the Italian versions, not even that of the *Salade*, knows of a pope whose action is at variance with one of the fundamental teachings of the very church of which he is the head. This action loses nothing of its odiousness by calling attention to the sinner's awful crime. It is true that the sin in this case was not merely that of impurity, but the far greater one of apostasy. To be sure, the guilt incurred was enormous, but that does not extenuate the pope's attitude. Tannhäuser's guilt was no greater than that of other famous sinners of medieval legend; the church that could save Robert the Devil could also save him. To assert that he could only be saved by a miracle<sup>98</sup> is to limit the power of the church in a way altogether opposed to Catholic conception, medieval as well as modern. Miracles are common enough in Christian legends dealing with the problem of sin and its forgiveness thru God's mercy, but they are not introduced to confute and discredit the church and its supreme representative, but to confirm, or at least to guide its judgement. Furthermore the power to absolve is not given to the priesthood to be exercised in arbitrary fashion; no priest, not the pope himself, can withhold absolution from the truly penitent sinner who confesses his sins. From whatever point of view we may regard the attitude ascribed to the pope in

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Savra mout tost a brief espasse,  
De tes pechiés la penitanche,  
Or ne soies plus en doutanche.

<sup>98</sup> As is done by Pfaff *op. cit.* p. 106, where the pope's harshness is explained by referring to the old idea, already found in the Bible, "dass der Anblick des Heiligen dem Menschen verderblich sei"; hence intercourse with superhuman powers was considered ruinous.

the German version of the legend, it remains absolutely irreconcilable with the doctrines of the Catholic church.

It is certain then that the figure of the unforgiving pope owes its existence to sentiment bitterly hostile to the papacy, and such sentiment is to be looked for on German, rather than on Italian soil. In fact, here again, a significant parallel can be adduced from the Netherlands, the story of Jan van Beverly, the English knight, who, like Tannhäuser was refused absolution, but whose forgiveness is proclaimed by a miracle. Thru the mouth of an innocent babe God in this case makes his will known to the astonished people.<sup>99</sup>

In Germany then we conclude, the story of the harsh pope originated. There the anti-papal sentiment was strong and widespread ever since the days of the Hohenstaufens. And Tannhäuser, be it remembered, was a staunch adherent of their cause, while Urban IV was strongly opposed to them. So, if the historical and legendary Tannhäuser are really identical,—and we can see no reason for disputing this—then the current assumption that the legend took shape shortly after the poet's death about 1270 or so has every probability in its favor.<sup>100</sup>

The anti-papal sentiment of the folksong finds its most pointed expression in the miracle of the withered staff bursting into blossom, of which the Italian versions know nothing, and which is generally regarded as a late German addition. Paris, however,—and Nyrop agrees,—disputed this on the ground that the motif is a commonplace and devoid of national character. True, but the way in which it is used in the *Volkslied* is not at all commonplace. There it is introduced with the specific purpose of administering a pointed reproof to the cruel pope. No doubt, this feature is of Ger-

<sup>99</sup> The romance was first published at Antwerp in 1543, but is much older. See te Winkel, *Niederl. Lit.* in Paul's *Grundriss* 2, p. 492.

<sup>100</sup> Nyrop's argument against this view on the ground that the legend must have existed for almost 200 years before it made its appearance in literature loses its force in view of the evidence presented above (p. 46) showing that a Tannhäuser legend existed in Germany as early as the 14th century. Nyrop *op. cit.* p. 75.



man origin.<sup>101</sup> But that it is a late addition is not at all certain. The *argumentum ex silentio* drawn from de la Sale's account and the Bauttner-song is not valid because the versions given there are not old. There is no reason for believing this mastersong to be the oldest known Tannhäuser-poem, except that it does not mention the staff-miracle. This omission was, however, probably intentional. As for de la Sale or his talesman, if he toned down the harsh attitude of the pope as related in the original story, he was bound also to suppress the staff-miracle, which may therefore very well have been known to him.<sup>102</sup> In fact I do not see how this feature, which gives to the German legend its distinctive character and aesthetic value, can be separated from the rôle of the harsh pope. Is it conceivable that a legend ending with the damnation of the penitent sinner would ever have found favor with a medieval audience? Hardened and presumptuous sinners, who like Faust deliberately league with the devil and die impenitent, may be sent to everlasting hellfire as a solemn warning and horrible example. But the Faust-legend is not a characteristic medieval legend; it is the creation of a Protestant age and is permeated with the spirit of a stern Protestant orthodoxy which denies to the ancient church the means of saving sinners. In typical medieval legends the truly penitent sinner is never lost. Theophilus of Adana, who sells his soul to the devil, St. Gregory, guilty of incest and parricide, and Robert, conceived in sin and stained with crime, are all saved thru true repentance. Is Tannhäuser to be the only exception? I do not believe it. The pope refuses to save him, but God overrules His unworthy representative and proclaims His will by a miracle. The feature of the staff bursting into blossom is surely as old as the figure of the harsh pope; both belong to the Tannhäuserlegend from its beginning. And this leads us again to inquire how did the legend begin? Did it start with the historical minnesinger, or was he fitted into an older legend already developed at his time?

<sup>101</sup> For German legends in which the motif is used in order to proclaim the innocence of persons unjustly condemned see Böckel, *Die deutsche Volkssage* (Leipzig 1909) pp. 109, 110.

<sup>102</sup> This is also the argument of Gaston Paris *Légendes*, p. 136.

## GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEGEND

The question of the genesis and the development of the legend is closely connected with that of Tannhäuser's identity. If we regard the legendary hero and the historical minnesinger as one and the same person, then we shall look for the origin of the legend in some event connected with the poet's life. But of this life practically nothing is known. From the extant poems it appears that he was a gay and dissolute fellow, fond of good living when fortune was on his side and always in quest of gallant adventure. After a life spent in dissipation remorse seems to have seized upon him; of his end nothing is known. In the struggle between empire and papacy he sided with the former. This is really all that we know about him. That his poetry lacks spirituality and is frankly sensual must be admitted, but there is no allusion to any experience suggesting the adventure of the *Venusberg*. In fact, there is not a single tangible fact in the poet's life to take hold of in an attempt to construct the *Urform* of the legend, which even in its barest outline can only be conjectured. According to Golther<sup>103</sup> this outline was something like this: Tannhäuser, after a dissipated life having fallen into dire distress, repents and makes a pilgrimage to Rome to seek absolution from pope Urban IV. This is refused to him, whereupon he leaves in despair and perishes miserably. Of the *Venusberg* and the staff-miracle this *Urform* knew nothing. These features were introduced into the legend later on.

The *Urform* postulated by Elster differs only in that it connects the *Venusberg* with the story from the very beginning.<sup>104</sup>

After what has been said above in connection with the attitude of the pope in the legend and the staff-miracle, I need not say that the assumption of any such *Urform* is entirely incredible. It would be nothing more than a dull and pointless story of perdition, more apt to repel than to attract. Further-

<sup>103</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 21, 22.

<sup>104</sup> Elster *op. cit.*, p. 6. Of this version we read: "Ihr asketisch-pfäffischer Charakter liegt klar zu Tage". The very opposite is true. A version containing the figure of the harsh pope may be ascetic, but "pfäffisch" never!

more such a story would satisfy neither party. That a loyal adherent of the papacy would invent a legend discrediting the pope is a preposterous supposition. The Tannhäuserlegend in the form that we meet with in the Volkslied is certainly not an ecclesiastical product. It bears the stamp of a purely literary origin and arose probably in the circles of the mastersingers of the 13. or 14. century.<sup>108</sup> The anonymous author was a man of strong anti-papal sentiment which induced him to assign to the pope an odious rôle. Most likely he also brought in the motif of the staff-miracle. For, while he was no doubt eager to have a fling at the pope, it seems hardly likely that he should wish to gratify his animosity at the expense of Tannhäuser, who was not only a fellow-poet but also a fellow-partisan. By means of the staff-miracle he could save his hero and at the same time read a lesson to pope and clergy. Of course this is only a supposition, but it has at least plausibility.

At any rate it is safe to assume that the Tannhäuserlegend did not come to assume the form known from the folksong by the development of a single motive; it is the result of the fusion of several motives, which can still be clearly distinguished. The *Venusberg*, the penitent sinner and the staff-miracle were each originally the theme of an independent legend. Which one of these motives served as a starting-point for the story cannot possibly be determined with certainty from the material at hand.

If the legend really started with the historical minnesinger, then in all probability it was originally a legend of the penitent-sinner-type akin to that of Robert the Devil. Tannhäuser, whose contrite sentiment finds expression in the *Busslied*, was eminently fitted to become the hero of such a tale illustrative of God's boundless mercy. Possibly the staff-miracle was the outward sign by which this mercy was made known and originally served but to confirm the verdict of the church, in which case this feature of the story is very old. Possibly, however, it was introduced at a later stage when the figure of the cruel pope had been invented and a miracle was

<sup>108</sup> So Gölther *op. cit.*, p. 22.

## GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEGEND OF TANNHÄUSER

The question of the genesis and the development of the legend is closely connected with that of Tannhäuser's character. If we regard the legendary hero and the historical contrast as one and the same person, then we are forced to the conclusion, origin of the legend in some event connected with his distinctive life. But of this life practically nothing is known.

From the extant poems it appears that he was a man of the low, fond of good living when forced to the person of Tannhäuser always in quest of gallant adventures. His sojourn in fairie, dissipation remorse seems to have been a variant. In the end nothing is known. In the poem he is allowed to return to papacy he sided with the pope and returned to the fay's realm; know about him. That the legend and the Scotch ballad of frankly sensual must be regarded as of this type was Christian experience suggested. The story of a man's league with In fact, there is not a trace of the loss of his soul, unless take hold of in an other way the legend became one of the legend, which even in the motif of the ultimate return to tured. According to the legend. If this motive was retained, like this: Tannhäuser was inadmissible as conflicting with dire distress, and as repugnant to the medieval absolution. It is simply have a story of a hardened sin-whereupon the legend. But such a story would be anything the Venetian of medieval thought. It would much better These centuries with their stern Protestant

It is not conceivable that the original Tannhäuser legend of this type. But legends like those of medieval literature must in the end return to fairy-tale. A Christian character in medieval literature are present, as in the case of the legend of Thomas of Breckbourne, they are without any connection on the story.

It is not true that we can distinguish at least three legends that make up the Tannhäuser legend. In the first there is a purely Christian legend of mercy and redemption of a penitent sinner. Then there is a legend of a mortal's sojourn in fairie. Lastly, there is the legend of the harsh pope inspired by anti-papal

Und ist ein jeder man ein  
 ein für und ein  
 so wird ein jeder man ein  
 und jeder man ein

If the pope's return is that of a man who has been  
 "beicht und beseit" after another year of his life  
 years for that matter. For these words are not  
 forgiveness is expected only that the man is a man.

<sup>10</sup> The different versions of the *Trilogie* are readily accessible in  
 Erk und Böhm, *Deutscher Literatur* (Leipzig, 1911), pp. 4-  
 51. Some of them are also reprinted in the works of Erk and Böhm.



It is explicitly stated in the version given by Kornemann (verse 26):

Da wardt er wider in den Berg,  
Dazinnen solt er nun bleiben,  
Sol lang biss an den Jüngsten Tag,  
Wo ihn Gott wil hinweisen.

Even in the vulgate Tannhäuser's reply to the welcome of the pope (verse 24) is not given. This is plainly an omission as is shown by the Low German and Dutch variants proves. The High German version undoubtedly also made the pope's trust in God, or, in the still more primitive version, in the Virgin Mary.

The representation of the attitude of the pope there is inconsistent. In most versions this attitude is characterized by unmitigated odiousness indicative of strong feeling, which finds expression in the closing verses of the poem, and still more pointedly in the final versions of the Kornemann and Entlibuch versions. But the elements of this feeling are found in the Low German versions. In the latter the pope is harsh and arbitrary (verse 11):

Wiltu dat jaer in den berch ghewest  
Wiltu dat die duivelinne,  
Die gheen ewelick  
Wiltu dat die pine.

Wiltu dat die Danielken, stung to despair, curses the pope (verse 12):

Wiltu dat die panzen sijn  
Wiltu dat die driven!  
Wiltu dat so menighe siele ghenomen  
Wiltu dat die mochten bliven.

The Low Germans (verse 23) almost certainly in the closing verses of this latter version of the poem wholly at variance with those of the other versions.

Wiltu dat die sieck gantz ver  
Wiltu dat die alle stunde,  
Wiltu dat die Danhuesers bager  
Wiltu dat die em sune suende.

not directly from God himself. Again in the Low German version Tannhäuser does not despair, but in spite of the cruel sentence appeals to Christ (verse 22) :

Danhuesser scheyde sick uth der Stadt  
mit leyde unn ock mit ruwe,  
O Jesu Christ van hemmelrick,  
help my nu doerch all dyne truwe.

So also in the Swiss variant from the Entlibuch (verse 10), yet the next two verses represent him as despairing. When he meets the Virgin Mary he even exclaims :

“behüet dich gott, du reini magt!  
dich darf ich nimmten anschauen”.

Why the Virgin is introduced here, when the sinner is not to be saved, is not readily comprehensible; if, however, the legend was originally the story of a sinner's redemption, her presence requires no explanation. Here again we meet with a survival from the older form of the legend. In verse 14 of the same version the pope's messengers seeking Tannhäuser are informed :

Danhuser ist iez nimmten hie,  
Danhuser ist verfahren,  
Danhuser ist in Frau Frenen berg,  
wolt Gottes gnad erwarten.

The last line makes it perfectly plain that the sinner does not despair but still puts his trust in God. And the Low German version bears this out. There in answer to the inquiry of Venus about his journey to Rome the knight exclaims (verse 26) :

Als ydt my gegangen hefft,  
dat hedd ick wol vorswaren.  
Noch bydd ick Christum van Hemmelrick,  
he leth my nicht bliuen vorlaren.

Surely the motif of mercy will not down. Even in the High German poem it persists. That Tannhäuser was ultimately to be saved is clearly implied in the lines of verse 23 :

Ich will zu meiner frawen zart,  
wa mich gott will hin senden.



It is explicitly stated in the version given by Kornemann (verse 26) :

Da wardt er wider in den Berg,  
Darinnen solt er nun bleiben,  
So lang biss an den Jüngsten Tag,  
Wo ihn Gott wil hinweisen.

Moreover, in the vulgate Tannhäuser's reply to the welcome of Venus (verse 24) is not given. This is plainly an omission as comparison with the Low German and Dutch variants proves. The older High German version undoubtedly also made the knight put his trust in God, or, in the still more primitive form, in the Virgin Mary.

In the representation of the attitude of the pope there is also notable inconsistency. In most versions this attitude is simply one of unmitigated odiousness indicative of strong anti-clerical feeling, which finds expression in the closing lines of the Vulgate, and still more pointedly in the final strophes of the Kornemann and Entlibuch versions. But the fiercest outbursts of this feeling are found in the Low German and Dutch versions. In the latter the pope is harsh to the point of brutality (verse 11) :

Hebdy seven jaer in den berch ghewest  
met vrou Venus die duivelinne,  
so sult ghy bernen ewelick  
al in die helsche pine.

Tannhäuser, or rather Danielken, stung to despair, curses the cruel priests (verse 13) :

Vermeledijt moeten die pausen sijn  
Die ons ter hellen driven!  
Sie hebben gode so menighe siele ghenomen  
die wel behouden mochten bliven.

This agrees with the Low Germans (verse 23) almost word for word. And yet the closing verses of this latter version show a sympathy for the pope wholly at variance with these violent anti-clerical outbursts.

De Pawes bedrouede sick gantz ser  
he hefft gebeden alle stunde,  
Godt wyl erfuellen Danhuesers beger  
und vergeven em sune suende.

Not a word here of the pope's being damned for his harshness.

And lastly there is a significant variation in the way the different versions tell of the pope's refusal to absolve. The Vulgate (verse 20) in agreement with most versions makes the pontiff say:

als wenig das steblin gronen mag  
kumstu zu gottes hulde.

But the Low German—and here the Dutch and Kornemann variants agree—is far less positive. There the pope simply plants a dry staff in the ground and says (verse 21):

So de staff nu groenen wert,  
scholen dyne Buende vorgeuen werden.

Is this a reminiscence of the fact that in the primitive form of the legend the pope did not absolutely and finally refuse the absolution, but, as in the story of Robert the Devil, appealed to heaven for a sign? In that case the *Urform* knew the staff-miracle, but not the figure of the cruel, unforgiving pope.

And so the Tannhäuserlegend was originally a legend of mercy, an ecclesiastical recast of an old Celtic pagan tale relating the sojourn of a mortal in fairy-land. It was a story designed to illustrate the boundless mercy of God and the saving power of the church. In the Christian mind fairie was associated with hell; the knight who entered the enchanted realm was guilty of apostasy in its gravest form; his return to earth was represented as an act inspired by sincere repentance and God's mercy showed itself in the form of a miracle. The pope may very well have figured in this oldest form of the legend, but not as the cruel, unforgiving priest.

Thus far there would be nothing distinctly national about the legend. With the introduction of the minnesinger the national element comes in. The legend now assumes German color. Tannhäuser, who was already in the 14. century regarded as a typical penitent, fitted well into a legend of the character here outlined. For the reasons developed in another part of this essay fairie in Germany was bound to assume the shape of a hollow mountain-paradise ruled by Venus. In

Germany also the legend under the hands of a poet who belonged to the anti-papal party was readily changed and made to set forth in glaring contrast the infinite mercy of God and the inflexibility of the church. This was effected by assigning to the pope an odious rôle, impossible from the point of view of Catholic doctrine, and the contrast was still further emphasized by the way the motif of the staff-miracle is utilized. Thus the Tannhäuserlegend received its characteristic form. The story of redemption was changed into one of perdition, but the change was not effected without causing serious inconsistencies and contradictions.

In the course of its development the legend absorbed elements originally extraneous to it. Thus the figure of the trusty Eckhard belongs to Germanic heroic saga which knows him as the typical faithful guardian who warns against impending treachery. His rôle is without influence on the character of the legend and requires no discussion here. But the case is different with the motif of the weekly transformation of the ladies of the Sibyl's paradise into serpents and scorpions. This trait is found not only in the Italian versions as attested by the Guerino romance and the accounts of de la Sale and Alberti, but also in the Swiss variants from Aargau and St. Gallen. This coincidence is regarded by the exponents of the Italian theory as a proof of their claim. The Swiss variants have preserved an ancient feature better than the German versions because Switzerland is nearer to Italy, the original home of the legend.<sup>107</sup> But even if it were certain that this feature of the legend is really old, it need not have come from Italy. The motif is wide-spread; a parallel is the loathly-lady incident in the English poem of Thomas of Erceldoune. More famous is the analogous transformation narrated in the romances concerning the fay Melusine. In Switzerland these romances seem to have enjoyed a special vogue; the author of the best-known German version, Tübing von Ringoltingen (1456), was a native of Bern. In this connection a legend is of interest which is recorded from the neighborhood of Basel

<sup>107</sup> So Gaston Paris, *Légendes*, p. 133; Dübi *op. cit.*, p. 264; Nyrop, *op. cit.*, p. 72; Golther *op. cit.*, p. 36 also admits the greater antiquity of the Swiss version.

for the year 1520.<sup>108</sup> A half-witted simpleton penetrates into a subterranean paradise ruled by a maiden, half human half serpent, who can only be released if some man will be brave enough to kiss her three times. The youth's courage fails him at the third attempt and he flees. Of course, we recognize at once the well known motif of the *fier baiser*. It would seem that the transformation-feature of the Swiss variants was originally an independent legend which was subsequently in Switzerland connected with the myth of the *Venusberg*. Its presence in the poem may be due to the influence of local tradition.<sup>109</sup> At any rate it is not necessary to assume Italian provenience in this case, tho Italian influence on the Swiss versions is quite possible. But the reverse is just as likely. Swiss mercenaries, who were numerous in Italy from the 14. century on, may have carried German legends into that land, and the story of the ladies changed into serpents may have been transmitted thru them. In fact the transmission of the entire Tannhäuserlegend and its localization on the Monte della Sibilla may be due to their influence.

In conclusion we may sum up as follows. The Tannhäuserlegend, as we know it, is the result of the fusion of two great legendary motives originally distinct from each other. An old pagan myth of a mortal's sojourn in fairie was blended with a Christian legend of mercy and thus arose an ecclesiastical legend glorifying the power of the church by showing how thru penance even the greatest sinner could be saved. Under the influence of anti-clerical sentiment the legend was altered to a story of perdition, but its consistent character was thereby destroyed. Neither the pagan nor the Christian themes at the basis of the legend are of German origin; the former is ultimately Celtic, the latter international like the medieval church. But the development of the legend is not international; that is unmistakably German. All the traits

<sup>108</sup> Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen* ed. Steig (Berlin 1905) No. 13, pp. 9, 10.

<sup>109</sup> The closing lines of the Aargau version confuse Tannhäuser with the sleeping emperor of the Kyffhäuser-legend and shows how readily traits wholly extraneous to the story could be introduced. See Tobler, *op. cit.*, 5, p. 163, note.

that give to the story its distinctive character, the name of the paradise, the name of the hero, the anti-papal sentiment emphasized by the staff-miracle, are of German origin. We are therefore perfectly justified in regarding the legend of Tannhäuser as a German legend.

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## SEMIOLOGICAL NOTES ON OLD SCAND. *FLIK* AND DERIVED FORMS IN THE MODERN SCAN- DINAVIAN DIALECTS

The modern Scandinavian dialects are characterised in a preeminent degree by their wealth of secondary formations and the ease with which new words may be coined by some new combination of already existing linguistic materials. On the formal side it may be a new combination of stem and suffix or a new variation of stem-vowel. Or the change may be purely semiological,<sup>1</sup> as by the new application of an old word or morpheme. Or, what is more common perhaps, the new morpheme has a new meaning attached to it, has been formed to convey this new meaning. These processes have of course, been active in all periods of the language, but the principles and tendencies they represent would seem in a special degree, to be part of the life of the Scandinavian dialects today. Especially are Norwegian and Swedish dialects full of such derived elements; in one dialect one stem has been especially fruitful, in another locality some other stem or group of stems, thus giving color and character to the local vernacular. Just how recent any particular formation is it might be difficult to say in the present state of dialect study; and still more difficult would it be perhaps to fix the time of origin of some new meaning. But it is clear that he would often be very much at loss who would etymologise these words on the basis of early Germanic material. It may perfectly well be also that a word which formally suggests a foreign source is to be explained as a secondary formation according to some characteristic tendency in a particular dialect or locality.

Morphologically and semiolegically the stem *flik* exhibits types of word-formation and meaning development that are representative of a large class of stems in the Scandinavian languages. The following pages are intended as a small contribution to the study of these phenomena as exhibited in O. Scand. *flik* and its later representatives. I shall list first briefly

<sup>1</sup> I adopt this form from Noreen in preference to the cumbersome 'semasiological'.

the principal occurrences within each of the four Scandinavian languages. In view of the extent of the material suffixal formations in verbs will be included only where it seems desirable to show the presence of the meaning, and further in some cases of characterising personal nouns derived from verbs. Under the latter group the inclusions will as a rule be limited to feminines with the feminine formant *-a* and to masculines in *-e*.

The words in question belong within the first ablaut-row: Germanic *i-ai-i-i*, O. N. *i-æi-i-i*. The stem has a single consonant, hence the 3d (4th) vowel had in O. Scand. short vowel + short consonant. Among the later changes that will affect the derivatives are to be noted East Scand. *ei* > *ē* and the lengthening of the syllable of the short vowel forms. The lengthening of *k* between a short vowel and *j*, which had taken place in Old Norse and in Old Swedish before 900 (Noreen. *Altn. Gr.* § 269, *Altschw. Gr.* 239), increased the possible variations to include also *ik* : *ikkj*. Thus were established in the group this new ablaut as a model that operated, alongside of the ablaut *i* : *ei* (E. Scand. *ī* : *ē*), and *ī* : *ī*, in the formation of new words. But open short vowel became depatalised to *e* in Swedish, principally in the 14th century, Kock, *Svensk Ljudhistoria*, I, § 29, a change which also took place in Norwegian. The subsequent lengthening of the short vowel before a single consonant would then produce the ablaut: *ī* : *ē*. In some cases the consonant was lengthened before the date of vocalic lengthening, producing the ablaut *ī* : *ē* + long consonant by the side of *ī* : *ī* + long consonant inherited from Old Scandinavian times.

1. Icelandic Occurrences: *Flik*, f. *flíka*, f. 'a piece of cloth, loose end of a garment'. Modn. Icel. *flík*, f. 'en dug, et gammelt slidt klædebon'; *flíka*, vb. udspænde, udstrække som et seil; prale med (Jónsson, *Oldn. Ordb.*), *flíka*, vb. 'negligenter tractare' (Halderson), *flík*, f. 'mulier impudica' (Hald.), *flíka*, vb. bære noget til skue (Thorkelsson), and *flíka*, make a display (Zoega). The meaning developments of this group will be discussed below, § 5. With these words is to be compared O. Ic. *flekka*, f. 'klædeplagg', whose meaning suggests

that the formation is Icelandic, hence < \*flikja. On *flekkr*, 'spot', *Flúki*, 'fleskestykke', with long k from Germanic, see Falk and Torp *Etym. Ordb.* under *flesk* and *flekk*.

The Shetland dialect (Norn) seems to have only the derived form *fíkr*, var. *fíker*, vb. which Jakobsen defines: 1, 'være i urolig, vimsende bevægelse', and in transferred meaning, both transitive and intransitive, 'kåle, smiske, fjase, gantes', and with secondary ablaut *fáker*, vb. 'drive kálne løier, fjase'.<sup>1</sup> Cp. also Swedish *fikra* below.

2. Norwegian Occurrences: All three vowels—i, æi, i—are represented, the distribution covering a wide range of dialects. The vowel i appears in *fik*, f. and *fikja* f. 'gabende saar' (Telemarken); *fikc*, do (Nedenäs and E. Norw.); *fik* vb. 'gabe' (Ryfylke, Tel. Vald). Also *fik*, m. and *fikja*, f. 'en som gaar fikjen', with clothes open, loose, would seem regularly to have the long vowel in central and western Norway, hence belongs here. *Flike*, *fikje* and *fikju*, f. 'forfløien kvinde'. (Vestfold, Romerike, Hedem.) apparently are also long-vowel forms in some dialects. The occurrences with the diphthong are almost wholly confined to the province of Trondhjem. They are: *fleikja*, vb. 1, 'om kläder, gabe, böie sig ud, staa noget aaben', as *kraagaan fleikje*, the collar is open, hangs loose, *då fleikje in paa vesten*, 'der er en aabning saa man ser vesten' (Ross, 183); 2, 'gaa med gabende kläder'; 3. föite, flane', vb. (adj. *fleikjen*, *fleikjutt*, 'flanevorn'), meaning cited from Innherred; and *fleikja*, f. 'en flane, flams', gadabout, dirt, cited from Stjor.

Original short vowel is represented in a number of words, partly exhibiting depalatalisation of original open i to e, partly also with the vowel i, due either to retention of open i locally in such cases or the reappearance of i by influence of the i-vowel forms. In Hallingdal occur *fleka* and *flika*, vb. in the meaning: 'kjåle, smigre, indsmigre sig', the corresponding vb. being *fikra* in Bergenhus; cp. also *fikramaona*, 'bygynnelsen af et ægteskab' (North Bergenhus); *flika*, var. *fleka*, *flika* (c. e. Norw. and elsewhere), 1, 'grine'; 2, vrikke med kroppen glad eller indyndende sig'; 3, 'kjåle'; 4, 'smidske,

<sup>1</sup> *Etymologisk Ordbog over det norrøne Sprog på Shetland*, p. 173.



sledske, indynde sig ved bagtalelse, sladdre'; *flækje*, vb. Söndmöre), and *flikje*, vb. (Gudbrandsdalen and elsewhere), 'være slap eller buget i kanten; om klæder og sko, hvis kanter ikke rigtig slutte til' (Aasen); *fleekast*, vb. (Gudb.) 'fjase, gantast, kjäle' (Ross), *fleekablii*, adj. (Gudb. Hedem.), *flåkablii* (do, and Smaal.) 'smidskeblid', var. *flåkkeblii*. Here belongs also a group of words with the combination *ekkj* < *ekj* < *ikj*, as: *flekkja*, vb. 1, to grin, (Trond. Gudbr.), 2, make fun of (no. and sw. N.), 3, 'fare høit og lavt, føite om', and refl. 'slænge sig'; *flekkj*, 'grinen, haanen, haanende spas'; *flekkjar*, m. 'mandfolk som er for familiær mod kvinder, ogsaa smidsker, sledsker' (< vb. \**flekkja*). Finally *flika* (Valders), var. *fleka*, vb. said of the thawing away of snow in spots, where the ground thus becomes bare, clearly belongs here. *Flikka*, f. 'lap paa sko' (Ross, sw. Norw.) may be from German *flicken* but is more likely a native formation.

3. Swedish Occurrences: Forms with the first vowel are not evidenced in Old or Middle Swedish; from the extensive use of *flik* in mdn. Sw. we may assume the existence of the word *flik* for Middle Age Swedish. The earliest occurrence of this long-vowel form of which I am aware is in the Bible of 1541, from which *flijk* and *flijken* are cited by Kock, *Svensk Ljudhistoria*, p. 82. Ihre defines *flik* 'lacinia, lapp, stycke' (*Glossarium Svio-Gothicum*, 1769). From the unpublished excerpts on *flik* in the dictionary of the Swed.<sup>1</sup> Acad. the following may be noted: *flikja*, vb. 'patch, repair', occurs for the year 1697 in *Växjö rådsturätts protokoll*, p. 273: *som ingen therä i medlertijd något nytt huss bygt, uthen dhe gamble flijkat och reparerat*'. The long vowel precludes the possibility of loan from L. G. *flicken*; in *Tisilius Vätter*, 115, year 1723, the noun *flijk* occurs in the following passage: *siälfa Fiskevärket består först af Laxhuset eller Flijken, hvilken är ett mörkt huus öfver Strömmen bygd*. The range of meanings became still more widened in mdn. Sw. The usual meaning is 'end or corner of a garment, lappet', then more generally 'piece'. The stem is found in dialectal use as follows: *flik*, f. 1, kjortel (Härj, Dalarne); 2, 'kläde om halsen, halsduk' (Härj.); 3,

<sup>1</sup> Which were placed at my disposal during a stay in Lund through the kindness of Dr. Otto Hoppe, Revising Editor of the Dictionary.

'ficka pa en rock' (Västerg. Smål.); *fika*, vb. 'spänne ut, böja sig ut' (Kalmar); *fika* av, 'hastigt afkläda', *fika skjortan af någon*, *fika kläderna af sig* (Finland). It would seem that also *fik*, f. 'lättsinnig fika', Kalmar belongs here, as the original short-vowel form would rather have given *flek* in this dialect.

As to whether any of the *e*-vowel forms represent original *ei* is uncertain. *Fleka*, vb. 'smeka, klappa' (Värm.) may be so explained, and hence corresponds to N. d. *fleikja*, vb. 'föite, flane'. But as older *fika* would also appear as *feka* (long *e* by modn. lengthening), the phonological test is lacking. *Fläka* in *fläka av sig kläderna*, Dic. Sw. Acad. for 1728, may also belong here. If the spelling indicates the pronunciation *fläka* we should have a case of the change *e* > *ä* (see Kock, *Sv. Ljudh.* pp. 146-147), whereas older *e* (< *i*) should rather appear as *ē*.

Forms with original short vowel appear as follows: Söderwall<sup>1</sup> cites *fickra*, vb. 'ställa sig in, smickra', *flickrare*, 'smickrare' (*Konunga Styrilse*, 51, 60, 116); *fiker*, n. 'smicker', *med flickre fara*, *Kon. Styr.* 73; cp. Shetland *fiker* and Norw. d. *fikra* above. Dic. Sw. Acad. gives the word *fikrachtighet* for 1628, illustrating the use of the word by the following citation; *han vthi sitt Taal är betänckeligh och alffwarsam. Vthi gånga stadigh och longsam; Vthi klädebonad sparsam och måtteligh: Så at vthi alt thetta icke må finnas någhon flärd eller fikrachtighet* (L. Paulenius Gothus, Mon 269); the meaning is 'vanity, frivolity'. The more original concrete sense is illustrated in the following citation for the year 1671: *med rumpan flickrade han (hunden) moot wägg, Reyncke Foss*, p. 438, with suffixal *r* in iterative function; cp. Eng. *flicker*. East Norw. *fika*, vb. 'vrikke med kroppen,' cited above, is to be compared also; it may be observed in this connection that derived forms in *-r* are especially numerous in Swedish dialects, something that is already illustrated by the cited derived forms of the morpheme *fik*. The consonant group *kr* would preserve the brevity of the preceding short

<sup>1</sup> *Ordbok öfver svenska medeltidsspråket.*

vowel and the combination *ikkr* would arise; and the ablaut relation *ik*: *ikk*.

Sw. *flickra* was formed in Old Swedish times on the basis of the stem *flik*, originally as an intransitive verb which later also came to be used transitively, just as formations in *-a* or *-ja*, which were formed principally from the long syllable stems (original *ī* or *eī*), might assume intransitive function. The modn. dial. form of the word is *flikkär*. vb. 'gäckas, göra narr af' (Jemtland). The corresponding noun in the same dialect is given by Rietz as *flekker*, n. 'gäckeri, gyckel, upptåg, skämt'. The immediate antecedents of the latter are *fleker* < *fliker*, with lowering *i* > *e* in open syllable, a change that was prevented in *flickra*. The form of the noun in northern Swedish dialects, *flikker*, 'gyckel, skämt' (Medelpad, Ångermanland), 'smicker' (Hälsingl.), is explainable by the fact that in these dialects original short *i* in open syllable remains; see Hesselman, *Sveamålen*, 19, *Flekja*, 'girl' (Smål. d.) seems to belong here, unless we are to assume original *e* < *ei*, in which case it is to be paralleled with Norw. d. *fleikja*, see above. Variant forms of *flekja* in the same dialect are: *flekka*, and *flekkesa*, both apparently meaning 'girl', are not used with derogatory signification; cp., however, *fläka*, 'lättsinnigt fruntimmer, som vill vara grann och går barhalsad' (Småland). *Flekkesa* is evidently a comparatively recent diminutive of *flekka*. With *flekka* and *fläka* cp. *vekka*, beside *veka*, and compounds, *vekko-dag*, *vekko-räkning*, *lort-vekka*, and *vekka*, 'vicka, guppa, springa vaggande som ett barn', *vekker*, and *vikker*, 'litet barn' with *veka*, O. Sw. *vika*, *vikja*.

With these personal nouns is to be grouped also early mdn. Sw. *flik*, 'girl', cited for 1652 in Dic. Sw. Acad.; *spittelske flik och dreng och til proof visitation i Yomala* (Murenus *Acta visit*, 249). The corresponding verb and the derived meanings will be discussed below. In *flik*, f. the stem of the verb (*flika*, *flikja*), has been employed with reference to persons as a descriptive noun, at first without the symbol of gender *-a*. In *flekja* and *flekka* the stem has gotten the feminine suffix attached to it. Cp. further O. Ic. *flik*, f. from the long-vowel form, and No. d. *flekkja*, vb. and *flætkj*, f. 'en som haangriner ad alt', variant *flekkja*, f. See further below.

Finally, lit. Sw. *flicka*, 'girl', also clearly belongs here. I shall first summarise earlier expressions with regard to the origin of this word. Tamm *Sv. Etym. Ordb.* says: *av osäkert ursprung; näppeligen bildat av ett gammalt svenskt \*flydh* = isl. *fljóð*, n. 'kvinna, viv', *troligen icke håller, aldenstund redan* Lex. Linc. 1640, *har flicka utan spår till j, att förklara av ett äldre \*flickia, som skulle bero på lt. flitje, 'ung flicka' (t. 'Backfisch'), 'grannt utstyrt, lätt fruntimmer'*. He thereupon suggests as a possible explanation the L. G. *flicke*, borrowed in the meaning 'stycke, lapp', used as a term of endearment and therefore formed like Sw. *stumpa*, 'little girl'.

Tamm's citations of the Icelandic *fljóð* in connection with *flicka* was perhaps suggested by Ihre's derivation, *Glossarium Sviogothicum*, p. 499; Ihre regarded *flicka* as a diminutive of *fljóð* with consonantal assimilation of *ðk* to *kk*. In this explanation of *flicka* from a stem with a dental Ihre is followed by Rietz, *Sv. Dial. Lex.* p. 147, in the article on the dialectal *flikja*, 'girl'. To this derivation Sophus Bugge objected that we have no evidence that *fljóð* was ever used in Swedish or Danish (*Arkiv*, IV, 118). The second possible source which Tamm mentions, but also waives, namely that *flicka* may be from L. G. *flitje*, was first offered by Rydqvist, *Svenska Språkets Lagar*, III, 277. Rydqvist was led to look for a foreign source for the word by reason of the absence of the word in early Swedish, it not being found in the oldest Swedish dictionary of 1587; he was also influenced by the fact that *flicka* was especially characteristic of the capital and the dialect of the surrounding region and limited in its occurrence in genuine dialect speech. But both Munch, in *Det norske Folks Historie, fjerde Del*, II, 601, and Erik Brate later turned to native material in the attempt to account for the origin of the word. Munch derived *flicka* from *fylgjukona*, 'concubine', assuming unrounding of the vowel and metathesis, a change that he found paralleled in the Norwegian place name *Flikkshaug* from *Fylkishaugh* (in Vestre Toten). Both on formal and semological accounts this derivation is unsatisfactory. Brate would refer *flicka* to O. Sw. *flyð-kona* (= O.

N. *fljóð-kona*) through the intermediate *flykka*<sup>1</sup> (*Äldre Vestmannalagens ljuddlära*, 21). But Sophus Bugge's exception is well taken that the compound *fljóðkona* is Old Icelandic and poetic, we cannot assume that it was used in Sweden; we cannot assume that it belonged to every-day prose even in Iceland. (See the word in Fritzner and Hægstad-Torp).

I believe that *flicka*, 'girl', has its source in the native stem *flik* and that it has been formed as similar personal nouns have been formed in considerable number elsewhere in Scandinavian speech. Semologically the word falls in a group of personal nouns that exhibit similar phenomena of meaning development, as will be shown below. Formally the word *flicka* would seem to be a regular development, or at any rate a characteristic development, in the dialect of Uppland. Rydqvist was right when he said that *flicka* belonged especially to Stockholm and the dialects thereabouts, even though the word does not seem to be so limited in its distribution elsewhere as he assumed (see the word in its various forms in Rietz). Hesselman has shown in his *Sveamålen och de svenska Dialekternas Inddelning*, p. 19, that original short *i* in open stressed syllable has not changed to a more open syllable in the dialect of Uppland if the following syllable had *i* or *u* originally; hence here the regular equivalent of O. Sw. *vika*, oblique case *vikū*, is *vikku*. Hesselman also shows, *Sveamålen*, p. 36, that Uppland Swedish agrees with Northern Swedish dialects in that the consonant (not the vowel as usually in Sw. d.) is lengthened in originally short syllable in certain cases, and he cites *bek* > *bekk* as representative of the northern pronunciation. Kock, *Sv. Ljudh*, §§ 32-37, offers significant material illustrative of the operation of the law *i* > *e* in open syllable in early Swedish; we find that it operates variously in different localities and that it fails to operate in certain words. We also find that by the influence of analogy *e*-vowel forms exist side by side as also short-consonant forms and long-consonant forms. The word *veckā*, 'week' is a case

<sup>1</sup> Similar reduction of *kona* > *ka*, when the word appears as the second element in a compound, is found in e. g. the Swedish dialect word: *bilka*, 'aunt', < *bilkna* < *bilkona*. (Rietz). See also Hellquist: *Den nordiska Nominalbildningen*, p. 65.

in point. Koek cites the form *ricka* *ricka*. Svart Krön, 13, 31: *ricka*. Rims II. 60: Tegner *ricka* sometimes<sup>1</sup> which he accounts for as a case of lengthening of the *k*, before the *i* became *e*, partly in compounds like *rikshögskola*, partly in compounds like *djumblicka* and from these the form *ricka* arose. It is quite possible that *flicka* is in part due to its occurrence in such compounds: it is just the kind of a word that must frequently have entered into compounds both as first and second element. Cp. *Lipareflicka*. Vårjö D. K. Arkiv. 225, year 1676, and modn. Sw. . . . . *småflicker*, *flickslyna*, *flickslänga*, *flicktassa*, etc. But for the dialect of Uppland the long consonant does not constitute an irregularity: we should expect *flekka* and *flikku* (see above), and, assuming that these two forms existed, *flikku* established itself as *rikku* by the preponderance of the oblique case form over the nominative, and partly through the preponderance of the *i*-vowel in the whole group of words. Sw. *flicka*, I believe, goes back to the verbal stem *flick* from which was formed the descriptive personal noun *flika*, by the side of which there was the variant *flikja*; on the meaning of these derivatives see below. The word goes back at least to the 16th century, the earliest citation for it in Dic. Sw. Acad. is for 1591. It came into High Swedish from the Uppland dialect. The final vowel *-a* of *flicka* established itself over against the *-u* of *flikku* by the influence of the tendency of personal substantives of the feminine gender regularly to assume the ending *-a* as the symbol of gender.

4. Danish Occurrences: There is O. Dan. *flike*, n. 'et afhugget stykke' (Kalkar), mdn. Dan. *flig*, 'lap, hjørne, den yderste spids; stykke af et klædebon'; Jutland d. *flig*, 'den yderste spids af noget'. Vowel and consonant of *flæg*, n. 1, sladder, 2, driver, 'et doven person', (Jutland), suggest the vowel *ē* originally. The corresponding verb *flæge* is defined by Feilberg: 'ordet synes at indholde forestillingen om noget der gøres ligegyldigt, dovent, uordentligt; go o flæg, være uordentlig i klæder, skabe sig som halvtosset; flæge', vb. (dial. of Darrum, Ribe), is further defined: to hang lose, flutter, as *klæderne flæger om ham saa aabent og løst*. Cp. Norw. d. *fleikja* above. Original short vowel + short consonant gives

the form *fleja*, vb. 'fika, sitta löst och nedhängande, t. ex. om en klädesflik eller qvinlig hufvudbonad' cited by Rietz for Skåne.<sup>1</sup> The noun *flej*, f. 'flik, klädesflik'. would seem to be from the verb *fleja*, and not the verb from *flej* as suggested by Rietz. The change *ig* > *ej*, *ige* > *eje* appears also in *fleijh*, c. 'patch' (Kok, *Det danske Folkesprog i Sønderjylland*, p. 92). The following derived forms in *-r* may be noted: *flegre*, vb. 'smigre, sledske for en', *flegre*, 'smigrer' (Molbeck); *flegr*, *flægr*, adj. 'hykkelsk, falsk, sledsk'; *flægr*, vb. 'slynges frem og tilbage'.

In the above survey only the representatives of the original ablaut row have been included. The many suffixal derivatives and forms with secondary ablaut exhibiting most of the meaning developments of the primary stems as well as other derived meanings have not been considered.<sup>2</sup>

5. The basic meaning of the whole group of words that we are considering would seem to have been 'an opening, a gap;' from it all the other sememes that *flik* or derivatives exhibit should be capable of explanation. At the same time it will be clear that this need not have been the only or even perhaps the usual sememe associated with the morpheme *flik* in O. Scand. Of the point of departure of a new use of the word either in time or locality we can know very little. The morphemes in question may have had many meanings in Old Scand. times that have not been recorded in literature, and clearly also certain derived forms appearing only late in literature or only recorded by dialect investigators of today may have been in use a very long time. And yet it seems probable that the majority of the words in question belong distinctly to the modern dialects.

The meaning 'opening gap' is found in the following cases: Norw. d. *flik*, f. 'gabende saar', *flikja*, vb. 'gabe', *fleikja*,

<sup>1</sup>Original Danish territory and dialectically South Scandinavian (Danish) today.

<sup>2</sup>Anyone familiar at all with Norwegian and Swedish dialects will readily call to mind secondary formations of this sort. Illustrative material for Germanic has been collected in *A Semasiological Differentiation in Germanic Secondary Ablaut* by Leonard Bloomfield, Chicago, 1909.

vb. 'gæbe, bøje sig ud, staa noget aaben'; Dan. *flykke*, tr. vb. 'rive huden i stykker', Sw. *flik*, 'a cut, a bruise'. From this as the point of departure the meaning development might be in two directions; by way of the transitive vb. (cp. *flika*, 'skjære skiver af noget', No. d.) there took place a transference of the morpheme *flik* from the opening, gap, or cut, to that which was severed from the rest by the act of cutting; cp. mdn. Eng. 1, to cut, 2, 'a cut, a slit, a wound' and 3, a 'cut' of meat. Thus arose the group of words represented by O. N. *flikki*, 'a large piece of meat', O. N. *fleik*, 'segmentum', Norw. d. *flekkja*, 'skinke', O. Sw. *flikki*, O. Dan. *flykke*, 'a flitch of bacon', O. Dan. *flike*, 'et afhugget stykke'. Norw. d. *flika*, f. 'en af-skaaren skive', and vb. *flika*, 'skjære skiver af noget'.

The starting point of the second meaning development was the intransitive vb. *flika*, as represented in Norw. d. *fleikja*, 'staa noget aaben, bøje sig ud', and *flækje*, (var. *flikje*), 'være slap eller buget i kanten'. In this meaning the vb. came to be used: 1, of clothes worn open, loose, 'gabende' and 2, of doors that are standing partly open, ajar, e. g., N. d. *fliikjen*, adj. 'med aabne klæder' *flikje* and *flækje*, vb. 'om klæder og sko hvis kanter ikke rigtig slutte til' (Aasen); *kraagaan fleikje*, *døra fliikje ifraa*. With the sememe 'open, ajar', others as 'loose, flapping, dangling, slamming' easily come to associate themselves, as in Dan. *klæderne flæger om ham saa aabent og løst*, as N. d. *fleikja*, and the verbs that belong here mean both 'be open' and 'hang loose', or 'stand open' and 'be slamming', as the same word applied to a door. Then by a further transference the verb comes to mean 'move back and forth, flutter', and a verbal noun, 'the moving back and forth' and finally the descriptive noun 'that which moves back and forth, flutters, hangs loose' come into use. This stage in the meaning development is represented by the corresponding long-vowel noun in its most usual meaning, as O. N. *flik*, f. 'loose end of a garment', Sw. *flik*, 'lacinia', Dan. *flig*, 'den yderste spids af noget' etc. Then the noun is generalised to 'piece of a garment', (O. N. *flik* and *flika*, f., N. d. *flik*), or comes to be used of a particular garment, as Sw. d. *flik*, 'kjortel, halsduk', O. N. *flekka*, 'et slags klædningsstykke'. Or the gen-



eralisation is to 'piece, patch'; cp. Dan. *flæg*, 'piece of cloth', (also chip of wood), Dan. d. *fleij*, 'patch', N. d. *flikka*, f. 'lap paa sko', and finally to 'piece, portion', as the modn. Sw. *flik*. The verb *flika* would from the first be partly iterative in signification and this meaning might come to be emphasised, as Norw. d. *flika*, 'vrikke med kroppen', or more commonly with suffixal -r, which appears in a large group of dial. words as the suffixal symbol of iteration; cp. Norw. d. *flikra*, 'gjøre smaa bevægelser frem og tilbage', Shetland Norn *flikr*, 'være i urolig vimsende bevægelse', Sw. *hunden flickrade med rumpan*, cit. from year 1671, etc.

Now the vb. *flika*, in the sense of 'moving back and forth', said of the garment, might come to be used of the person so wearing his garments, as in Norw. d. *gaa flikjen* and *flikja*, 'walk with open, fluttering clothes', *fleikja*, 'gaa med gabende klæder', from which arises then the personal noun *flik*, 'one who goes about with open, fluttering clothes'. It is in this neutral meaning that we must look for the source of a considerable number of such descriptive personal nouns. In the majority of cases such nouns will be either endearing or derogatory in meaning. That is a part of their original signification; they were used first either as terms of endearment, or to express disapproval of some personal characteristic. As a term of endearment the word might be coined by the lover; but probably in the majority of cases personal nouns with endearing meaning were originally applied to the child. And in so far as such endearing epithets were formed from some verb they were descriptive of the characteristic acts or ways of the child (children). This is the origin of such Swedish words for child as: *dikk*, m. 'barn som springer fram och tillbaka' from vb. *dikka*, 'löpa efter'; *kutte*, m. 'liten gosse', *kytta*, f. 'liten flicka', from vb. *kuta*, 'springa'; *larv*, m. 'litet barn', *larva*, f. 'liten flicka om två eller tre års alder' from *larva*, vb. 'springa smått och illa'; *pallta*, f. 'liten stultande flicka', from *pallta*, 'gå ich stullta såsom ett litet barn'; *strutt*, m. 'liten gosse', *strutta*, f. 'liten flicka', from *strutta*, 'hoppa omkring'; *trant*, m. 'liten pojke', from *tranta*, 'småspringa.' Here belongs also Sw. *flicka*, 'girl', which as all the evidence indi-

cates, was originally used in the sense 'little girl'. A corresponding morpheme and sememe in Norw. d. appears in *flikja*, f. 'a girl who goes about with open fluttering clothes', but is used for the adult girl and has suffered degeneration in meaning. It may be that *flikja* in this Norw. dialect, was originally so used. The meanings of most of the nouns formed from *flik* are derogatory in signification and have therefore originally been used of grown persons. Sw. *flicka*, however, has purely a good meaning; it represents a transference of meaning from 'little girl' to 'young girl' and lastly to 'girl' in a purely good sense, a development which was made possible by the fact that the word was no longer associated with the words of the group that had derogatory sense. The extension in meaning to include also 'grown girl' took place early, and the derogatory sense is evidenced now and then in the citations of the word in the Dic. Sw. Acad. In time *flicka* entirely displaced the older word *piga*.

But the verb *fika*, 'walk about in open, loose or fluttering garments', and *fik* or *fika*, as the corresponding personal noun, might very easily deteriorate in meaning; the change was brought about in part by the influence of other verbs and characterizing nouns of the same group which already had acquired or were acquiring derogatory sense; cp. for example, Sw. d. *fika*, f. 'lättsinnigt fruntimmer, som vill vara grann och går barhalsad'. The various sememes that operated toward this result were: 'to walk back and forth', 'go about aimlessly, wander', 'go about for the sake of displaying one's finery', 'go gadding about', etc., cp.: N. d. *fleikja*, vb. 'go gadding about, dilt': *fike*, var. *flikje*, *flikju*, f. and *fleikja*, f. 'a giddy girl, a coquette': N. d. *flekkja*, '1, fare høit og lavt, 2, føite': Dan. *flegger*, m. 'person som sladder', *flæg*, 'sladder' (Jutland). Here *fika*, has gone exactly the way of Dan. Norw. *flanz*, which is defined in *Dansk Vid. Ordb.*: 'en person som er ustadig, taabelig og fremfusende i sin adfærd; men bruges almindeligst om et fruntimmer, som i liden, tale og færsel, eller klædedragt viser sig altfor fræk og fløjtelig'.

Another development is represented especially by a Dan-

ish group of words. *Flege*, said of clothes hanging open and loose about one, also comes to mean 'være uordentlig i klæder'. Cp. from the same dialect (Jutland) the derivatives *flæg*, m. 'en doven person', and *flæge*, f. 'en dvask kvinde', which are derived from the vb. *flæge*, of whose meaning Fellberg says: *ordet synes at indholde forestillingen om noget der gøres ligegyldigt, dovent, uordentligt*. The vb. *flæge* thus combines in it the two sememes 'slovenly' and 'lazy', the latter having become associated with the former in the use of the word; in the noun the latter meaning has been emphasised.

In the cases discussed the verbs are intransitive. But a verb meaning 'hang loose', might easily develop transitive use in the sense 'throw' (cp. swing). Only in one dialect do we seem to have a certain example of this, namely in Nyland in Finland, as *flika*, undress hastily, e. g. *flika kläderna af sej*, *flika skjortan av någon med hast* (Rietz). We evidently have the same vb. in the form *fläka* (*fläkte kläderna af sig*) cited in *Dic. Sw. Acad.* for the year 1758. Cp. further, however, below.

We shall now note some other developments of the sememe 'aaben, gabende'. The point of departure is the act of opening the mouth, as 1), in laughing or grinning or, 2), in the act of eating. From the first of these uses have developed a very large number of derivatives. There is first N. d. *flika*, vb. 'grine', *flekkjful*, adj. 'given to mocking', *flekkj*, n. 'grinen, haanan', *fletkj*, m. one who mocks. Then we have the meanings 'jesting, bantering, mocking' (cp. the similar development in the verb *gapa* in Norw. d. e. g., *gapa*, vb. ject, talk nonsense, *gap*, m. one who banters, talks silly nonsense). The words are: *flækje*, vb. 'fjase, gantes', *flekkj*, m. 'haanende spas', *gjaaroo flætkj*, 'make fun of', *fletkj*, m. one who mocks at everything, Sw. d. *flättja*, 'dårskap, onödigt tal', *flickär*, vb. 'gäckas, göra narr af', *flikker*, n. 'gäckeri'. The adj. *fläka-blü*, N. d. 'smidskeblid', given to saying pleasantries, already contains a new derived sememe: 'flattering', which appears especially in Swedish and Danish words, but is present in N. d. *flikabikkja*, m. 'særlig om den som indynder sig hos husbonden ved at sladdre paa medtjenere' (Ross). This is found in O. Sw. *flickra*, vb. 'smickra' and derived forms, see above p. 6.

Dan. d. *flegger*, m. 'flatterer', and derivatives, N. d. *fleka*, vb. ingratiate oneself, flatter, Sw. d. *fikker*, n. 'smicker'. From 'flatter' and 'ingratiate oneself' follows the use of the words in the meanings 'coax, wheedle, entice, caress', as in Sw. d. *fleka*, 'smeka', N. d. vb. do. *flekkjar*, m. 'sledsker', *flekkja*, f. 'mandfolk som er for familiær med kvindfolk'; *flikast*, res. vb. 'kjæles'; *flegg*, m. 'en nærgaaende person'. The last stage in the process of degeneration in meaning is illustrated by: *flækja*, f. 'kaad og uvorren kvinde'; Sw. d. *flik*, f. 'lättsinnig flicka'; N. d. *fleikja*, f. 'flane'; *flikju*, f. 'forfløien kvinde'; Icel. *flik*, f. 'mulier impudica'. With the group of formations we have just considered belongs also *flijk*, vb. 'slarfva, slubber' as applied to slovenly manner of eating or drinking, the point of departure being the keeping the mouth open in the act of eating.

Finally there is a group of words represented by *flekkja*, f. 'a fast worker' (Southw. Norway), which would not seem to have any direct connection with any of the meanings we have considered. Cp., however, Icel. *flíka*, 'negligenter tractare', and Sw. d. *flíka kläderna af sig*. The original meaning of the vb. is, therefore, 'to move rapidly', and as a transitive, 'to tear something off' or 'throw something about one rapidly'. This sense we find in N. d. *flekkja*, vb. 'drive stærkt paa, rive arbeidet fra sig', whence the personal noun *flekkja*, f., 'en rivar, rask arbeider'.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

A CONJECTURE AS TO THOMAS HEYWOOD'S  
FAMILY

"of what parents you proceede  
I am meereley ignorant".

"Then am I nothing,  
And till I know whence my descent hath bene,  
Or from what house deriv'd, I am but aire,  
And no essentiall substance of a man".

*The Golden Age.* (*Works*, III, 43.)

Thomas Heywood twice indirectly states, if we interpret the word *country* in the sense, so common with him as with his contemporaries, of *county*, that he was a native of Lincolnshire. In verses prefixed to a volume of heraldic and genealogical lore, *The Union of Honour*, by James Yorke, a Lincoln blacksmith, Heywood addresses the author as "my Friend and Country-man"; and among the miscellaneous poems gathered into Heywood's *Pleasant Dialogues and Drammas* is *A Funerall Elegie upon the death of the thrice noble Gentleman Sir George Saint Poole of Lincolne-shire my Country-man*.

Heywood makes two other like allusions where the county is not named. In his *Gunaikeion* (pp. 262-3) he tells, with much relish, how a wilful suitor was rebuffed by a witty wench, "a faire young gentlewoman, a countrey woman of mine"; and in the dedication, addressed to Sir Henry Appleton, of *The English Traveller*, he speaks gratefully of "your friend, and my countreyman, Sir William Elvish".

Lincolnshire has a distinguished group of local antiquarians, but none of those to whom my inquiries went had any knowledge of Heywood as a son of the county, nor could discover, although several of them made skilled investigations, any trace or record of him there. The Probate Registry shows that there were Heywoods of humble station in Elizabethan Lincolnshire, but there was apparently no landed family of dignity and continuance, as the *Visitations* of the county do not contain a Heywood pedigree. I am indebted to the Rev. H. O. Massingberd of Ormsby Rectory, Alford, for a pedigree

from the *Visitation of Lincolnshire*, 1634, at the Heralds' Office. The pedigree stands:

Sir Edward Tirwhitt of Stainfield, knt. & bart.	Faith, dau. to Sir Thomas St. Paule, & sister & heir to Sir George St. Paule.
Sir Philip Tirwhitt, bart. (alive in 1634).	Martha, wife to Sir William Ellwis.

This pedigree, although we must bear in mind the uncertainty of the names, suggests a connection by marriage between the subject of Heywood's elegy, Sir George St. Poole, there celebrated for bounty and hospitality as well as for other virtues, and the kindly friend who encouraged Heywood to write, Sir William Elvish. It adds a shade of confirmation to the impression given by Heywood's works that he came of a family accustomed to gentle association. The St. Pooles had been a leading house in Lincolnshire throughout the sixteenth century, but Sir George St. Poole, who was created a baronet in 1611 and died in 1614 without children, was the last of his line.

Sir Henry Appleton was of Essex (see *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, Nov. 18, 1623; also May 10, 1637), but apparently his son, Sir Henry Appleton, married for his first wife a Lincolnshire lady, "Sarah, daughter of Sir Thomas Oldfield of Spalding, Lincolnshire". (Burke's *Extinct Baronetcies*.) In dedicating *The English Traveller*, published in 1633, to Sir Henry Appleton, Heywood says: "For many reasons I am induced, to present this Poem, to your favourable acceptance; and not the least that alternate Love, and those frequent curtesies which interchangeably past, betwixt your selfe and that good old Gentleman, mine unkle (Master *Edmund Heywood*) whom you pleased to grace by the title of Father".

The will of "Edmond Heywood of the parish of Christchurch London gentleman" is preserved at Somerset House. It was made October 7, 1624, and proved February 1, 1626, by his only child, "Anne Wright, widow", and William Screven. It states that the testator, evidently a citizen of substance, had passed most of his life in the office of the Exche-

quer, and asks that the body be buried in Christ Church,—which apparently was not done, as the name is not in the registers. The will, by its bequest to “Thomas Heywoode and his wief”, establishes the fact of Heywood’s marriage. It mentions Sir Henry Appleton twice and is of special interest for its kindly, religious temper, so like Heywood’s own, and for its tender indulgence of even the whims and crotchets of the bedridden old wife, whom, since she “is now unfitt to take care of the things of this world”, the will places in charge of her daughter. This very human document reads as follows :

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN

the Seaventh daie of October in the yeare of our lord god One thousande six hundred Twentie and fower And in the yeare of the Raigne of our soveraigne Lord Kinge James of England France and Ireland the two and twentieth And of Scotland the eight and fiftieth I Edmond Heywood of the parish of Christchurch London gentleman beinge of good and perfect mynde and memorie laude and praise therefore be given to allmightie god Neverthelesse consideringe with my self that all flesh is mortall and must die, and that nothinge is more certaine then death, and yett nothinge more uncertaine then the hower and time thereof I doe therefore make and declare this my last will and testament in manner and forme followinge That is to saie First and principallie I comende my soule to Allmightie god my Creator and to Jesus Christ my onelie Savior and Redeemer, By whose merritts, and by whose moste precious death and passion I onlie trust and Assuredlie beleewe to be saved and to be made partaker of the kingdome of Heaven with the Elect Children of god. And my bodie I comende to the Earth from whence it came and to be buried in the parish church of Christ-church at the discretion of my Executors hereunder named. Item I will that all my debts, which I shall trulie owe at the time of my decease to anie person or persons shalbe first paide and satisfied as the same are or shalbe due to be paide, Also I doe further will that if I have or shall have received at the time of my decease anie money of my Client for business to be

donne and have not performed the same, but in conscience I ought to have donne and performed it that then I desire my lovinge and kinde friende Mr. William Screven beinge one of my Executors that he will undertake the performance thereof for whose care in that behalf I will he shall have a Ringe of gould of Thirtye Shillings price to weare for my sake, Alsoe I give to the poore of the parish of Christchurch The some of Sixe poundes to be disposed of in this sorte that is to saie, three poundes thereof in Bread on the daie of my funeralle and the other three poundes in bread alsoe on the feast of the Nativitie of our lord then next followinge by the churchwardens of the saide parish for the time beinge Alsoe I give to the poore Children harboured in Christes Hospitall the some of three poundes. Item I give to Sir Henrie Apleton knight and Barronett a Ringe of gould of Thirtie Shillings price or soe much in gould. Alsoe I give to my cosen Hudson and to his wife each of them a Ringe of gould of twentie shillings price, and to Mr. Christopher Hudson and his wife the like legacies. Item I give to each of my god children which shalbe livinge at the time of my decease, three shillings fower pence to make each of them a feomall Ringe to weare for my sake. Alsoe I give to Mr. Doctor Daniell Price deane of Hereford a Ring of gould of Twentie Shillings price and to his wief a Ring of gould of Thirteene Shillings fower pence price. Item I give to Master Doctor Sampson Price a Ringe of gould of twentie shillings price, and to his wief a ringe of gould of Thirteene Shillings fower pence price. Likewise I give to my cosen Henrye Pearson a ring of gould of Twentie Shillings price, and to my cosen Fairebrother his sister Thirteene shillings fower pence to make her a Ringe—Item I give to John Hooke and his wief, Edward Sanders and his wief each of them a Ringe of gould of Twentie shillings price, or soe much in gould. further I give to Thomas Heywoode and his wief, William Heywoode and his wief / each of them Twentie shillings in goulde and to the saide William Heywoode one of my ould Cloakes, a suite of ould apparell and a hatt suche as my Executors shall thinke fittinge. Item I give to my cosen Fawcett and his wief



each of them a Ringe of gould of twentie Shillings, and to him a mourninge Cloake, and to her a mourninge stuffe Gowne. Likewise I give to my daughter my Ring which the ladie Birde gave me to weare for a Remembrance of her husband Sir William Birde and to my daughter a mourninge Gowne. And further I give to Anne Wright my Grandchild my best standinge Cupp and cover. Alsoe I give to Heywoode Wrighte my god-sonne and Grandchild my second standinge Cupp and cover, And to Henrie Wright my Grandchild my thirde standing Cupp and cover. And to Marie Wright my Grandchild my best Salt and a little white silver Cupp, and to Elizabeth Wrighte my lesser salt which I use dailie, and twoe little guilt wyne Cupps, and to Martha Wright my Grandchild two little lowe guilt Cupps, and a dozen of silver spoones. Item I give to my saide daughter the rest of my plate and all my goodes and Chattells which I have (videl) the Lease of my house wherein I dwell, And the lease of the George at Warwick-lane-ende, And the lease of the houses at Pye Corner which I boughte of the Executors of Mr. Kirke—Item I give to the right noble the Ladie Hamfert fourtie shillings in gould to make her a Ringe if she be livinge at the time of my decease Item I give to my Clerks that shalbe dwellinge with me at the time of my Decease each of them a mourninge cloake and each of them a Ringe of gould of tenne shillings price And I give to each of my maide servants that shall be dwellinge with me at the time of my Decease a mourninge gowne of stuffe, And moreover I give to Susan Franklin if she be dwellinge with me at the time of my Decease the some of ten pounds to be paide to her at the daie of her marriage Item I give to Mr. William Sutton and his wief each of them a Ringe of gould of five shillinges a peece. Item my will and meaninge is that my saide grandchild Anne Wright shall have the benefitt of the Sheepe which Sir Henry Apleton hath in keepinge the number of them I know not but I am fullie assured he will doe all righte. And alsoe that she shall have the XXVI lb. which is in my handes, and came of the benefitt of the saide Sheepe, and which I have allreadie received of the saide Sir Henrie Appleton, over and above the legacye and portion lymitted unto her by this my will, which portion

over and above her former legacye, and the said sixe and twentie pounds, and the other benefitt of the saide sheepe, my will and meaning is shalbe of my guift the some of Two Hundred poundes to be paide unto her at the daie of her marriage if and in case she marry with the likinge and consent of her mother. But if she marrye without the likinge and consent of her mother and best frendes, Then my mynde is that she shall have noo benefitt at all of my saide guift, And whereas my intent and meaninge was to have given and left to Magdalen my wellbeloved wief, with whom I have by the goodness of god lived a long time the greatest part of myne estate for her maintenance during her lief, and to have beene disposed of by her after her death But consideringe howe it hath pleased god to vissit her longe with lamenes whereby and by reason of her other weaknes and imperfections which comonlie doth attende auld age she is nowe unfitt to take care of the thinges of this world I thought it better to dispose of these Temporall blessings with which god hath indued me; accordinge as it is declared in this my will And to leave my saide wief to the care of her naturall and onlie child then to expose her and my substance to strangers that maie happen to regarde it more then her, Neavertheles my will and meaninge is, And I doe give and bequeath unto my saide wief the some of fiftie poundes to be paide unto her within one quarter of a yeare after my Decease together with all her wearinge apparell and her hatt bande set with goulde buttons and her ringe to be disposed of as she shall think good, And for her further and better maintenance I doe will charge and commande my saide daughter that she shall provide for, keepe and maintaine my saide wief in such good sorte manner and fashion with meate drinke fireinge apparrell and all other necessaries as is fitt and necessarie for her duringe her lief, And that shee shall contynue in the house duringe her lief where we nowe dwell / And she shall provide and keepe for her a woman accordinge to her owne likinge to attende her contynuallie, besides a maide servante to help to lifte her to and fro, And this I charge her trulie and honestlie to performe accordynge to my will as she will answeare it before god at the dreadfull daie of Judgment when the secretts of

all harts shalbe disclosed. And whereas I have made choice of, and doe intreate the aforementioned Mr. William Screven beinge my verie lovinge frende and kinde neighbour to take upon him together with my saide daughter the Execution of this my last will for as much as I am assured that he doth not nor will not expect benefitt by this his Executorship, soe that it wilbe onelie a trouble unto him. Therefore out of my love towards him I further give him the some of five poundes and a mourninge Cloake, and unto his wief a Ringe of gould of Thirteene Shillings fower pence price. Alsoe I give unto the right noble Sir John Osborne knighte Treasurer, Remembrancer of the Exchequer in which office I lived and spent moste of my daies a Ring of gould of Fortie shillings price intreatinge him to accepte of it Item I give to Alice Stoddard wief of Anthonye Stoddard a Ringe of gould of Thirteene shillings fower pence price, And to Grace Revell a Ringe of gould of Thirteene Shillings fower pence price And to Sarah Houghton a Ringe of Thirteene Shillings fower pence price. Item I doe forgive Oliver Houghton the some of eight and thirtie Shillings which he owes me Item I give to the saide Anthonie Stoddard a Ringe of gould of Thirteene Shillings fower pence price and one of my cloakes. And nowe of this my last Will and Testament—Revokinge hereby all former wills I doe make and Ordaine the saide Master Screven, and my daughter Wright my Executors—Provided allwaies and my true intent Will and meaninge is, that all my debts and all the legacies hereby by me given and bequeathed shalbe raised and paide out of myne owne personall estate sould by my Executors for the performance thereof, Notwithstandinge anie guift or bequest of that lease or of anie other of my goodes or chattells before made unto my saide daughter in this my Will. In wittnes whereof I have hereunto sett my hande and seale the daie and yeare first above written, Per me Edmund Heywood, Sealed Subscribed published and delivered as my last Will and Testament in the presence of Walt. Leigh, David Buckle.

Only in case of a few persons whose names occur in the above testament are wills to be found at Somerset House, and no one of these sheds any light on the Heywoods.

A number of Heywood wills of the period I have searched, but without result. In these the names Thomas Heywood, Edmund Heywood, William Heywood, John Heywood, Anne Heywood, are only too common. There was an ancient family of Heywood Hall, between Rockdale and Bury in Lancashire, seated there from the time of Edward I. It produced a poet, Robert Heywood, who died in 1645. It is supposed that from a younger branch—the pedigree is incomplete—descended the non-conformist Heywoods of Yorkshire. One of these, Dr. Oliver Heywood, son of Richard Heywood who died about 1676, was a preacher and theologian of some note. Of this branch was Peter Heywood, justice of peace at Westminster, who was slain by a recusant in 1640. (*Hist. MSS. Commission; Report of Manuscripts in Various Collections*, vol. II, p. 260.) Another well-known Heywood, or Haywood, contemporary with the dramatist, was the royalist divine, Dr. William Heywood, who rose rapidly in the church, becoming one of Laud's domestic chaplains, chaplain in ordinary to Charles I and prebendary of St. Paul's. This is the "Master Heywood" who, representing "my Lord of Canterbury", from 1631 on into 1637 occasionally appears in the Stationers' Registers as licensing for publication books of religious or learned character, and was mistaken by Fleay (*English Drama*, 1, 282) for a master stationer who might, Fleay thought, be identified with the dramatist.

What knowledge we have of Thomas Heywood does not indicate kinship with any of these. It is natural to wish that his ancestry might be traced back to that "trusty and well-beloved clerke Maistre Thomas Heywode Dean of the Cathedrall church of Lychefeld" in the reign of Edward IV. I am indebted to Miss Cora L. Scofield for note of various mentions of this worthy in the *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Signed Bills, and Warrants for Issues*; and Lichfield still remembers its old cathedral bell which Cromwell's men demolished,—the bell called *Jesus* and inscribed with the legend:

"I am the bell of Jesus, and Edward is our king;  
Sir Thomas Heywood first caused me to ring".

But although there is little chance of establishing connection there, it does not seem too much to hope that an expert in such research may yet definitely determine whether or no Thomas Heywood the playwright was related to the earlier John Heywood, maker of interludes. It has been often stated that there could not be kinship between them on the double ground that John Heywood, whose two sons, Jasper and Ellis, became Jesuit fathers, was a firm Romanist, fleeing England on Elizabeth's accession, while Thomas Heywood was a Protestant; and that John Heywood held lands in Kent, whereas Thomas Heywood was of Lincolnshire. As to the first of these reasons, a change in creed would be amply accounted for by the changes in the times. Thomas Heywood was as devout in the new faith of his day as was John Heywood in that of the mother-church, both men being exceptionally earnest in religion, but it should be noted that Thomas Heywood's great patron, the Earl of Worcester, was a Catholic. The second reason would vanish if some more fortunate investigator should be able to establish what can be yet only a conjecture,—that Thomas Heywood was the grandson of one Richard Heywood, a London barrister, who held manors both in Kent and Lincolnshire. The next step would be to show relationship between John Heywood, who married a niece or grandniece of Sir Thomas More (cf. Farmer: Facsimile of Heywood's *Play of Love*, p. VI, with Bang: *John Heywood und sein Kreis*, Englische Studien, Bd. 38, p. 234, foot-note) and Richard Heywood, who is mentioned in Roper's *Life of More* (in some editions of which the name is misprinted *Chaywood*) as one of the gentlemen "of good credit" present at More's arraignment and reporting the proceedings to the family. William Roper the biographer, More's son-in-law, who held property both at Eltham in Kent and in St. Dunstan's parish, Canterbury, was associated with Richard Heywood in legal practice. Richard Heywood's four sons were Christopher, John, Edmund, and Thomas, all More or Roper names. Richard Heywood's will, of which I made a transcript at Somerset House, mentions three brothers, "William Heywoode of Stoke

in the countie of Essex", to whose widow he bequeathes forty shillings; "Sir Thomas Heywoode the parson", to whom he bequeathes twenty pounds; and John Heywoode, to whom he bequeathes "a ringe of gould of 40s and a black gowne". The will, not dated, was proved June 1, 1570, when John Heywood the Epigrammatist was apparently living at Malines. He is supposed to have been born about 1497, and Richard Heywood, admitted to Lincoln's Inn July 25, 1534, was probably not much younger. The Admission Book of Lincoln's Inn was most kindly searched for me by W. Blake Odgers, K. C., of the Temple, who writes: "It was a 'special admittance': that would mean that he was older than most, or had some special interest. And in two years, by Nov. 12, 1536, he is a Fellow of the House, i. e. a full member, a Barrister (with a clerk!), *not a Bench*er". Even if a Catholic fugitive could inherit under Elizabethan law, it seems unlikely that a "black gowne" would be sent to Belgium. My surmise would be, not that John Heywood of the interludes and Richard Heywood were brothers, but kinsmen by a more distant remove. Mr. Blake Odgers comments further upon the entries of which he sent copies: "Then two young Heywoods are admitted in 1557 and 1564, Stephen and John. \* \* \* I find one thing which suggests that your Richard was related to John, and *not* to Stephen. Richard shared chambers with William Rooper (see entry of 1567) \* \* \* and when John was admitted, a 'Thomas Rooper' went surety for his good behavior while a student". This was probably the eldest son of William Roper, who was himself a man of sixty-eight when John Heywood was admitted. William Roper was steadfast in the Catholic faith to the end of his life. It is significant that he was summoned before the Privy Council, July 8, 1568, on the charge of having relieved English Papists who had fled the country. It is a reasonable inference that Richard Heywood, who seems to have been counted among More's friends and who shared Roper's chambers, was himself in sympathy with the old religion.

In all mentions of the two barristers, including his own, Richard Heywood seems to hold the inferior position. Yet he kept his clerk, supervised wills, bought and sold real es-

tate, and lent money on mortgage, as in case of the valuable manor of Woolwich in Kent, which he thus acquired, in 1554, at what was alleged to be less than one third of its value. Perhaps it was by similar shrewd practice that he gained his three manors in Lincolnshire, besides considerable property in Sussex, Middlesex, and Salisbury. His interest in education is attested by the fact that he was one of the six original governors of Highgate Grammar School. His will, in phraseology so eminently legal a document that it covers six or seven folio pages, makes his second son John, to whom he especially leaves his law-books, his principal heir. He provides for a third son, Edmund, who is to be educated "at the universitie of oxforde or suche other conveniente places of learning"; and for a fourth son, Thomas, who is charged to mind his book and please his mother. The will also makes provision for an unmarried daughter, Anne, and remembers a married daughter, Mary Norden, wife of Edward Norden, gentleman. This fourth son, Thomas Heywood, cannot be the dramatist, for the dates are a little too early and, besides, he would lack an Uncle Edmund. If of this family at all, his father must have been Richard Heywood's eldest son, the disinherited Christopher, for Thomas was too young, and at John Heywood's death, presumably in 1605 or 1606, his eldest son, John Heywood, was but thirteen years old. (*Inquisition post mortem*, 3 James.)

Richard Heywood died May 2, 1570, his son Christopher being then "aged 30 years and more". (*Inquisition post mortem*, 14 Elizabeth.) By the exceedingly precise and elaborate provisions of the old lawyer's will, his manor of Woolwich in Kent, with its seven dwelling-houses, three barns, one dovecote, four gardens, four orchards and six hundred acres of arable land, pasture, marsh, wood and heath; his manor of Somercotes in Lincolnshire, with its cottage and one hundred acres of land; and his manor, called Uphall, in Little Carlton, Lincolnshire, with three hundred acres, were left, in addition to other property, to his widow, under certain conditions, for her lifetime, and after her death to John Heywood and his sons. Such descendants failing, Edmund and his sons

were to stand next in succession, then Thomas and his sons, then the sons of Richard Heywood's daughters and of his brother William and, in a last event, the "heires females" of his sons John, Edmund, and Thomas. The testator further appointed four trustees who were to take possession "ymediatelie" after his decease of his manor of Kelstern in Lincolnshire "and all other my landes and Tenements whatsoever they be accepted reputed and taken or knowne in part or parcell of the same manor, set lienge and beinge within the saide countie of Lincolne, To have and to hould the same unto them and their assignes duringe the lyfe of Xtofer Heywoode my sönne, and after the decease of the same Xtofer, The remaynder thereof unto John Heywoode my sonne to theires males of the bodie of the saide John lawfullie begottenn". But all the old barrister's pains went for naught. There was not scrivener's ink enough in Lincoln's Inn to set aside the rights of primogeniture. Christopher Heywood was recognized at the inquest as his father's nearest heir. Richard Heywood had not been eight months in his grave before his widow, Katharine, was doing her best to settle the manors on her intended husband, William Parry. John Heywood appealed to Chancery to uphold the will, but it was the "unthrift" Christopher who, within three years after his father's death, began to sell off Woolwich, which by the summer of 1580 had finally passed into the hands of a London mercer. (For detail see Drake's ed. of Hasted's *History of Kent*. Part I.) Eight years later John Heywood relinquished Kelstern, which should not, if his father's will had any validity in the matter, have come to him until after Christopher's death. The muniments of the manor may some time throw light on the proceedings thus briefly recorded: "At Westminster in the octaves of S. Hilary 30 Elizabeth Between Henry Clifford esquire and William Rodley plaintiffs and John Haywood esquire defendant of the manor of Kelstern with the appurtenances of 14 houses gardens &c in Kelstern and Ludford. J. Haywood acknowledges the right of Henry Clifford and William Rodley for £400". (*Feet of Fines, Lincoln, 30 Elizabeth, Hilary Term.*) The inquest held at Gaynesborough, Lincolnshire,



August 30, 1606, states that John Heywood at his death, whose date is not given, was possessed of Somercotes with its adjacent properties. Of the subsequent history of the Somercotes manor I have been able to learn nothing, nor have I found out when Uphall manor in Little Carlton passed from Heywood ownership.

With most of these Elizabethan dramatists, our only chance of finding the birth date is to follow Bess Bridges' advice and "goe search the Church-booke where they were christened"; but these church-books, many of them still in the form of parchment rolls thrust away in vestry chest or vicarage closet—where I saw one inviting its own destruction by keeping company with the cheese—are not always to be had. If the baptism of a Thomas Heywood, son of Christopher Heywood, were recorded anywhere in Lincolnshire, one would expect to find it in the parish registers of Kelstern or possibly of Carlton, but the extant Kelstern register dates from 1651, and the registers of North and South Carlton from 1653. The worn registers of North and South Somercotes, both dating from 1558, I examined, doubtfully noting the baptism of Elizabeth, daughter of John Heywood, in 1572.

Christopher Heywood is more distinctive than most of the Heywood names. When Richard Heywood's eldest son would have been about twenty-one, a "Christofer Heywodde" was committed by order of the Privy Council to the Fleet, with instructions to the warden that the prisoner be kept "in warde without conference with any untill he be examyned". (*Acts of the Privy Council*, April 13, 1559.) If this young offender were indeed the Christopher in question, the reason for his father's attempt to disinherit him would not be far to seek. The name occurs again, with a variant spelling of Heywood occasionally used in case of the dramatist even to his latest years, in the *Acts of the Privy Council*, August 2, 1586: "A letter to Sir Roger Woodhouse, William Rugge, Myles Hubberd and William Bleverhasset, esquires, to call before them one Phillip Lovell and Christopher Hayward and to require them to exhibite in wryting what they are able to alledg against eche other, sending unto them herewith the

articles exhibited unto their Lordships by Hayward against Lovell, who is to do the lyke against th' other before them, whereuppon they are to examine the substance and trothe of them on both sides, and to certifie the same unto their Lordships assone as they conveniently may''.

The Privy Council concerned itself, on July 24, 1597, with the debts of Anthony Key and Christopher Heywood, apparently London merchants. They owed five thousand pounds, representing to their creditors that they could not get back the money from their agents abroad, who had "ben put in trust by them theis fower yeares".

The conjecture that the rich old London lawyer, cautious in vain, and his prodigal heir, once familiar Cheapside figures "Whome Age hath worne out of all memorie"

were the progenitors of the dramatist, has a likelihood so appealing as to tempt one to ignore the lack of evidence that Christopher Heywood was ever husband and father. The thriving barrister of Lincoln's Inn, "Richard Heywood, gentleman", at home among the best of Kent, the Mores and the Ropers,—the keen buyer of real estate, who had rapidly rolled up a fortune to be as rapidly dissipated, the Governor of Highgate Grammar School, makes a fitting father for "Edmund Heywood, gentleman", in well-to-do retirement from the Exchequer office, intimate with at least two baronets. Such a position in life might naturally have come out of the opportunities open to the third son of a man of good social standing, with many business connections in London. And Edmund Heywood's nephew, the self-respecting player and learned writer, who had friends in the Inns of Court and who again and again expresses enthusiasm for the law, would be no incongruous grandson. It may be merely a coincidence that the parish registers of St. James, Clerkenwell, the London suburb where the dramatist dwelt during the latter part of his life and where he was buried August 16, 1641, record the burials, Oct. 31, 1608, of "Katherine Parry, widow", and March 25, 1650, of "Anne, d. of Richard Heywood", but these entries suggest a possibility that the widow of Richard Heywood, after the death of her second husband, was liv-

ing with her daughter Anne, perhaps only a little girl in 1570, near her grandson. The records also state that "Catharine d. of Jno Heywood" was buried June 20, 1648, and that "William Heywood householder" (see Edmund Heywood's will) was buried August 9, 1625.

Curiosity pauses, too, on one of Sir John Harington's *Epigrammes*, entitled:

OF OLD HAYWOODS SONNES

Old Haywoods sons did wax so wild and youthfull,  
It made their aged father sad and wrathfull.  
A friend one day, the elder did admonish  
With threats, as did his courage halfe astonish.  
How that except he would begin to thrive,  
His Sire of all his goods would him deprive.  
For whom, quoth he? Ev'n for your younger brother.  
Nay then, said he, no feare, if't be none other.  
My brother's worse then I, and till he mends,  
I know, my father no such wrong intends,  
Sith both are bad, to shew so partiall wrath,  
To give his younger unthrift that hee hath".

The several Heywood mentions in Sir John Harington's epigrams usually refer to "old pleasant Heywood" the Epigrammatist, and so may this, although it should be remembered that Harington was a student at Lincoln's Inn in the early eighties, just between the dates when Christopher Heywood sold off Woolwich, and John Heywood lost Kelstern. (Compare the epigram *Yong Haywoods answere to my Lord of Warwicke*.)

One of Thomas Heywood's friends, Henry Peacham, forms something like a link between him and the elder playmaker of his name, for Peacham says in *The Compleat Gentleman*, 1622 (Chapter 10, *Of Poetrie*): "In the time of *Edward* the sixth lived \* \* \* merrie John *Heywood*, who wrote his *Epigrammes*, as also Sir *Thomas More* his *Utopia*, in the parish wherein I was borne; where either of them dwelt and had faire possessions".

Of the many Heywood wills searched at Somerset House and in the Probate Registry of Lincoln, only one, apart from Richard Heywood's, could furnish the dramatist with both

his requisites of Lincolnshire birth and an Uncle Edmund. This is the will of a North Country clergyman, poor, devout, charitable, holding his few books precious. "Robert Heywoode clerk parson of Ashbye" made his will in sickness February 13, 1592-93. The bequests are picturesque,—“two ewes and twoe Lambes”, “the Quye with calfe”, “my newe freese coate”, “my graye ambling nagge”, “my Booke called the poore mans Librarye. and my gilded Testament”. He speaks of his “pore children”, grouping them all together with their mother, without naming them, as if they were all young—whereas the dramatist would have been of age in 1592—and leaves ten shillings to “my brother Edmond Heywoode”. This can hardly be Edmund Heywood of the Exchequer office, whose will, remembering as it does a wide circle of friends, mentions no name that occurs in Robert Heywood’s will. There was an Edmund Heywood of Barnoldby, a weaver, who made his will in 1612, leaving his loom and loom-gear, a heifer and forty shillings to his son Richard, twelve pence to his brother Thomas of Barnoldby and the same amount to “John Hawood” of Grimsby, whose father was apparently one James Heywood of Hatcliffe. The will of James Heywood, made in 1604, names as children “John Haywood” of Grimsby, Anne Haywood, William, James, Elizabeth and Edmund, but no Thomas. There was another “John Hawood”, a bachelor parson of Keelby, who in 1559 bequeathed his worldly goods,—a gown or two, a feather bed, a coverlet, a mantle, a surplice—to various individuals, apparently not relatives, leaving the residue of his simple store to a brother clergyman.

Thomas Heywood, though born in Lincolnshire, does not write, as Shakespeare writes, like one whose mind unfolded amid country sights and sounds. We search his pages in vain for pictures of spreading fens intersected by canals, of flocking wild-fowl, of rabbit-warrens, of sleepy rivers flowing through the green. The Lincolnshire he would have known was a low, wet land, slipping down from wolds to marshes that merged into the sea. Shakespeare wrote his oak-forested Warwickshire into play after play, but Heywood seems never

to have noticed the greened and yellowed boles of the great Lincoln beeches. He remembered the skylarks so soon lost to sight in the heavily drooping clouds (*Works*, VI, 369), but as he does not "play the thiefe in Flora's treasure", so his allusions to birds are few and conventional. A welcome exception is the song *Packe cloudes away* (*Works*, V, 227), with its invocation to "Robin red-breast", the bird that is still said to have a peculiar fondness for Uphall Manor, fearlessly entering by one or another of the forty windows of its stately front to watch sleepers from the "bed-end" or enjoy the hospitality of a crumb-strewn breakfast-board. Heywood's plays are impregnated with London. There is a single mention of Sutton Windmill (*Works*, I, 45) as against scores upon scores of intimate allusions to London streets and buildings, sports and pageants, the city-gates, the swinging signs, the bridges, the watermen, the "flat-cap" citizens "in velvet coats and chaines", the beggar with his clap-dish, the white-sheeted penitent, and always the chattering prentices, Fellow Crack and Fellow Nimblechaps, going to the conduit with the water-tankard or off to Hogsdon for plum-cakes and custards, while the youngest prentice is left disconsolate to "look to the shop". There is the ring of lifelong love in Heywood's praises of

"fair Thames,  
Queen of fresh water, famous through the world",  
and in his exclamations of a still boyish pride:  
"What Architectures, Palaces, what Bowers,  
What Citadels, what turrets, and what towers!"

Richard Heywood does not seem to have lived at any one of his four manors, but in London, which would have had a special fascination for his spendthrift heir. If Christopher Heywood married in the first freedom of his wrested inheritance, and if a son was born to him in Kelstern or in Uphall during his brief period of possession, that son would in all likelihood have passed the most of his childhood in the "glorious Citty" whose "beautiful aspect" rejoiced Thomas Heywood to the end.

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## SOME COMPOUND ETYMOLOGIES

The word *etymology* owed its origin to the idea that for each word there was one original true meaning ( *ἔτυμον* ) which if discovered would show the real nature of the thing for which the word was the sign. In recent times, especially since the prevalence of faith in the invariability of the laws of sound change, attention has been shifted more to the forms of words, and the search for etymology has been in great part a search for the one original form of a word. The reaction from the old, fanciful etymologies based upon slight resemblance in meaning, has been so violent that of late only grudgingly has weight been allowed to the interinfluence of words affecting form and meaning. In etymology, as in syntax, preference has ordinarily been given to the explanation which does not involve an assumption of outside influence. In recent years I have found reason to dissent somewhat from the prevailing opinion. In reading I have met with a number of interesting words which are more satisfactorily explained by the assumption of a compound rather than a simple etymology. A systematic search should reveal a great number of additional examples.

Let me illustrate by means of a word of recent formation. The name *pen*<sup>1</sup> is often used in place of *penitentiary*. The use of this colloquial word is to be explained in great part by the well known tendency in speech to clip long words, as illustrated by such established words as *cab* and *mob*. But it does not seem at all likely that the clipped form *pen* would have come into such general use if it had not had the added suggestive force caused by associating the word mentally with a word of different origin, the word *pen* meaning 'an enclosure for animals'. The word *ravenous* may be cited as another illustration. The recognized etymology of this word derives it through the French from the Latin *rapina*. The meaning of the word, however, seems to have been reinforced by association, call it folk-etymology if you will, with the name of the bird *raven*.

<sup>1</sup> The word *pug* for *pugilist* has an analogous development.

The kind of compound etymology in question obviously originates in confused homonyms. The existence of homonyms is in part to be explained by the analogical force which tends to bring together words originally independent when they have points of resemblance in form or in meaning. The majority of homonyms, however, even when identical in form or in pronunciation, still retain distinct meanings. In fact the source of the punster's humor lies in the incongruity arising from the application of the wrong meaning to one of these ambiguous forms. The two Old English verbs, *clēofan* and *clifian* have produced the modern homonym *cleave*. The confusion in form is complete, but the two original meanings remain distinct. In the same way the Old English verbs *lātan* and *lettan* have yielded the modern homonym, *let*, in which there is a fusion of forms without a confusion of meanings. In other instances, however, especially when there is similarity in the meanings of words which have produced homonyms, the fusion has included meaning as well as form. For instance, take the modern verb *bid*. Here we have a word derived from two independent words of which not only the forms have coalesced, but the meanings have become inextricably tangled.

The three homonyms cited owe their origin to the coalescing of two independent words both of them native. A greater number of English homonyms originate in the coalescing of a borrowed word with a native English word or with another borrowed word. Professor Jespersen<sup>2</sup> has given an interesting discussion of this phase of speech-mixture resulting from the importation of Danish and French words into English and the confusion of these words with native words similar in form. On account of the freedom with which words have been borrowed, the English language is particularly rich in homonyms and affords a large number of examples of the form of compound etymology referred to, in which independent words have coalesced not only in form but in meaning.

<sup>2</sup> *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, pp. 69 ff. and 95 ff.

The following list of etymologies, gathered somewhat at random, contains a number of words of which the double derivation is recognized and a number of additional words not so explained in the authoritative works on etymology.

*afraid*. This form is in origin the perfect participle of the Anglo-French *afraye* -r., and appears in English from 1330 on. See NED. The native word *afeard* to some extent maintains an independent existence, due probably to the influence of the noun *fear*. For the most part, however, it seems to have coalesced with the French word, which the Old English *afæred* would come closely to resemble in sound if the usual metathesis took place, as in O. E. *gaers*, Mod. E. *grass*, O. E. *fersce*, Mod. E. *fresh*, etc.

*allow*. This word is borrowed from the French. In the French *aloue* -r have coalesced two independent words; Lat. *allaudāre*, Lat. *allocāre*.

*avale*, *availe*. The native English *afalle*, intr. 'fall down', which appears from 1000 to 1420 A. D., and its later transitive form, seem to have coalesced in great part with the similar word of French derivation, O. F. *aval*er.

*bailey*. 'Court of a castle'. In this word are fused two independent words: 1) M. E. *bayle*, O. F., *bail*, *baile*, *baille*, of doubtful origin; 2) M. E. *baillie*, O. F. *baillie*, late Lat. *bajūliā*. See NED.

*bid*. The confusion of the words from O. E. *bēodan* and from O. E. *biddan*, which is mentioned above, has long been recognized.

*blethely*. M. E. *blethli*, O. E. *blēap*, 'weak', 'gentle', 'timid', seems to have coalesced with the derivative from O. E. *blīpe*. See NED.

*bound*. The different meanings of this adjective are to be explained by the double derivation of the word, from O. N. *buinn*, 'ready', 'destined', and the perfect participle of O. E. *bindan*, meaning 'tied', 'fastened'. See NED.

*business*. This word which is derived from the O. E. (North) *besignis*, is regularly used in the English translation of Froissart's Chronicle to translate the French *besogne*,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Berners's translation of Froissart's Chronicle:—



pl. *besognes*. This common French word is not borrowed as an independent word into English, an omission probably to be explained by assuming that it coalesced with the first element in the M. E. *bisynesse*. The English word had the meaning 'anxiety', 'solicitude', 'care', as early as 950, but in this meaning it was probably reinforced by the influence of the French word, and the later development in meaning,—1) 'a task appointed or undertaken', 'function', 'occupation', and 2) 'a person's official or professional duties as a whole', 'stated occupation', 'trade', (NED. meanings 11 and 12)—finds its most natural explanation in the assumption that the French word had coalesced with the English word of like sound and similar meaning. This assumption derives plausibility from the fact that the earliest cited instances of the word with the meanings mentioned, are respectively from the years 1385 and 1487. See NED.

*cinder*. This word is a composite one from O. E. *sindor*, 'slag of metals', and O. F. *cedre*, 'ashes'.

*dear*. In the popular mind there is confounding of the two words with this spelling and pronunciation: I. O. E. *dēore*, *diore*, 1) 'glorious', 'noble', 2) 'beloved'; II. O. E. *dēor*, 1) 'brave', 'bold', 'hardy', 2) 'hard', 'severe', 'heavy', 'grievous'. Cf. 'dearest foe', 'dear me'.

*defile*. The hybrid compound, Lat. *dē* + O. E. *fylan*, was influenced in form by M. E. *defoulen*, later *defogle*, a word coming through French from Latin. See Skeat, *Etymol. Dict.*

ch. 7. shewed hym all her nede and besynesse = lui montrait sa *besogne*.

ch. 29. to speke of the besynes = pour parler de la *besogne*.

ch. 351. howe he myght do in all his besynesses = comment il pourrait maintenir de ses *besognes*.

ch. 352. to ordayn for their besynesse = de ordonner nules de leurs *besognes*.

ch. 398. the besynes of Gaunt = les *besognes* de Gand.

ch. 431. enformed of the said besynes = informés de celle *besogne*.

III, ch. 22. (Engl. transl. IV, p. 100) On their maister's busynesse = *besogner* et *marchander*.

ch. 22. who had also to do at Parys for certayne busynesse = lequel avait aussi affaire à Paris pour ses *besognes*.

ch. 63. parte of her busynes = grand'foison de ses *besognes*.

*defy*. NED. recognizes two distinct verbs with the same form; one derived through the French from Lat. *dis* + *fidāre*, the other answering phonologically to Lat. *dēfēcāre*, *dēfecāre*, but having no cited equivalent in French. The second word appears in such expressions as "the rost to defye" (*P. Pl.* A Prol. 108) and "your stomake to defye" (*Sq. of L. Degre*, 761). The meaning of the word from *dis* + *fidāre* seems certainly to have been influenced by that of the second word. Such an assumption offers the most natural explanation for the contemptuous force in the word *defy*. In the *Promptuarium Parvulorum* (1440 A. D.) appears the definition, *Dyffyn, or vtterly dyspysyn, vilipendo*. Ralph Roister Doister says, "I defy him", where the context indicates a meaning that can hardly have been derived in full from *defy* in the sense 'renounce allegiance'. In Harman's *Caueat of Warening* (1567) p. 22, we read, "The Husband men vtterly defye them", where the reference is to low vagabonds. The word has a force not existing in the corresponding word of opposite meaning, *affy*. It seems possible to derive from this second verb, in part at least, not only the meanings given in NED. under *v*<sup>2</sup>, but most of those under *v*<sup>1</sup>. The word *challenge* (Lat. *calumniare*) offers a somewhat analogous development, and such a word as mod. French *conspuez* illustrates the way the meaning might develop.

In this connection I should like to suggest that the interjection *fie*, of onomatopoetic origin, contributed to the contemptuous force of *defy* and possibly in turn was influenced by *defy*?

*fauel*. Professor Skeat has pointed out how the word *favel*, 'flattery' (Lat. *fabula*) and *favel* (Germ. *falb*) 'the color of a horse', have come together. cf. Skeat ed. *P. Plowm.* vol. II, p. 31.

*fret*. 'ornament', M. E. *fretten*, O. F. *freter*, is influenced by M. E. *fretien*, O. E. *fraetwan*. See Skeat, *Etymol. Dict.*

*horrid*. This word of classical derivation, which is cited in NED. from 1590 on, seems to have quite supplanted the earlier word, *hory*, *horry*, (O. E. *horu*, *horw*-, 'dirt', 'filth') which was not infrequent before 1500; cf. *horwed*, 'unclean',

(*Clannesse*, v. 335). It seems possible that the meaning of the older word may form an element in the meaning of the later word.

*hardy*. The French derivative is probably reinforced by the native adjective *hard*, which in O. E. poetry expresses the idea of 'strength', 'courage', but in later English is not used with this meaning, probably due in part at least to the inclination to distinguish from *hardy*.

*hired man, hired girl*. In these distinctively American expressions, there seems to appear besides the meaning 'a man serving for hire' (O. E. *hyrian*), a second meaning, 'a member of a household', (O. E. *hired*), a meaning which does not survive independently later than 1425 A. D.; cf. *hirdman, hired-man* in NED.

*jolly*. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries this word from O. F. *jolif, joli* was associated with the word *joy*, as shown by the frequent spelling *joyly*, and the meaning was permanently affected.

*lollard*. Professor Skeat has pointed out (*P. Plowm.* vol. II, p. 126) how the meanings of three distinct words combine in this one word; Engl. *loller*, Low Lat. *lollardus*, Lat. *lolia*.

*main*. In NED. this word is derived from two elements; O. E. *maezen*, sb. and O. N. *megen, megn*. Skeat in his *Etymol. Dict.* derives it from O. F. *maine, magne*. Perhaps all three elements enter into the composition of the word.

*mystery*. The tangle of meanings in *mystery*, in which coalesce English derivatives from Lat. *mysterium, magister*, and *ministerium*, has never been satisfactorily straightened out,—one is tempted to say, is mysterious.

*nephew*. In this word have coalesced O. E. *nefa*, and O. F. *neveu*.

*parsley*. This word represents a fusion of O. E. *petersilie* with O. F. *peresil*, both derived from Lat. *petrosilium*.

*pen, pug*, and *ravenous* have been spoken of above.

*plot*. In this word there is a seemingly inextricable tangle of meanings. See NED. under *plot, plat*, and *plait*.

*pluck*. In this verb there is possibly a combination of two

independent words; O. E. *ploccian*, *pluccian*, pop. Lat. *pluc-cāre*. The subject, however, is obscure.

*polite*. This adjective is used in the sense, 'courteous', 'of refined manners', from about 1762 on. See NED. The development of meaning is analogous to that in the modern colloquial *smooth*. It is hard, however, to abandon the idea that the meaning has been affected by conscious association with the Greek word appearing in *political*, etc., that the development in meaning may have been to some extent like that in *urbane*.

*rest*. In this form have coalesced three independent words: 1) O. E. *rest*, 2) F. *rester*, Lat. *restāre*, 3) O. F. *restaier*. See NED.

*rich*. The use of *rich* to indicate pecuniary prosperity, while not unknown to O. E., probably owes its prevalence to the imported cognate form *riche* from the French.

*rely*. The French derivative *relye*, meaning 'to bind together', has been influenced in meaning by the native *lie*. For an earlier use of this word cf. *P. Ploum* C X, 81, *to rubbe and to rely* = 'to wash and mend' (*re+ligāre*), where Skeat translates *rely* as 'reel'.

*secure*. The O. E. *sicor*, 'certain', later *sicker*, lost its independent existence because confounded with the later borrowed form of the same Latin word, *secure*.

*silly*. In this word there seem to have coalesced two independent native words; O. E. *sedlice*, *syllic*, and O. E. *sælig*.

*straight*. The word *strait* (Lat. *strictum*) in such expressions as 'strait gate', 'strait and narrow way', is at least popularly confounded with the word *straight* (O. E. *streht*).

*tarry*. This word of native origin and meaning 'pull', 'pluck', 'irritate', and hence 'delay', has evidently been affected by the O. F. *targer*. See Skeat, *Etymol. Dict.*

*vile*, *villain*. These two words of independent origin influenced each other in meaning. Cf.

Hounecurteis ne willi be,

Ne con I nout on vilté. *Dame Siriz*, 45, 46.

The word *vilté* is evidently used in contrast with *curteis*, a use more appropriate for *vileinie*. On the other hand, see

Same no vilani

Ne bede I þe non. *Dame Siriz*, 128, 129.

Additional examples of double etymology have been cited by Jespersen (*op. cit.* pp. 69, 95). It should not be a difficult task to bring together a much longer list than the one here presented.

The exact extent to which, in cases of double etymology, the different elements have contributed to the meaning, it is not possible to estimate precisely. The confounding of words, however, commonly called a form of folk-etymology, is familiar in modern times. It has played an important part in the history of a considerable number of important words. It seems reasonable to suppose, also, that in earlier, pre-literary stages in the history of language, when folk-etymology in its operation was less restricted by the forces of learning, this confounding of words was going on and may serve to explain some of the obscure points in the early development of words.

The principle involved in double etymologies, two independent words coalescing in one, is interesting also since it has served, to some extent at least, as a countervailing force to the tendency for one word to serve a number of independent functions, to express a variety of meanings, in the case of doublets, to differentiate into independent words.

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\*In addition to the words cited above see the discussion of the word *passive* in Greenough & Kittredge, *Words and Their Ways in English Speech*.

## THE DURATION OF CHAUCER'S VISITS TO ITALY

Some years ago it was conjectured<sup>1</sup> that Chaucer, being absent from England but 174 days on his first journey to Italy,<sup>2</sup> was there only about two months. My former suggestion<sup>3</sup> that two months for the journey each way is far too large an allowance can be backed up by considerable evidence.

Archbishop Sigeric, returning from Rome to England in 990, apparently took only 32 or 33 days from Aosta to the Straits of Dover.<sup>4</sup> Various illustrations may be derived from the correspondence which grew out of the controversy between Archbishop Hubert Walter and the monks of Canterbury: for example, the prior left Canterbury about the middle of October, or later, in 1198, and even after waiting at Pisa reached Rome 11 Dec.; a letter from the pope to the archbishop was sent from Rome 20 Nov., or later, 1198, and received 2 Jan.<sup>5</sup> Gerald de Barri in 1199, on one of his disappointing journeys to Rome, reached Strata Florida in South Wales on the vigil of the Assumption (14 Aug.), and Rome about St. Andrew's day (30 Nov.), after long delays and detours; that this was exceptionally slow going is shown by the fact that on another journey he reached the Continent 2 Nov., and (even after some small delays) reached Faenza, near Ravenna, "tertio ante Natale die" (22 or 23 Dec.) and Rome

<sup>1</sup> By Dr. F. J. Mather, in *The Nation*, LXIII, 269. Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XI, col. 424.

<sup>2</sup> *Life Records* (Ch. Soc.), 183-4.

<sup>3</sup> *Modern Philology*, I, 320-1.

<sup>4</sup> *Memorials of St. Dunstan* (Rolls Series, 1874), 392 ff., xciv; he took 46 days, curiously, from Rome to Aosta, about 393 miles, 8½ miles a day as against 14 on the rest of the journey; 5 miles a day for 11 days from Siena to Lucca! Whatever the explanation is, I disregard the Italian part of his route. His after route was *via* the Great St. Bernard, Lausanne, Pontarlier, Rheims, to near Calais. On the usual routes from France over or around the Alps, cf. Bédier in *Romania*, XXXVI, 163 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Chron. and Memor. of Richard I* (R. Ser., 1865), II, pp. cii ff., 451 ff., 458, 466, 477. Cf. *Gervase of Canterbury* (R. Ser., 1879), I, 574-587.

"biduo ante Epiphaniam" (4. Jan.).<sup>6</sup> The itinerary for English pilgrims to Rome found in six MSS. of Matthew Paris's chronicle (13th century) allows 27 days from Lyons to Rome.<sup>7</sup> Adam of Usk, going to Rome in 1402, sailed from Billingsgate 19 Feb., reached Bellinzona (just over the St. Gotthard) 18 March and Rome 5 April; he travelled with no great haste, for when he found an inn to his mind he stopped two days to rest.<sup>8</sup> Miss Mary Bateson states that canons were allowed 16 weeks total leave of absence to accomplish a pilgrimage from England to Rome.<sup>9</sup>

These cases indicate somewhat various rates of travel, on somewhat various journeys, but all parallel or partly identical with Chaucer's; the epoch does not seem to have mattered greatly, as there is no reason why it should. I estimate the distances in accordance with such details of routes as are given in each case; otherwise in straight lines, for on the whole they seem to have been remarkably direct, much more so—not unnaturally—than modern rail routes. Gerald was the slowest traveller, being delayed by various causes, averaging only 10 and 13 miles a day on his two journeys of about 1115 and 840 miles as we have had to reckon them. The

<sup>6</sup>*Giraldus Cambrensis* (R. Ser., 1861-91), I, 117-9; III, 239-241. The first of these journeys was far more than half as long again as Chaucer's.

<sup>7</sup>The itinerary given by Albertus Stadensis (d. after 1256) allows 47 days for the same journey. But this is clearly for travellers afoot, who would naturally go just about half as fast as average horsemen; and who are as clearly those considered in the itinerary relied on by Mather (col. 423-4: 52 days from Calais to Milan, and 16 from Milan to Florence!). For the two others, both *via* Mont Cenis, see Bédier, *Romania*, XXXVI, 167-9.

<sup>8</sup>*Chronicon Adae de Usk* (London, 1904), xxii f., 74-5. He went by way of Bergen-op-Zoom in Brabant, the Rhine and Lucerne, "et ejus mirabilem lacum".

<sup>9</sup>*Mediæval England* (N. Y., 1904), p. 355. The pilgrimage to Compostella seems to have taken six weeks from Ratisbon, according to Berthold von Regensburg, about 1250 (G. G. Coulton, *Chaucer and his England*, London, 1908; p. 141). "Daun Burnel the Asse", travelling from some place north of the Great St. Bernard, reaches Salerno, 30 miles south-east of Naples after twelve days' journey ("bissenas diætas": *Satir. Poets of the 12th Cent.*, R. Ser. 1872; I, 34, 36). Cases more or less pertinent might be multiplied indefinitely; but the above will suffice.

prior averaged at least 15 (850 miles), the canons 16 or more (850 miles from the English coast), depending on where they started and the length of time allowed for sacred sight-seeing in Rome (a week surely would be the very least). The pope's letter and Adam averaged 19 and 22 miles daily (850 and 1021 miles). The cases of Sigeric (450 miles) and the itinerary (576 miles) differ from the others in simply showing the stages without mentioning any pauses for rest or other reasons, such as religious observances; so their rates of 14 and 21 miles a day, while showing what the travellers could have done if necessary, might have to be reduced a little to serve as a guide. If Chaucer averaged 20 miles a day, of course sometimes doing more, sometimes less, and sometimes stopping over a day, he might have covered the 645 miles from London straight to Genoa in 32 days.<sup>10</sup> If we should allow him the very low average of 15 miles a day, this would mean 43 days, but being on a mission he is not likely to have loitered.

Considering all the factors in the case, the fruit of these figures seems to be about this. Chaucer might have taken the journey from London to Genoa in a month, but it is safer to allow five weeks or a little over.<sup>11</sup> This leaves him a good 100 days, nearly three and a half months, for business, study and pleasure in Genoa and beyond.

Dr. Mather thought Chaucer's time further cut down by the need of allowing at least ten days each way for the journey from Genoa to Florence.<sup>12</sup> But in the 14th century it is said to have taken but ten or eleven days from Florence to Naples.<sup>13</sup> Petrarch writes Boccaccio that Pavia is only two

<sup>10</sup> This agrees well with figures as to the duration of the pilgrimage from London to Canterbury; cf. my article in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XXI, 478-85. The higher speed of a small party would be counter-balanced by the diminished speed of a long journey.

<sup>11</sup> The journeys being in winter and early spring, he may have passed from France to Italy, and vice versa, by way of the Mediterranean coast and not over the nearer passes. Cf. Bédier, *l. c.*, p. 163. Yet not only the untiring Gerald but the more leisurely Adam crossed the Alps in winter.

<sup>12</sup> *L. c.*, Col. 424. He is thinking of his pedestrian's itinerary, which allows sixteen days from Milan to Florence.

<sup>13</sup> Edward Hutton, *Giorgio Boccaccio*, p. 15.



days' journey from Genoa.<sup>14</sup> Gerald de Barri goes from Rome to Bologna in six days.<sup>15</sup> Adam of Usk in 1406 left Rome St. Barnabas's day (11 June), and crossed the Mont Cenis on St. Peter and St. Paul's (29 June).<sup>16</sup> On this basis, for the 125 miles in a straight line between Genoa and Florence, over no high mountains, we should allow just about five days, which does not reduce Chaucer's opportunities; travel is hardly the worst way of learning a language, a people and a country.

On his second journey he left London 28 May, 1378, and was back 19 Sept., ——— "eundo, morando, et redeundo, per Cxv dies";<sup>17</sup> the journey was "ad partes Lumbardie", to interview the Lord of Milan, which is hardly as far as Genoa. On the two-month schedule he never got to Milan at all; if we accept that of five weeks, he had nearly a month and a half at his destination.

Altogether, then, Chaucer probably had at least from four to five months in Italy. This is of interest for several reasons. He shows the results, it is true, not precisely as a modern might do; mediaeval writers rarely betray an interest in mountains and cities for their own sake. But these four or five months mean familiarity with the language, and that familiarity with the country (at various seasons, late winter, early spring, mid-summer) which many travellers find stimulates an interest in its literature; they mean perhaps seeing his own countrymen with new eyes when he got home; they mean opportunities for procuring books. At the same time, we should never assume that his acquaintance with all the Italian books he knew dates from as far back as his journeys to Italy; or that as he rode homeward his saddle-bags were bulging with the hundred best Italian books for that desert-island Great Britain; or that he had not opportunities for securing them later, with his wide acquaintance, and possible relations formed with Italy, and with Italian and other merchants at the custom-house.

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<sup>14</sup> *Lettere Senili*, V, 1 (tr. Fracassetti, I, 262), referred to by Hutton.

<sup>15</sup> *Gir. Cambr.* (R. Ser.), III, 289.

<sup>16</sup> *L. c.*, p. 103.

<sup>17</sup> *Life Records*, pp. 216-9.

## THE EVOLUTION OF SHAKESPEARE'S HEROINE

There is something most interesting and peculiar in the way Shakespeare seems to have regarded his heroine as an increasingly important factor in carrying forward the action of the play, and more and more as the center of dramatic interest and appeal, first in the series of his comedies and then, in a different way, in the tragedies. It is strange, too, that though the two kinds overlap, the development of the heroine of Shakespeare's comedies and the evolution of his tragic heroine form two such separate and distinct series. To arrange the plays in their more or less accepted order, setting aside the history plays (where of course the part played by the women had to be more nearly that assigned to them in the sources), and keeping the comedies and tragedies separate, this progress in Shakespeare's dramatic method becomes so evident as to claim a greater significance than has ever been given to it. One is tempted to say that at least no metrical tests could be more definitive in marking out the order of the plays, and in assigning to their right places some of the doubtful ones, than would be indicated by a conformity to a sequence so clearly established and so consistently held. I shall consider briefly the plays in the two series, first of the comedies and then of the tragedies, and after that I shall try a bit of a struggle with some of those same much disputed over dramas.

It is only a seeming upsetting of my theory at the start that the shadowy ladies of *Love's Labour's Lost* are at least as real and vital as their shadowy lovers, and do, rather more than is the case in the comedies immediately following, control and direct the action of the piece; for we must remember not only that this play was much changed in its later revision but also that the gallantry and policy of the young poet probably entered very largely into his earliest experiment in the writing of comedy. It is fair, I think, to set it aside from our present consideration and consider the sequence of comedies which is to show the evolution of Shakespeare's heroine as beginning with *The Comedy of Errors*.

Here at least we have the comedy in which the part played by the women is the most slight and subsidiary. The whole dramatic interest of the piece lies in the confusion of the Dromios and of their masters. There is little real characterization of any sort; and such of it as Adriana or her sister receives is purely conventional.

*The Two Gentlemen of Verona* was a more determined study in characterization, and both Silvia and Julia are real; but still the action is wholly controlled by the men, and the interest is chiefly in their loves and their adventures.

Neither men nor women control the action of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, though if we were to regard Oberon and Titania as man and woman as well as king and queen of fairies, it is notable that Oberon controls and that Titania is made ridiculous without in the least arousing our sympathetic protests, even though she was in fact quite right as to that matter of the "little changeling boy" that the fairy king had stolen. It is noticeable also, in this dramatic fantasy, that while the clowns are the only characters having a flesh and blood reality, yet Helena stands out as gaining the only bit of dramatic sympathy that goes out to any of the characters.

With *The Merchant of Venice* we have in Portia as fully developed and as fine a woman as could be asked for in any comedy. I am not contending that there is any growth in the final excellence of portraiture, though of course this does somewhat keep pace with the developing genius of the dramatist, or any specific progress in the nobility of character of Shakespeare's women; I am at present merely noting the increasingly important part that they take in the *action* of the comedies, and the growing interest and sympathy which is given to them relatively to that given to the heroes.

Now it is clearly in *The Merchant of Venice* that Shakespeare's heroine first emerges as a *doer* of things. Without Portia the happy outcome of the play was wholly impossible; but it still remains the character of Shylock that has chiefly fascinated us and the escape of Antonio that has most thrilled us. Even in the casket story, we care more that the easy-going Bassanio shall win Portia than that her aversion to her

other suitors and her preference for Bassanio shall be triumphant. Of course the happiness for Bassanio in this marriage was greater than the happiness of Portia could be; but this does not at all negate the fact I am recording.

The *Taming of the Shrew* is the story of how Petruchio overcame Katherine, though here we have at least a respectable struggle for supremacy on the part of the heroine. Portia was chiefly a means to the solution of the conflict between Antonio and Shylock, who are the central opposing forces of the play; whereas Katherine is at least one of the principals in the main action, although the defeated one. I omit any reference to the Bianca story as not the work of Shakespeare, though to include it would not interfere with the point in hand.

The case is somewhat reversed in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, for here we are at least on the side of the buxom heroines, and it is they who undertake and most vigorously accomplish the humiliation of the fat and sensual knight. But Falstaff remains the central character, the hero of his many misfortunes, and he is the occasion and the only justification of the farce. We can scarcely remember Mistress Page and Mistress Ford apart; and for "sweet Anne Page" and her love story we care still less.

*Much Ado About Nothing* gives us two heroines; and while our interest in Beatrice is at least even with our interest in Benedick, the sad fortunes of Hero move us to the exclusion of any care for her credulous and worthless lover. The heroine has now become the central figure in the sub-plot, and the honors in the main plot are evenly divided.

With *As You Like It* the balance is completely shifted. It is Rosalind's love; it is Rosalind's plot and her adventures in the Forest of Arden; it is Rosalind's happiness in the end. Orlando is a woman's man; we see him through Rosalind's eyes, and regard him with her favoring sentiments. It is no answer to say that Lodge's story determines this; it is Shakespeare's choice of the story and his treatment of it that is important.

Viola is the whole of *Twelfth Night*. Except for the "comic

relief'', her love, her attitude, her success is all. We may be glad for Orlando; we are not even pleased for Duke Orsino. The play has no hero. Again the point is not that we do not chance to care for Orsino's success since he is sentimental and in love with Olivia till the last moment of the play; the point is that Shakespeare made him such a man to begin with, and Viola the most radiant and delightful of his women.

This brings us to the time when Shakespeare turned from comedy to tragedy, and it thus completes the sequence I have sketched of the plays in which the heroine comes more and more into the center of the action, and our interest in the hero becomes relatively less and less. There is no further development possible along this line. It would be as easy to play *Hamlet* with Hamlet left out as to have *Twelfth Night* without Viola.

In the comedies which Shakespeare wrote after 1601, when the series of great tragedies began, we have, however, a new development. Our concern for the fortunes of the heroine deepens through *All's Well That Ends Well* and *Measure for Measure* by the intensifying of the suffering through which she passes and the increasing emphasis upon her purity and the deeper qualities of womanhood. This is of necessity accomplished by adding the positiveness of actual villainy to the opposing hero. For Duke Orsino we had a tolerant contempt; for Bertram we have an impatient anger; for Angelo we have hatred and loathing. The only possible advance upon the experiences of Isabella in *Measure for Measure* in the direction of rousing in us all our rage and pity is to be found in the ghastly brothel scenes of *Pericles*. We sometimes try to clear Shakespeare's name from all association with these scenes; but it would be (to me) an inconceivable assumption to credit him with the Marina story unless these scenes were in it.

The only comedy, if it be comedy at all, that I have omitted up to this point is *Troilus and Cressida*. To this play I shall return for more detailed consideration. It is evident that it does not fit anywhere in the sequence I have been following.

Leaving aside also for the present the three romance-comedies written near the close of Shakespeare's life, and turning at once to the tragedies, we find in them a curious parallelism to the comedies in this matter of the evolving heroine. Of course I omit from this sequence of tragedies the early tragedy-of-blood, *Titus Andronicus*, and the early tragic poem of *Romeo and Juliet*, in which Juliet is the finer character, though it was (as always in this period of his work) the man's fortunes which were more carefully followed.

Of course there is relatively more need of a heroine in a comedy than in a tragedy, and the relative importance of the heroine also must be greater; for aside from the brightness and pleasantness which comedy demands, the fact that marriage is the normal business of a comedy is determinative. In the series of comedies ending with *Twelfth Night* the average is two and three-tenths marriages to the play! But when Shakespeare turned from *Twelfth Night* to *Julius Caesar* he turned from a type of play in which the heroine and her good fortune had come to be all in all to a drama in which there was no room for a heroine and scarcely any for the introduction of women at all. *Julius Caesar* stands in the list of tragedies where the *Comedy of Errors* stands in the comedy sequence. We have again a man's world, with a couple of women hardly sketched in in a play complete without them.

A slight and ineffective girl is the heroine of *Hamlet*. We never see the action through Ophelia's eyes; her impotence to be anything to Hamlet in his time of great need is her main contribution to the tragedy. Her pretty and pathetic madness and death is her reward and solution. She is but little more needed to the story than Calpurnia or Brutus's Portia to *Julius Caesar*.

Desdemona is of course the essential cause of the tragedy of *Othello*, but it is Iago's work and Othello's passion which chiefly concern us. Desdemona is of course a wonderful advance upon Ophelia both as a woman and as a participator in the action; and her lack of certain qualities is what makes the story possible.

In *King Lear* the rightful successor of Ophelia and Desde-

mona falls to a minor part, and the lead is taken by a pair of evil women who introduce a new element into the heroine of tragedy. Cordelia is absent after the opening scene till toward the close of the play. She has 112 lines to speak out of the 3332 which this drama contains. That Shakespeare himself regarded her only as a minor character is perhaps the explanation of her needless and uncaused death. But Goneril, backed and shadowed by Regan, *produces* by her evil determination and desires the tragedy of Lear.

In *Macbeth* we find the evil-willed heroine fully developed, her personality much clearer to us, and her part in the action much more conspicuous. The play remains the tragedy of Macbeth; but whereas Goneril merely thwarted and tortured her father, Lady Macbeth takes the whole action into her own hands. She drives Macbeth to the murder of Duncan, and she holds him fast to his purpose till the deed is done. But Macbeth once fully started on his downward course, his wife is left behind inactive and unconsulted.

It remained for *Antony and Cleopatra* to give us the tragic heroine unsurpassed in all literature. The play is not of Antony, in the sense that *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *King Lear* and *Macbeth* have been men's plays. Indeed for all his importance in the world of action and for all the profound and subtle delineation of his character Antony remains the lesser of the two, and the tragic dénouement is Cleopatra's work.

One cannot but observe two things as to the position of the heroine through this series of tragedies: (a) she is increasingly important in the part she takes in the action with each new play, and is therefore more and more the center of interest; and (b) she is of two kinds,—the first good and the victim of an action which rises outside of her, and the second of evil will and destroyed by the action which she herself brings about. The first series contains Brutus's Portia, Ophelia, Desdemona, Cordelia; the second, Goneril and Regan, Lady Macbeth, Cleopatra. *King Lear* here represents the shift in the treatment of the heroine, just as *As You Like It* marks the change to the center of interest and appeal in the comedies.

In considering this series of tragedies I have not taken

account of *Timon of Athens* and *Coriolanus*. The reason is the very obvious one that these plays do not fit into the general scheme I have been following with that easy appropriateness that each of the previous tragedies has had in taking its proper place in the sequence. Thus far I have not had to do any proving; I have merely called attention to a curiously neglected bit of observation which everyone will realize to be true the moment it is pointed out. But with these new tragedies I must take account of a seeming departure from my thesis. It would be easy to pass over *Timon* as an imperfect play and only partially the work of Shakespeare; but I prefer to reserve it for a more extended consideration later. *Coriolanus* I wish now to add to the sequence in the light of certain special modifications.

Though this last in date of Shakespeare's tragedies is the rightful successor to *Antony and Cleopatra*, yet there is much reason for grouping it rather with the three so-called "romances" which followed it than with the tragedies that went before. There is nothing particularly painful in this play in the sense that *Othello* and *Lear* are painful tragedies. Indeed the pivotal point of *Coriolanus's* futile attempts to cringe to the plebs is little short of intentional comedy. After his reluctant concession of "Kindly! Sir, I pray, let me ha't. I have wounds to show you, which shall be yours in private. Your good voice, sir; what say you?" [II, iii, 82], witness his delightful outburst of

"You common cry of curs; whose breath I hate  
As reek o' the rotten fens, whose loves I prize  
As the dead carcasses of unburied men  
That do corrupt my air, I banish you!" [III, iii, 120];

and compare with this *Othello's* tortured cries or the anguish of the outcast *Lear*. It is not that the tragedy is of lesser make (which of course it were folly to deny), but that Shakespeare is feeling his way toward the grave and serene outcome of the later plays. The atmosphere of this play is not "surcharged with gloom" as was that of all the tragedies before. The necessary and carefully justified death of *Coriolanus* does not give us that solemn pause that we have even with the



death of Brutus. There is in the whole piece but this one death, whereas the six tragedies before have averaged over six deaths to the play, and none had less than five. Of still greater consequence is the positive side of the matter,—that except for the death of Coriolanus himself the play ends happily. The main catastrophe of the piece, the destruction of Rome, is completely averted.

We may therefore justly expect to find in this transition tragedy a new departure in the treatment of the tragic heroine. Volumnia, the mother of Coriolanus, carries on the tradition in her tragic greatness and majesty, and is, more than any of her predecessors, the originator and producer of the action. But the new and important thing is this: it is she who brings about the one great good which is accomplished; it is she who saves Rome and redeems her son from the eternal shame of his treason, even though it is at the cost of his life. Except for the final attempt of Cordelia to set things right, an attempt which results in her failure and death, this is a new role for Shakespeare's tragic heroine. Throughout the series of Goneril, Lady Macbeth and Cleopatra, there has been a constant advance in the direction of virtue, but these all remain evil women. But Volumnia has made her son the soldier and hero that he is when the play opens, she is his good genius in the action of the piece itself, and in the end she controls and triumphs over him through the force of her mother's love, in that magnificent scene—one of the sublimest in all Shakespeare's work—when she turns him back from his terrible revenge.

Two things more are notable as to Volumnia's place in the sequence of tragic heroines: her complexity and her maturity. Though we have little more than our personal impressions to determine this matter, still there is small room for a difference of opinion in the assertion I now make: namely, that from *Hamlet* to *Coriolanus* the heroines of the great tragedies have been increasingly complex and each somewhat older than the heroine of the play before. Ophelia is little more than a simple child in her teens. She is unmarried, naive to a degree which is almost tragic in itself, and scarcely capable even of the deception to which her father drives her.

Desdemona is a bride, a bit more mature, and capable only of a little more independence of action. Her naiveté is pitiful but at least no longer absurd. Cordelia is sweeter, saner, wiser, but again unable to realize what her position really calls for until the end of the piece, while her older sisters are obviously both more mature and more complex. Though the action of *Macbeth* covers (by implication) so many years, we have only some twenty lines of Lady Macbeth (in the sleep walking scene) after the banquet of the third act, which is presumably very shortly after the action of the play begins; and hence we are justified in thinking of her as distinctly on the near side of middle age. We must not confuse her with the stalking majesty of the older actresses who have portrayed her. Cleopatra is as much more mature than Lady Macbeth as the latter is than Goneril; and the complexity of the Egyptian queen is also greater than that of her predecessors. Volumnia is beyond middle life—a grandmother—and though perhaps not so baffling in her actions as Cleopatra, yet her character is surely the most complex of them all.

A point of lesser moment that might be made in passing is that with the increasing maturity of these tragic heroines there has come an increased greatness in their social or world-importance. Ophelia, the chamberlain's daughter, could not properly be the wife of the Prince of Denmark. Desdemona, the daughter of a Venetian senator, is the wife of a general and ruler of an island. The daughters of Lear divide the legendary kingdom of Britain; Lady Macbeth is full queen of Scotland; Cleopatra is the queen of Egypt. But Volumnia's world-importance was greater still, in that she was the mother of Coriolanus and the savior of Rome.

With Volumnia we have also in this tragedy Virgilia, the wife of Coriolanus, and the lady Valeria. The part in the action of these younger women is small. Virgilia, as sufferer from the acts of others, might be regarded as continuing the tradition of Ophelia, Desdemona and Cordelia; but it is more to the purpose to regard her as the predecessor of a new series of heroines, Imogen, Hermione, and Miranda. Let us therefore turn now to this series of "romances" with which Shakespeare's independent work came to an end.

In *Cymbeline* the older, evil, plot-producing woman falls to the minor part of the unnamed Queen, the wife of Cymbeline,—just as Cordelia, the virtuous and youthful successor of Ophelia and Desdemona, falls to a minor part in *Lear*; but Imogen, who is Cymbeline's daughter, and wife of the much abused Leonatus, rises far above Virgilia, the weepy wife of Coriolanus.

The curious lapse of sixteen years after the third act of *The Winter's Tale* gives us in Hermione first the youthful wife of the jealous Leontes, Imogen's successor in being wrongly suspected, innocent and much suffering, and then, in the end, as the triumphant mother of the young and happy Perdita, she becomes (in a way) the all-virtuous successor of Volumnia.

This works out to a complete annihilation the older heroine who began so inauspiciously with Goneril; and consequently (shall we say?) there remains in the final play of *The Tempest*, only the eternally young and wonderfully charming Miranda, found at last, like Perdita, and given happily to her fortune and her love. Superficially, this treatment of the heroine seems to hark back to the earlier comedies; but in the richness and tenderness of his treatment now Shakespeare introduces in his heroines many elements which are far removed from the romping Rosalind and the saucy Viola. Miranda is the last and fairest flower to blossom from the genius of Shakespeare, *the complete feminist!*

And now I have taken some account of all the comedies and tragedies except *Troilus and Cressida* and *Timon of Athens*. Though these plays do not give us the finished and independent work of Shakespeare, still the treatment of the heroine in *Troilus and Cressida*, and the utter absence of women from *Timon of Athens* except for the brief appearance of two courtesans with only eight lines between them, are matters in which Shakespeare is involved, and are in themselves so interesting and so curious that I wish particularly to discuss them.

What I shall say about *Timon of Athens* will not involve the problem of the authorship. The scene in which Phrynia and Timandra appear is always recognized to be Shakespeare's

work; and there seems to be neither reason nor room for any other women in the tragedy. But before we can see how this curious omission interrupts the otherwise unbroken sequence of tragic heroines, we must try to determine between which of the greater plays Shakespeare wrote his portion of *Timon*. That it came between *Macbeth* and *Antony and Cleopatra* I do not believe.

As is always noted, *Timon* is closely akin to *Lear*; so suggestive of it in many ways that it becomes harder and harder to believe that the writing of *Macbeth* could possibly have come between the two. Return to a previous attitude of mind is of course possible, but it does not seem to be characteristic of Shakespeare. Now setting aside the metrical tests, since they are never precisely determinative at their best and especially do not apply in the same way to an unfinished play (particularly the test of speeches ending in broken lines, which are most common here), let me submit my firm belief that *Timon* was written or sketched in some haste immediately before *King Lear* and abandoned in favor of the greater play. That it was finished somewhat perfunctorily for stage presentation later, by some inferior poet, would be a natural corollary of this view.

My reasons are very simple ones. (1) The ideas, or philosophy of life, contained in the drama which are akin to those in *Lear* are less completely thought out. They show no faintest advance upon the thought of *Lear*. They are more imperfect, more new to the thinker, less firmly grasped. (2) The emotions which it is presumable the poet had regarding such matters as ingratitude and the like are apparently much more raw and crude in *Timon*, not because it is a poorer play but because they are too new,—not lived over or recalled, as Wordsworth insists the poet's emotions must be. There is somewhat the same difference between *Timon* and *Lear* that there is between an evening paper's first raw story of a day's event and the "write-up" of it in the next morning's papers. The telling of the story of ingratitude is not *worked up* in the case of *Timon* as it is in *Lear*. (3) The treatment of certain special features characteristic of both plays shows

the same difference, as, for example, the calling of men by the epithets of animals. Compare the long series in Timon's speech—a Shakespearian passage—(IV, iii, 180 f.) with the corresponding instances in *King Lear*, and the proof becomes almost self-apparent.

For if all that may be noted as positive in these various differences of treatment is the superior perfection and greatness in *Lear*, does it not seem wholly credible that Shakespeare at the height of his power might abandon so unpromising a subject as he had to deal with in *Timon*, and find a more possible *motif* in *Lear*, where the giving of money foolishly becomes the giving of a kingdom, the mere lavishness of Timon mellows into the father's love of Lear, the cave and desolate retreat of Timon becomes the hovel of Edgar and the storm-swept heath with its several shadowy characters adding largeness, completeness, and fulness of misery to the scene, where the rant of Timon's curses gives place to the nobler but no less terrible imprecations of the aged king? At least, if the treatment of these themes in *King Lear* does not seem like the expansion, the heroic amplification of the *Timon* themes, does it seem possible or likely that after the all-sufficient treatment which they did receive in *Lear*, Shakespeare should rehandle these old matters with a shortened vision, with a more uncontrolled virulence, and on a subject contemptible by the side of *Lear*, and then pass on to *Macbeth* or to *Antony and Cleopatra*? To me, that is frankly unbelievable.

Though the individual instances are by necessity wholly different, I find analogies of this same sort in Ibsen's first drafts of his plays (now published in translation) as compared with his finished dramas. The importance and value of *Timon* becomes wonderfully greater if we regard it—the genuine parts of it—as a play in the making. It would then somewhat take the place of what Mr. Shaw lamented that Shakespeare had not left us,—an explanatory preface of his purpose and dramatic method. Unless Shakespeare were the rehandler of the lesser poet's material, it would indicate a most interesting fact: that he wrote an opening scene, briefly indicated suggestions of later development, and then plunged wildly here and there into his final acts. That he ever ex-

pected his fragmentary scenes of Timon with Alcibiades, with Apemantus, with the banditti, with the steward, and with the poet and painter to be given as the consecutive portions of a finished drama is beyond all credence. Shakespeare was always a dramatist.

If, then, *Timon* was sketched just after *Measure for Measure* and *Othello*, we can see here the beginnings of the change from the pity-provoking heroine of the later comedies and the helpless suffering heroine of the tragedies. There seemed to be no room in *Timon of Athens* for the gentle, loving successor of Desdemona, and the idea of bringing about the tragic action through the evil force of a Goneril and Regan did not (apparently) at first occur to him. It was this lack of the feminine element of either sort that chiefly foredoomed the play to failure: and I, in my simplicity, cannot but believe that this chiefly turned the mind of the dramatist to consider how such a situation as Timon's might be brought about by such flattering receivers of great benefits as should have even in nature itself a bond against ingratitude,—by (for example) the falsely flattering daughters of a too lavish and impulsive king.

*Troilus and Cressida* offers a more difficult problem. In spite of the death of Hector, the much fighting, and the most unhappy ending, this play is usually placed among the comedies. It is one of Shakespeare's poorest, and gives, like *Timon of Athens*, unmistakable evidence of being finished for stage production either hastily and without conviction by Shakespeare himself or somewhat blindly and laboriously by a clever imitator; but that it is almost wholly the genuine work of Shakespeare is beyond all doubt. This gives us a very peculiar problem. Cressida is, at the start, as tender and reserved and yet as outspoken and true-seeming in her love as Juliet herself; and her yielding to the importunities of Troilus hardly prepares us for her equally ready yielding to the more masterful demands of Diomed.

The subject of sex morality had hardly concerned Shakespeare in his earlier comedies. For all his broadness of speech, there is among the earlier plays a wholesome indif-

ference in him to the entire theme, except in such plays as *Titus Andronicus* and *Henry VI*, where Shakespeare was simply revising the work of other men. In 1599 (if our dating is correct) when Shakespeare was thirty-five years old, we find him first approaching this vital subject, and then it is to have the sensual Falstaff roundly punished by those merry wives of Windsor, and, in the sub-plot of *Much Ado*, to have Hero unjustly suspected through the cruel scheming of the cowardly Don John. Again we have the freer and purer atmosphere of *As You Like It*, *Twelfth Night*, and *Julius Caesar*; and then a sudden and complete absorption with this gloomy subject. Though morality is triumphant in the comedies of *All's Well That Ends Well* and *Measure for Measure*, and in *Pericles*, yet the theme is so much in the poet's mind, and in so insistent and disagreeable a way, that we cannot read these plays without shuddering. And each of these three comedies grows more coarse and somber than the one before it. The tragedies of this period show the same thing. The faithlessness of Hamlet's mother fills the melancholy prince with unspeakable horror and casts over him a deadlier spell than does the murder of his father. The young and innocent Ophelia is driven to her madness and death by the harping on this subject of her father and brother at least as much as by her father's death. Witness the insistence upon this theme in her distracted ravings and songs.

From being a subsidiary *motif* in Hamlet, woman's purity becomes the whole subject of *Othello*, as it formed at this same time the whole plot of *Measure for Measure*. With these two plays Shakespeare so frankly faced this theme and so fully gave expression to his attitude toward it that he seems somewhat to have recovered thereafter from the intensity of his feeling regarding it. He had his complete say. In *King Lear*, therefore, he makes little of the infidelity of his evil-minded heroine, Goneril, adding this, as an almost necessary touch, to show the completeness of her vileness. Regan, as the lesser accomplice, shares somewhat in this shame. With *Antony and Cleopatra* the subject (in spite of the special aptness of the situation) seems almost to have passed out of Shakespeare's mind again. The mere fact of Antony's unfaithful-

ness to his wife in loving Cleopatra hardly occurs to us. In no way is the sin of either made morally accountable for the tragic outcome. With *Coriolanus* the atmosphere is completely cleared. The wrongful suspicions to which Imogen and Hermione are subjected are considered as dramatic material merely. The theme has become as objective as it was in *Much Ado About Nothing*. (I do not feel prepared to consider the implications of the later sonnets in this connection.)

And now, in the light of this hasty review, what shall we say of Cressida? The two other instances of actual falseness, the Queen in *Hamlet* and Goneril in *King Lear*, are treated with loathing and contempt; but Cressida's rank immorality is made almost a subject for humor. The rage of the youthful Troilus is perfunctory, and the shameful part of Pandarus is made light and laughable. His offense is grosser than that of Iachimo in the comedy of *Cymbeline*; but notice how widely different is the treatment of Pandarus from that of Iachimo, or of Angelo, or even of Don John! The only instance at all approaching this flippant treatment of the subject of sexual morality is found in *Henry IV* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, where Falstaff's grossness is added to his cowardice and his fat as a thing for men to laugh at. Psychologically, therefore, it seems to me all but impossible that *Troilus and Cressida* could have been composed at any other time than 1598 or 1599; but all that one may do in a matter of this sort is to submit his conviction with modesty and sincerity, and trust that what has appealed to him as true may seem so to others.

There would be, however, no fatal objection to placing *Troilus and Cressida* thus early. It was in 1598 that Chapman published the books of the *Iliad* that Shakespeare drew upon for much of his material. A probable reference in the Prologue to Jonson's *Poetaster*, of 1601, tells us nothing, since the Prologue was quite obviously not Shakespeare's. The metrical tests, as in the case of *Timon of Athens*, are indicative rather of the play's unfinished state than of later composition. If we carry *Troilus* over to the neighborhood of *Othello* and *Lear*, as some have done, it becomes a gross anachronism and an insult to the plays about it. Molière



wrote a series of comedies in which the jealous lover is made ridiculous as his suspicions prove each new time to be unfounded; and then, without warning, came *Le Misanthrope*, where the suspicions of Alceste prove suddenly to be true. The revelation casts a ghastly light upon the plays before. But did Shakespeare jest coarsely with the theme of woman's purity in the time of *Hamlet* and *Measure for Measure* and *Othello*? Perhaps we cannot do better than follow the conclusion of Fleay, that the piece was partly written at an early period in Shakespeare's life and completed for stage production at a later time. If this is the case, the evolution of Shakespeare's heroine was almost too ideally regular. It "keys" as prettily as if it had been discovered by a Baconian; but—let me add in haste—it wasn't!

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## REVIEWS AND NOTES

WAY, ARTHUR S.: *The Lay of the Nibelung Men*. Cambridge, England. The University Press. 1911. XXI + 325 pp. 8°.

For over one hundred years serious attempts have been made to interpret for the English speaking public the greatest German epic. In 1904 F. E. Sandbach ("The Nibelungenlied and Gudrun in England and America, London") with great thoroughness discussed the various reprints, essays, references and translations which had appeared up to his time. Of all the contributions he mentions, we shall glance at two which may still be of use to the modern reader.

The greatest landmark in this field—as S. justly points out—will always be Carlyle's sympathetic and appreciative essay, which has profoundly influenced writers on the Nibelungenlied to this day. To the "Superman, Carlyle", the titanic energy of the character of the mediaeval lay appealed with elective affinity. Yet Carlyle's literary appreciation at times fell short of justice. So his assertion that the poet "had little power of delineating character"—unthinkingly repeated to this day—has proved misleading to real understanding of the poem. It is true that the character of Siegfried shows the result of insufficient amalgamation of several versions, but the "doughty and generous knights", Gunther, Gernot, Giselher, Ruediger and Dietrich, are carefully differentiated, while Kriemhild stands out as one of the most powerfully conceived personalities in literature, even though the mediaeval poet does not trace step by step the profound changes which life produces in her. In her case, Carlyle fails to note that most significant point of characterization (found in the version he used) where Kriemhild rises to diabolical heights of vengeance in the sacrifice of her own child for the purpose of calling out Etzel's rage against her kin. In Hagen—that absolutely consistent exponent of the Pagan-Germanic view of life—is reached the climax of character delineation in our poem, a prophecy of renaissance methods as exemplified in Shakespeare.

Of the translators mentioned by Sandbach we may still recommend as useful Margaret Armour (cf. Sandbach pp. 76 ff.). In spite of her many inaccuracies, which S. scores with justifiable severity, her book gives the reader a very fair idea of the original and proves charming reading. Furthermore, a good prose translation of any great epic has always its *raison d'être*, because of the larger freedom with which the author can fit his language to the spirit of the original. Last-

ly, Miss A.'s book is more accessible than the rest, because it has recently been republished in cheap form in *Everyman's Library*, London and N. Y., S. A.

Since the appearance of Sandbach's work in 1904, two new and original efforts at Englishing the Nibelungenlied have appeared, each of which attempts the problem with a different method.\*

The work of George H. Needler (*The Nibelungenlied*, translated into Rhymed English Verse in the Meter of the Original, New York, Holt & Co., 1904) is marked by a scholarly spirit, as appears both in the Introduction and the Translation. The former treats of the various versions of the legend, and the most important questions connected with the poem (origins, manuscripts, etc.). However, in the paragraph "Poem and Saga in Modern Literature" (xxx f.) the omission of Ibsen and William Morris (to say nothing of Jordan) is perplexing, and the sweeping condemnation of Wagner's text seems absurd (XXXI). On the other hand, the selection of Ms. B. as a basis of translation is commendable, since Braune has shown that this version is most probably nearest the original.

In the translation Needler evinces an evident understanding of Middle High German—an advantage which saves him from many traps into which less well prepared translators before and after him have fallen. So, for instance, he does not render *milte* & *rich* with "*mild*" and "*rich*" respectively, nor *arebeit* with "labor", nor *hōchgezit* with "marriage-feast"; nor *versprich* with "promise"; nor *liebe* with "love" instead of "joy"; nor *aber* with "but" when it is used in connection with *sprechen*. Occasional lapses should not be quoted against him with too great severity, as when *ein* is translated by "one" where it evidently means "this" or "you" 955. 1; 983, 2; especially 1783, 2 where Hagen lays "*ein vil liehtes Wāfen*" across his knee, i. e. not a "sword" but "the [famous] sword which had belonged to Siegfried. It is more perplexing to have *dô* (2373, 2) rendered by "though"; and when King Etzel's cry of *Wāfen!* (2374, 1) is rendered by "To Arms!" the effect is comic, since any powerful, however unconventional, epithet would have better expressed Etzel's desolation at the wholesale slaughter of his household, than this belated cry to arms.

In conscious opposition to his predecessors, Needler uses

\* In addition to these two works mention should be made of Professor A. B. Shumway's excellent prose translation of the Nibelungenlied (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909). A scholarly introductory sketch and an appendix of instructive Notes make this work especially valuable for the English reader.—Ed.

the original meter—the four-line stanza with an extra foot in the fourth line. He thus reproduces the rhythm, but often at the expense of smoothness and perspicacity. We find such violence to language as: “I deem the thief not I” (849, 1); “tell will we thee aright” (1535, 2); and such linguistic monstrosities as

“Such thing, how hath it been?  
For that thee right joyous / we but now have seen.  
Ne’er lived he so daring / that, having wrought thee ill,  
His life he must not forfeit, if but to vengeance point  
thy will”. (1764)

That this is due essentially to inability to cope with the meter, becomes apparent from other, much smoother passages, such as “How the Queens Berated Each Other” (814 ff.) which gathers in strength and smoothness as it proceeds; the spirited hunting scene (916 ff.); “How They came to Bechelaren” (1650 ff.); the burning of Etzel’s hall (2081 ff.) and others. From the last mentioned we may quote the following stanzas (2111-2118).

## 2111

To burn the hall commanded Etzel’s wife in ire,  
And tortured they those warriors there with flaming fire;  
Full soon with wind upon it the house in flames was seen.  
To any folk did never sadder plight befall, I ween.

## 2112

Their cries within resounded: “Alack for sorest need!  
How mickle rather lay we in storm of battle dead.  
'Fore God 'tis cause for pity, for here we all must die!  
Now doth the queen upon us vengeance wreak full grievously”.

## 2113

Among them spake another: “Our lives we here must end.  
What now avails the greeting the king to us did send?  
So sore this heat oppresseth and parched with thirst my tongue,  
My life from every anguish I ween I must resign ere long”.

## 2114

Then quoth of Tronje Hagen: “Ye noble knights and good,  
Who'er by thirst is troubled here let him drink the blood.  
Than wine more potent is it where such high heat doth rage,  
Nor may we at this season find us a better beverage”.

## 2115

Where fallen knight was lying, thither a warrior went.  
Aside he laid his helmet, to gaping wound he bent,  
And soon was seen a-quaffing therefrom the flowing blood,  
To him though all unwonted yet seemed he there such drinking good.

## 2116

“Now God reward thee, Hagen”, the weary warrior said,  
“That I so well have drunken, thus by thy teaching led.  
Better wine full seldom hath been poured for me,  
And live I yet a season I'll ever faithful prove to thee”.

## 2117

When there did hear the others how to him it seemed good,  
 Many more beheld ye eke that drank the blood.  
 Each thereby new vigor for his body won,  
 And eke for lover fallen wept many a buxom dame anon.

## 2118

The flaming brands fell thickly upon them in the hall,  
 With upraised shields they kept them yet scatheless from their fall,  
 Though smoke and heat together wrought them anguish sore.  
 Beset were heroes never, I ween, by so great woe before.

Because of its exact metrical rendition and correctness of translation, N.'s works has distinct academic value; but we cannot help feeling that it is not primarily adapted to endear the poem to English readers.

Turning now to the work of A. S. Way (the translator of Homer and Greek tragedy) we feel that we come upon a translation of the poem which—in spite of many flaws—is better adapted than were any of its predecessors to give the Nibelungenlied a home in English literature.

To be sure, W. evidently lacks the philological training necessary to put him abreast of his difficult task. To begin with, his Introduction shows ignorance of the results of modern scholarship, and even of some of the most important sources, and consequently is seriously misleading. Such phrases as "the Eddas or prose epics of Iceland", and "the Volsungasaga of the prose Edda" (p. IX) produce a well-nigh hopeless confusion in one's conception of those three different literary productions: the verse Edda, the prose Edda, and the Volsunga-saga. Again, in treating the difficult question of the Mss., Way shows himself unacquainted with most recent discussions, especially with Braune's investigations. Yet, his acquaintance with Bartsch seems to have led him to the felicitous selection of Ms. B as the basis for his translation. Unfortunately, however, he adds a number of unnecessary and often inconsistent strophes from Ms. C. in order to make his translation "correspond with the widely read and modern German versions of Simrock" (p. XIX). This procedure—reprehensible in Simrock many years ago—is even more regrettable in an English version of today.

In contrast with Needler, W. is evidently less intimately acquainted with the dialect of the original, and hence translates *rich* by "wealthy" (or an equivalent) (pp. 1, 2, 11 ff.); *Alzei* by "Alsatian" (p. 2); *gast* by "guest" (p. 15 where it evidently means anything but that); *ir willen* by "thine wish" (p. 41) *brâhte den Herren* by "brought those barons" (p. 127) etc., etc. The cumulative effect of these (and many more little errors of this description) and of the inexact Introduc-

tion is to create a feeling of discomfort and mistrust on the part of the reader. This discord is by no means alleviated by a certain rhetorical element which detracts from the dignified simplicity of the old song. To be sure, there exists here a great, if not insuperable, difficulty in the inherent difference between the German and the English tongues. As the German folk-song and lyric proves (we need but to recall Goethe, Uhland, Mörike) the every-day language of the Germans contains a peculiarly poetic note which renders it extremely fit for simple and direct lyric expression. The same element predominates in this popular epic—dipped though it be in court-atmosphere. In Way's rendition, the simple German text often assumes a foreign—sometimes a hollow gorgeousness.

So the line: *sit lebetē diu vil guote / vil manegen lieben*  
*tac* (18, 2)

becomes

"And her heart-peace flowed as a river through many a  
sunlit day" (p. 3);  
*er hôrte sagen maere / wie ein scoeniū meit* (44, 2)

reads:

"Till the tidings came of a fair-one on a wind of rumour  
blown" (p. 7).

Kriemhild appears as "the Star of Burgundy or Burgundia" (pp. 7, 8, 38 etc.) or "Queen of Beauty" and "crown of pride", "glory of women" (all on p. 8), also p. 41 and where the original rises to the height of *die vil hêrlichen meit* (54, 4) Way makes her "the Lady of Disdain" (p. 8), while "Fairest Fair" (p. 40) and "a very glory sheen" (113) seem a strange embroidery on *der scoenen* (301, 4) and *der schoenen Kriemhilde lîp* (833, 3.) Rhetorical epithets are less liberally bestowed on the heroes. Yet "Star of Chivalry" (p. 15) sounds strange in the mouth of that young fighter Siegfried when he enters Gunther's land with his rough-and-ready challenge. The original reads:

*Ouch hoere ich iu selben der degenheite jehen* (108, 1)

The line:

"Now soon to the fair shall the fearless by the hand of  
love be led", (p. 7)

seems to baptize euphuistically both Siegfried and Kriemhild. Here the original: *sit ward diu edele Kriemhild / des kûenen Sivrides wîp*. (47, 4).

A rococo air is given by a quite superfluous interpolation in the line:

"From a stately tiring bower those daintiest feet forth  
paced" (p. 38),

where the original simply related:

*Von einer kemenâten / sah man si alle gân.* (280, 1)  
*ze Hofe gân* (290, 3) becomes "come where the seed-royal  
 be" (p. 39).

Sentimentally out of character seems Siegfried when he is represented as "*borne down love's dream-river*" (p. 7) for *Do gedâht ûf hôhe minne* (47, 1). On the same page we see him "with the victory in his wing", for which there is no original phrase whatever (see 46, 4). Inanimate objects also come in for their share of gilding. So *des brunnen vluzze* (977, 4) where Siegfried meets his death becomes a spot "where the dimpling ripples laughed" (p. 132); *einem tiefen wald* (926, 1) becomes transformed into "the wood-lawns that the forest's arms enfold" (p. 126) and even towards the very end, though there is a laudable decrease of embroidery as the tragedy proceeds, we find:

"through all the shuddering palace the shivering echoes rang" (p. 318), where the original has the simple and weighty: *daz das hûs erdiezen . . . . began* (2324, 4).

Nevertheless, in spite of these lapses from good taste and from sound scholarship, Ways's work is as a whole very much to be commended. It has a swing and rhythm, a spirited rendering of the pagan atmosphere that carry the reader into the very heart of the ancient lay. It was a bold but a very happy thought to adopt—not the meter of the original or a modification thereof—and a consequent division into strophes, but the vigorous ringing line redolent of youthful freshness which Morris's "*Sigurd the Volsung*" has made familiar to English readers as a fitting vehicle for conveying tales of past valor and glory.

As a consequence W. avoids the pitfalls into which more scholarly translators—only to mention Needler—have been lured by strict adherence to the difficult metrical scheme of the original.

Way's style is characterized by great virility and swing, except for the rhetorical elements mentioned above. Especially spirited and happy are "How the Queens spoke words each unto other" (111 ff.); "How Siegfried was murdered" (124 ff.); the final fight between Hagen and Dietrich (318 ff.). To convey to the reader some idea of Way's method, we may quote the following:

"Of the oath will I make swift ending"! that high-born woman said.  
 To her brother she sent her servants, and she bade them smite him dead.  
 And they hewed his head from his body: she held it on high by the hair  
 In sight of the Hero of Troneg. With grief beyond compare  
 And with indignation of spirit he saw the head of his lord.  
 Grimly he turned on Kriemhild, and spake his latest word:  
 "Thou hast indeed made ending according to thy will."

Even as I had foreseen it, so now doth fate fulfil.  
 Dead now is the noble Gunther, the King of Burgundy,  
 Young Giseler, Lord Gernot—yea, dead be the Princes Three.  
 Now, now of the Hoard none knoweth save God and I alone—  
 Never, thou Child of the Devil, unto thee shall its place be known”!

She answered: “An evil requital hast thou rendered into mine hand!  
 This hold I at least in possession, Siegfried’s battle-brand.  
 He bare it, mine own, my beloved, when I saw him for that last time,  
 Ere thou, to my grief everlasting, wroughtest that foul crime”!  
 She flashed it out of the scabbard—her hand he could not stay—  
 For now from the knight she purposed to rend the life away:  
 On high in her hands she swung it, from his body his head did she smite;  
 And King Etzel saw, and he deemed it an evil and bitter sight.  
 “Woe’s me”! cried the King in anguish; “how is he stricken down,—  
 Stricken by hands of a women!—the hero of chieftest renown  
 That ever in battle’s forefront fighting his buckler bore!  
 Were he never so much my foeman, mine heart is for him full sore”!

Then Master Hildebrand shouted: “This thing shall profit her not  
 That she dared to slay him! What cometh to me I care no jot!—  
 Yea, though he brought me also into mortal peril and pain,  
 I will take in any wise vengeance for valiant Hagen slain”!  
 In wrathful indignation on Kriemhild Hildebrand leapt,  
 And the head of that Daughter of Princes from her shoulders his brand  
 hath swept.  
 With horror she saw him before her like the Spirit of Vengeance rise.  
 What availed her shriek of anguish as the death-flame flashed in her eyes?

Dead all round were they lying, the men foredoomed death’s prey:  
 Hewn in twain in the midmost of all a dead Queen lay!  
 Dietrich and King Etzel into sudden weeping broke,  
 And a bitter voice of wailing went up from all the folk.  
 There was the might and the glory of heroes in death laid low;  
 And the people had for their portion lamentation and mourning and woe.  
 This was the dolorous ending of a great king’s festival!  
 So ever is sorrow begotten of joy at the end of all.

We hope that a second edition will give the translator an opportunity to eliminate the blemishes of his work. It would be easy to rewrite—in part at least—the Introduction, in order to make it correspond to the results of modern scholarship. The task of obliterating the rhetorical element would be more subtle, but most alluring to a translator of Way’s ability. The result would be a work which would far outstrip all its predecessors in the field, and give the Nibelungenlied that position in English literature which other German poems like Goethe’s “Faust” have attained through good translations.

In conclusion, a word should be said of the excellent form in which this book comes before the public. Both in printing and in binding, it is a fine example of good, modern, English bookmaking.

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## THE HOLY GRAIL AND SANSKRIT NATURE-MYTHS.

L. von Schroeder, *Die Vollendung des arischen Mysteriums in Bayreuth*, Munich, 1911, 258 pp. Also von Schroeder's articles on the same subject: "Der arische Naturkult, als Grundlage der Sage vom heiligen Gral". Reprint from *Bayreuther Blätter*, 1911; "Die Wurzeln der Sage vom heiligen Gral", *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Acad. d. Wiss. phil.-hist. Kl.*, Bd. 166. Abt. 2, (1910).

Professor von Schroeder's book has the advantage of a wide outlook. Its author, who is a well-known orientalist, and comparative mythologist, draws parallels from Sanskrit, Greek, Slavic, and other languages not always brought into Grail studies. Von Schroeder's views with regard to the immediate origin of the Grail legend are judicious and in accordance with the best opinion. He sees clearly that the Grail cannot be of purely Christian origin, but must have resulted from a fusion of heathen and Christian elements. He indeed uses to characterize the composite character of the Grail tradition (not without a passing comment on its inordinate length) the adjective "kelto-romano-germanisch-indisch-christlich" (p. 144), and thus definitely places himself among those who believe that the Grail-complex is woven together out of many strands.

Among points which the theory of a purely Christian origin will not explain, von Schroeder mentions;<sup>1</sup> the long and difficult search which is necessary to find the Grail; the other-world character of the Castle itself, which associates it, he thinks, with the land of the dead; the mysterious question which the Grail seeker must ask; and finally the way in which the success of the Grail winner restores fertility to the land.

He might have added that the shape-shifting powers of the Grail King,<sup>2</sup> are well-nigh impossible to explain by the purely Christian theory; that this theory cannot account for the sword of the Grail castle, which is prominent in all of the oldest versions except that of Boron; and finally that nobody has ever heard of any Christian legend having been secularized in the middle ages and made into a semi-heathen affair, although the contrary thing, the fusion of a heathen tale with a Christian idea, and the consequent loss of most of the heathen coloring is quite usual.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Die Wurzeln", pp. 78, 82f.

<sup>2</sup> *Perceval*, ed. Potvin, v. 222.

<sup>3</sup> The latest attempt to urge a purely Christian origin for the Grail legend, that of Miss Peebles, in her Bryn Mawr Dissertation, (*The Legend of Longinus*, etc., Bryn Mawr, Pa., pp. 166-220), gets on by ignoring the above difficulties. Her argument which will have no weight with

Von Schroeder believes in the existence of Kiot,<sup>1</sup> from whom he thinks Wolfram borrowed almost the whole of his account of the Grail. He admits the possibility of Kiot's having combined some features of oriental origin with a primitive Celtic story. He is even willing to see some force in Iselin's<sup>2</sup> suggestion of the Syriac "Shatzhöhle", although he would by no means regard that as an important source.

He is firmly persuaded that the Grail legend is of Celtic growth and that in it heathen Celtic ideas have been fused with Christian ceremonial. Against the historic tradition which ascribes the origin of the Grail legend to the Celts, von Schroeder is certainly right in believing that there are no facts that can make effective opposition.<sup>3</sup> All nations have their vessels of plenty, but the Celts have not merely the vessels of plenty, but the tone and atmosphere of the whole story. In all versions the Grail is connected with the Celtic hero, King Arthur. Perceval is "li gallois". Only from the Celtic could the legend have appeared precisely in the way that it did in the twelfth century.

The main conclusion of von Schroeder's book is that the Aryan race, though separated for five thousand years, finds in Wagner's operas at Bayreuth the complete realization of its primitive drama, which in turn was based on a primitive cult of sun and moon. His conclusion rests on parallels drawn from stories of all dates belonging to widely scattered Aryan peoples.

The method is a terribly difficult one, and the reader has a right to require from the comparative mythologist the keen-

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specialists, runs in brief thus: The theory of purely Christian origin will explain very many of the features of the Grail legend, *ergo*, it must explain them all. But clearly the test of a theory is the things it will not explain. The ordinary reader may be led astray, for Miss Peebles omits to mention any of the difficulties. She is chiefly concerned to prove the Christian character of the spear, but she fails to mention that of the three oldest versions of the Grail legend (Chrétien, 1175c, Boron, 1200c, Wolfram, 1210c), precisely the one which is most influenced by Christianity, omits the spear altogether. It is not possible that Boron should have omitted the spear, had it been in origin, as Miss Peebles says, the spear of Longinus. The theory of a fusion of heathen talismans with Christian symbols meets well-nigh all difficulties, and is, therefore, the only theory that has any real standing.

<sup>1</sup> "Die Wurzeln", p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> L. E. Iselin, *Der morgenländische Ursprung der Grallegende*, Halle, 1909. Traces of oriental influence do not appear in the oldest versions, (Chrétien, 1175c, and Wauchier, who, though he wrote later, probably preserves a more archaic story). They begin in Boron, 1200c, but chiefly in Wolfram, 1210c. Oriental influences can, therefore, have been only of subsidiary force in the growth of the Grail legend, not as Iselin thinks, the basis of the story.

<sup>3</sup> "Derarische Naturkult", p. 1, 8; "Die Wurzeln", p. 60.

est discrimination, and the most carefully poised judgment. Professor von Schroeder does not always display a sufficiently cool head to inspire us with complete confidence. Among unguarded ideas in his book are:

1. The exasperatingly frequent recurrence of portions of the established ritual used by worshippers of Wagner. Let Wagner's name be mentioned, and nothing will serve but a "Te Deum Laudamus". Wagner's dramas are perfect, and no flaw or weakness in anything the master wrote or thought is hinted at. They are the completion of everything artistic that the Aryan people have ever striven for, and are faultless in every particular.

2. Von Schroeder has not been at the pains to gain a first-hand knowledge of the oldest forms of the Grail legend (in Old French). He makes all his quotations at second hand from Birch-Hirschfeld, Heinzel, Wechssler, etc. As a direct consequence of this he uses in drawing his parallels not a conception of the Grail legend derived solely from the oldest known sources (Chrétien, perhaps Wauchier, Boron, Wolfram), which is obviously the safe thing to do, but an eclectic notion of the Grail derived in part from later Grail romances. Thus his argument is weakened to a degree difficult to determine.

3. For the Sanskrit end of his comparison von Schroeder employs, not a single well-defined story, or even two or three stories having the same hero, and found in closely related documents, but a large number of tales collected widely from Sanskrit literature, some from the ancient *Rigveda*, others from the *Mahābhārata*, which may not be much older than the Grail legend itself. Here again his argument lacks tangibility.

The numerous parallels which von Schroeder cites make plain that ancient Aryan peoples had mythical stories about culture heroes, who brought from the land of the gods precious objects for the use of man. It is also clear that the Grail story bears some resemblance to this type of myth. The chief points of resemblance between Sanskrit story and the Legend of the Holy Grail seem to be as follows:

1. The Grail castle is in an almost inaccessible place, which may be identified with the otherworld, or the land of spirits. In the Sanskrit story the talismans are frankly brought from heaven, or from the region of the gods. But this parallel becomes less impressive as soon as one recalls that all peoples have stories of treasure supposed to have been brought from the spirit land.

2. The Grail in several stories floats mysteriously in the air. The Sanskrit magic dish, containing soma, which was

originally identified with the moon, would naturally be represented as floating in the air. It is to be noted, however, that the Sanskrit stories describing the dish do not seem to speak of it as floating. In connection with this should be observed something that von Schroeder did not notice, viz., that the bleeding lance is sometimes represented as floating in the air.<sup>1</sup> Von Schroeder seeks an origin for the bleeding lance in lightning, or the thunderbolt of the gods. Possibly he would explain the floating of the lance by the appearance of lightning in the air, but to make association between the darting lightning and the calm floating of the bleeding lance seems far fetched. It is more likely that these passages about the lance prove the commonness of the idea of floating in the air, which might become ascribed to any marvelous object. If so, the whole notion that the floating of the Grail connects it with the moon dish of the east is far fetched. In the oldest known forms of the Grail story (Chrétien, Boron, Wolfram) neither Grail nor lance floats, but is carried in procession.

3. In the story of "Rishyacranga" occurs a hero who is, as von Schroeder says, "a pure fool like Perceval" [In the oldest versions, Chrétien, Wauchier, however, Perceval is not "a pure fool"], who marries the daughter of a king, and by so doing restores fertility to his wasted land. But the "Rishyacranga" is not in the *Rigveda*, and is not directly connected with the winning of a heavenly dish. It seems doubtful, therefore, whether the resemblances between the stories of Rishyacranga and Perceval are sufficient to prove that they belong originally to the same type.

Von Schroeder's method is to strip the Grail legend of nearly all its peculiar features, leaving only what he regards as its central idea, and then to find parallels to this simple idea in all Aryan lands. His central idea is so lacking in characteristics that parallels to it may be found almost anywhere. He fails to convince us that the oriental story and the Grail legend are really at bottom the same thing. We feel that they may be based on somewhat different conceptions, and that the resemblances which he thinks fundamental may be accidental and adventitious. It is fair, I think, to say that von Schroeder's method strips the Grail of nearly all its peculiar features. He equates the Grail with the wonderful mill, which grinds out anything you want. For example, in the Märchen the mill that ground out salt, and could not be stopped. Surely to identify the Grail with the mill, one has to reduce the ideas to very simple terms. In another place

<sup>1</sup> E. g. in the "Demanda del Sancto Grial", *Nueva Bib.*, ed. Bonilla, VI, 110.

he says that the search for the Grail is really the same idea as the search for the treasure of the Nibelungen. When the Grail story is regarded as merely a quest for a valuable object, parallel stories spring up all over the world, not merely in Aryan lands, but among American Indians,<sup>1</sup> and in far-off Australian islands.

Although von Schroeder may have failed to establish a fundamental connection between Sanskrit story and the Legend of the Holy Grail, he has brought forward a large number of somewhat analogous stories from many Aryan lands, and he has made it probable that the quest of the Holy Grail belongs to the general class of stories which deal with the bringing of celestial treasure for the service of man. In doing this von Schroeder has performed a considerable service, and he might have avoided most of the objections to his book if he had said clearly somewhere that he was not expecting to prove a definite connection between the legend of the Grail and the various quest stories which he has outlined. These stories are illustrative and may help to define what was the kernel of the legend in the minds of its Celtic narrators.

The parallels cited by von Schroeder perhaps slightly strengthen the idea that the kernel of the Grail story was a culture myth. It has been urged with eagerness by Miss Weston<sup>2</sup> that the Grail legend originated in the initiation ceremony of some forgotten agrarian cult. The initiation idea as she shows, correlates the mysterious question, the restoration of fertility to the land, and several minor points which are otherwise hard to explain. Von Schroeder, in defending the idea of a cult, to which he has also arrived, says nothing about testimony from modern secret societies or from modern followers of the occult, to which Miss Weston gives a large place. This is wise, for to argue as Miss Weston does, because modern societies have ceremonials resembling that of the Grail, that from similar ceremonies the Grail legend must be derived, is very hazardous. In view of the great popularity of the Grail stories for centuries, it is *a priori* more likely that the ritual of the secret societies has been influenced by the mysterious Grail romances.

Von Schroeder likewise avoids another hazardous assumption

<sup>1</sup> Compare the Cheyenne Indian story of the hero "Mutsiuiiv", who conveyed to his tribe from the spirit land buffalo-cap and "medicine-arrows". His visit restored fertility to their land, and the talismans brought back the herds of buffalo. G. B. Grinnell, *Jour. of Am. Folk-Lore*, XXI, 269 f. (1908).

<sup>2</sup> *The Grail and the Rites, of Adonis*, *Folk-Lore*, XVIII, (1907); *The Legend of Sir Perceval*, II, 249f., (1909).

tion made by Miss Weston,<sup>1</sup> viz., that some of the mediaeval narrators of the Grail legend (e. g. Boron) understood that it reflected the rites of a secret cult, and were aware of the occult meaning of the symbols Grail and spear.<sup>2</sup>

I am not yet convinced that the Grail legend sprang from the initiation ceremonies of a cult. In the oldest forms of the legend (Chrétien, Wauchier, Wolfram), a basis in some *Märchen* telling of a strife between wizard families which was carried on by means of supernatural talismans seems rather to be suggested. This *Märchen* might, so far as I can see, be older, and cult influence have operated later, if at all. The strife of kinsmen, distinctly pictured in the English *Syr Percyvelle*, which probably represents an extremely primitive form of the story,<sup>3</sup> and mentioned in *Diu Crône*, v. 29497f., is hard to reconcile with an initiation ceremony, however excellently the latter may explain the mysterious question. A doubt suggested by Huet (*Romania*, XXXIX, 102, 1910) also seems to me to demand more evidence. Did agrarian cults like that of Adonis which represented the vegetable deity in human form, flourish among the Celts? Their existence seems not to have been demonstrated except at the eastern end of the Mediterranean. It is evident that we are still some distance from a solution of the Grail problem. Let us be thankful for the additional parallels which von Schroeder has collected. They are interesting and if considered coolly need not mislead us.

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<sup>1</sup> *Legend of Sir Perceval*, II. 315.

<sup>2</sup> The agrarian cult idea is presented in a thoughtful argument which avoids the extra-hazardous methods of Miss Weston by Professor W. A. Nitze, "The Fisher King in the Grail Romances", P. M. L. A. XXIV, 365 (1909). Parallels are here drawn between the Grail ceremony and the Eleusinian mysteries.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. R. H. Griffith's dissertation, *Sir Perceval of Galles*, Chicago, (1911), although clogged with a mass of exasperatingly useless details, has valuable pages in its Chapter III, which tend to show that *Syr Percyvelle* is derived from something older than Crétien. This view is also upheld by Strucks, *Der junge Parzival*, Münster dissertation, 1910.

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DAS SCHWACHE PRÄTERITUM UND SEINE VORGESCHICHTE, von Hermann Collitz, Professor of Germanic Philology, Johns Hopkins University. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1912. Pp. XVI and 256. (Hesperia, Schriften zur germanischen Philologie herausgegeben von Hermann Collitz, Nr. 1.)

The aim of this new periodical is given in the opening words of the preface: Die Sammlung, deren erstes Heft hiermit aus-

gegeben wird, ist aus den Bedürfnissen der germanischen Philologie in den Vereinigten Staaten erwachsen. Sie sucht ihre Eigenart ähnlichen Sammelwerken gegenüber darin, dass ihre Mitarbeiter in erster Linie aus Philologen bestehen werden, die an amerikanischen Universitäten wirken oder an solchen ihre Ausbildung erhalten haben.

The subject discussed in this first number is one with which Professor Collitz has dealt before. The book is divided into six chapters. I, the introduction, reviews the older and the current explanations of the weak preterit, closing with the plan of the investigation. In II an attempt is made to prove that the dental of the weak preterit not only coincides with that of the weak participle but also, at least originally, with that of the verbal abstracts in *-ti-*; and, in III, that this dental was IE. *t*. IV treats of the origin of this *t*, and of the endings of the weak preterit. The conclusion is reached that the dental was originally a part of the medial perf. ending *-tai* of the 3d sing., extended to the other forms. In the *-ēd-* of Goth. *iddj-ēd-um*, *paurft-ēd-um*, *hausid-ēd-um*, etc. Collitz, following K. F. Johanson, sees a parallel to Skt. *-āth-* in the 2d dual. V treats of the stemform and the accent of the weak preterit, showing that the vowel gradation corresponded originally to that of the medial perfect. In VI, the appendix, are discussed the Lat. perfect and the Gr. aorist passive, and their relation to the Germ. weak preterit.

Collitz's theory has much in its favor. It gives a simple, consistent explanation of the weak preterit, and makes this preterit, like other tense-forms, a survival not a new formation. Hence *mahta*, *kunþa*, *wissa*, *hogda* come under one head, not several.

The objection that a *t-* suffix could not be assumed for such forms as *hogda*, *habda* is beautifully met by the proof of the statement: Indog. Wurzeln mit anlautender und auslautender Aspirata geben im Germanischen beim Auftreten eines *t-* Suffixes die Aspiration im Auslaute ganz auf, während sonst (also bei Wurzeln, die nicht mit Aspirata anlauten) die Aspiration von der auslautenden Aspirata auf das *t* des antretenden Suffixes übergeht. Hence Goth. *gadrauhþs* but *gahugds*, *gifts* but OS. *habda*.

But some objections will still remain to details of Collitz's theory. Tho the *-da* in Goth. *skulda*, *nasida*, etc. may originally have been identical with the *-da* in *bairada*, it is certain that the endings of the former were changed from their earlier form. In pre-Germ. they may have been *-tōm*, *-tēs* and *-tos*, *-tai* and perhaps *-tēt*, etc. For tho IE. final *-ai* regularity gives Goth. *-a*, it probably gives W. Germ. *-ē*, later *-e*.

The forms of the 1st and 3d sing. in Germ. are such as might come from pre-Germ. *-tōm* and *-tai* or *-tēt*.

According to Collitz this can not be; for, as he claims, pre-Germ. *-ām* and *-ā* fall together in *-a*. In this he is decidedly wrong. IE. *-ā*, *-ām* give Germ. (urgerm.) open *-ō* and open nasal *-ō*, whence Goth. *-a* and *-a*, O. N. *-u* (falling away) and *-a*, W. Germ. *-u* (falling later after a long syllable) and *-a*. Thus IE. nom. *\*ghebhā*, acc. *\*ghebhām* give Goth. nom. *giba*, acc. *giba*; O. N. nom. *giǫf*, acc. *\*giafa* (compare the adj. *spøk*, *spaka*); O. E. nom. *giefu*, acc. *giefe*; O. H. G. nom. *\*gebu* (cp. *chimeinidh* with *-u* dropt as in the adj. *blint*), acc. *geba*, displacing the nom. With the nom. *\*ghebhā* compare the identical form as instrumental: O. N. *giǫf*, O. H. G. *gebu* (with *-e-* instead of *-i-* by analogy). Compare also the verb form *\*ghebhō*: Goth. *giba*, O. H. G. *gibu*.

Several other inaccuracies are found in the book. I will mention only one other. On p. 165 Collitz explains the *y* in O. E. *dyde* as an umlaut of an earlier *u*. That is probably not so. But in any case the forms adduced to substantiate this explanation are misinterpreted. O. E. *dōan*, O. Fries. *dua dwa* (from older *\*dōan* like *hua* from *\*hō(h)an*, Goth. *hāhan*), O. S. *duan* for *duoan*, *dōan*, which likewise occur, are all formed after the analogy of other infinitives in *-an* (cf. Siebs, Pauls Grdr. I<sup>2</sup>, 1210).

However, these minor slips do not detract from the value of Collitz's theory and of his many keen observations on various Germ. forms.

And yet, tho Collitz may be right in his general contention, it is still possible that the medial ending of the 2d sing., *-thēs*, may also have had its part in the formation of the weak preterit. Some might even contend that the ending *-thēs* not *-tai* was the starting point. For the comparison Skt. *mathās*: Goth. *mundēs* is too good to be lightly thrown over.

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FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHES WERKE: Gross 8° Gesamt-Ausgabe. Bd. xviii. Philologica Bd. ii, herausgegeben von Otto Crusius. Leipzig, Alfred Kröner Verlag. 1912. Pp. xiv + 340. Brosch. M. 9, geb. M. 11.

The present volume contains selections from Nietzsche's lectures on Greek Literature, Rhetoric and Metric, delivered at Basel between the years 1870 and 1876, together with extracts from certain *Rhythmische Untersuchungen* upon which he spent a large portion of the year 1871, as he says, "in der er-



schrecklichen Lektüre der griechischen u. lateinischen Metriker”.

Of the quantities of available material ranging from loose leaf collections and excerpts, sketches and plans, to the finished lectures, only a portion has been published. It would seem that the selections have been made with circumspection for their average quality is good. The general plan followed was drafted by Dr. Ernst Holzer, and carried out, after his death, by Professor Otto Crusius. A more fortunate choice of an editor could not have been made: an intimate friend of Holzer, with whom he had discussed many of the problems that arise in publishing these lectures, an eminent classical philologist and editor, a specialist in ancient Music and Verse Theory, long since concerned with the question of Nietzsche's relation to classical antiquity through his intimate friendship with Nietzsche's comrade, Erwin Rohde, the fruit of which is a classic biography of that eminent scholar. Needless to say the work of editing is formally and scientifically irreproachable. An admirable introduction, pp. vii to xiv, explains the plan of the edition and adds some suggestive remarks on the significance of this material for the understanding of Nietzsche's philosophy. At the end, pp. 323 to 340, is a valuable series of observations relative to the state of the *Nachlass*, its principal sources, the conditions under which the lectures were composed, and a number of explanatory and correcting notes. The printing is in the main well done. I have noticed only two really obscure sentences, which is remarkable considering the state of the original. An occasional *constructio ad sensum* of course, bothers no one. Nietzsche's individual punctuation, which is rhetorical rather than logical, has been wisely retained.<sup>1</sup>

The lectures, with the exception of those on Rhythmic, are intensely interesting reading. The young professor goes directly to sources, and treats his material in independent and refreshing style. New view points abound, and there is much that even the philological specialist will read with profit. Errors, to be sure, are not wholly absent, but their number is surprisingly small for a set of lectures that were never intended for publication.

<sup>1</sup> It is, however, a pity that an occasional broken letter has been allowed to mar the appearance of the Greek print. That a single defective symbol (  $\varphi$  ) should be allowed to disfigure three different pages (5 bis, 110, 177) is inexcusable. One might remark in passing that the publishers could well pay more attention to their printing of Greek. In a recent book of the same house, *Der Junge Nietzsche*, von Elizabeth Förster-Nietzsche, in twenty-eight bits of Greek all told in text and notes I have noted errors in pp. 44, 196, 233, 443, 446, 447 and 449.

Exaggerations and false perspectives are more frequent, but they are always suggestive even when least convincing. There are many really fine passages. Seldom has "die That des Homers", that is the mastery of composition in mass and detail been more finely expressed and emphasized (cf. p. 22, 157<sup>e</sup>, 171). Striking is the delineation of the sorrow and gloom that pervades the work of Sophocles (p. 48). The criticism and appreciation of Thucydides (p. 99 ff.), of Aristophanes (p. 63), of Aristotle (pp. 77 ff., 114), of Lysias (p. 212), of Demosthenes (p. 222), the analysis of primitive un-literary culture among the Greeks (p. 131 ff.), and of the difference between the ancient and the modern drama (p. 43), are admirable. Significant is the good faith in which he accepts tradition. Anecdotes, the most treacherous variety of historical sources, are frequently taken at face value. Most curious is the paragraph upon the *Todesarten* of Greek men of letters, wherein the most notoriously cock-and-bull stories are naively recounted, with only a final reservation regarding the doubtful "Fides vieler Nachrichten". He even ventures upon an original interpretation of the old joke about an eagle having killed Aeschylus by dropping a tortoise upon the bald and shining pate which he had mistaken for a flat rock. Nietzsche was, to be sure, not unconscious of his conservative position. He openly announces his hostility to athetesis as a means of exegesis (p. 74). Like his great teacher Ritschl, as Crusius observes, he seems to have felt that one should set about to understand a foreign subject not in captiousness but in love. And in not a few of his positions he was no doubt justified, judging by the present tone of later criticism. Thus he believed in the authenticity of Plato's Letters (p. 76), in a single, incomparable artist, Homer, (pp. 20 ff.), and accepted the scratched potsherds of Troy as evidences of writing—since confirmed by the discoveries in Crete.

It is the philosopher and man of letters, however, in whom most are interested, and it is hardly too much to say that every page and paragraph is significant for the student of Nietzsche's philosophical development. His attitude toward every problem is significant of one or another phase of his complex character. Most striking perhaps is the feeling for rhetoric, the sound and rhythm values of the spoken word. His demand for reading aloud is an echo of the antique, and his own works most abundantly repay the effort. His rather singular admiration for Theopompus (pp. 112 ff.) is no doubt due to the emphasis which the latter placed upon rhetorical values. His sole defense of Cicero, never more bitterly arraigned than in those years, is that he was "einer der gröss-

ten Rhythmiker, die je gelebt haben; man muss ihm *deshalb* sehr viel verzeihen" (p. 229). Thrasymachus' development of the rhythmic period is "welthistorisch" (p. 208). In fact Nietzsche goes so far as to see in the art of Rhetoric the essentially Greek national gift and characteristic in its most typical form (p. 166). This he expresses in a variety of ways; thus it is "die Ordnung, Verschönerung und Verflachung" (p. 164), as he asserts that the Greek genius set an "unbedingter Rücksicht auf dieses Erscheinen-Sollen" (p. 146); its greatest creation that of the Olympian gods (p. 166): its main purpose "Nachahmen zur künstlichen Täuschung" (p. 166), "den schönen Schein über den Ernst und die Wahrheit zu stellen" (p. 164). In a moment of more enthusiasm he speaks of the great achievement as a "heldenhaftes Durchdringen zur leichten reinen Composition" (p. 171), and of Poetry as the "Sieg des hellen Geistes über die Gefahren der Dunkelheit" (p. 172). These are indeed fine expressions of a partial truth, but as surely inadequate, and, unless materially qualified, misleading. Consistency forces him to the paradoxical position: "So sind die grossen Künstler wegen ihres charaktervollen Ernstes, mit dem sie ihre Kunst nahmen, Ausnahmen innerhalb der hellenischen Welt" (p. 169). In his attempt to show that devotion to truth is not a characteristic of the Greeks as such he is led to assume foreign ancestry of a determining character for Democritus, Thucydides, Aristotle (all Thracian!), while he finds it easy to believe that the great Ionians were under Oriental influences (*ex Oriente lux!*). The creator of Zarathustra refers Tragedy, Philosophy and Science to a "Sturzwelle asiatischer Einflüsse", for "das Ernster-Tiefwerden der Hellenen kam ihnen nicht von innen" (p. 164). (To look for *origins* in places where the *things themselves* demonstrably never existed is no sound philological method; possibly it is philosophic). The mystic-religious chord is ever vibrant; it leads occasionally to such overstatements as that all work-rhythms are magical (p. 141), and that the purpose of the dance was originally to call the god by stamping upon the earth (p. 143).

It evidently cost Nietzsche an effort to be fair towards Xenophon: in Menander he finds "auffallend viel schwächliche Humanität" (p. 66). Aristotle excites admiration for his wonderful control of the two styles, his bald philosophical researches alongside of the golden flow of his dialogues (pp. 77 ff., 114). Nietzsche has evidently himself in mind, his simple philological essays (Wagner called them Latin, not German), and his rhetorically dazzling aphorisms and philosophical works. The doctrine of the "ewige Wiederkehr" appears

for the first time in a discussion of Aristotle (p. 117). The man who would be no memory-sub to carry his reasons about with him naturally belittles Plato's achievements in Dialectic (p. 75) and characteristically observes "So gilt eine Niederwerfung in der Dialektik für einen Sieg der Wahrheit—unwirklichen" (p. 165). There seems to be an unconscious attempt to justify the attraction which artistic prose had for him in the passage (pp. 156 ff. where he tries to show that prose was an achievement of the nobility, whereas poetry came generally from the middle classes. Typical are his scornful references to "übermässiges Zeitungslesen" and "barbarische Illustrationsucht" on the part of his contemporaries. In short these lectures are full of valuable matter which cannot be neglected by any serious student of Nietzsche's intellectual origins and the development of his speculative thought. Crusius well points out that more should be made of Nietzsche's professional studies as a key to the understanding of his life work, a method of approach which has recently been inaugurated by Oehler: *Friedrich Nietzsche und die Vorsokratiker*, in the concluding chapter—*Nietzsche und die Antike*—of Joel's brilliant book, and especially in Nestle's admirable essay in the *Neue Jahrbücher* for 1912.

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HANS SACHS AND GOETHE. A study in Meter by Mary Cacy Burchinal, Ph. D., 1912 (*Hesperia* Nr. 2)

Die vorliegende Studie sucht das "Problem" des Einflusses von Hans Sachs auf Goethe in folgender Weise zu lösen:

In Kapitel I werden auf 22 Seiten die Ansichten verschiedener Untersucher des Sachsschen Verses chronologisch dargestellt und in zwei Klassen resümiert. Kapitel II (8 Seiten) tut dasselbe für den Knittelvers vor Hans Sachs. In Kapitel III (7 Seiten) wird Herrmanns Hypothese, Goethe habe seinen Knittelvers nicht von Hans Sachs, sondern von Gryphius übernommen, mit einer Berufung auf Feise abgewiesen, des letzteren Resultate jedoch sonst, was Goethes Knittelvers selbst anbetrifft, verworfen. Kapitel IV ist überschrieben: The "Urfaust" in Conformity with the Knittelvers. Der Autor geht folgendermassen vor: Auf 2 Seiten wird zuerst Haupts Arbeit verworfen, eine Mischung der Versarten im Urfaust mit Feise angenommen und das in den folgenden Texten adoptierte Akzentsystem auseinander-gesetzt. Es folgen auf 8 Seiten der Abdruck von Sachs' Schürzenstich Landt, Sant Petter mit der gais und des Urfaust-

monologs bis "Antwortet mir, wenn ihr mich hört." Hans Sachs wird mit Sarans alternierender Technik akzentuiert, Goethe desgleichen. Schwebende Betonung wird ausgezählt, und es ergibt sich für die drei Texte das Verhältnis von 9.5%, 12.5% und 3.6% oder vielmehr, da einige Fälle in Compositis vorkommen und solches als "permissible in the Middle High German period" bezeichnet wird, das folgende: 7.6%, 11.7%, 3.3%. Kreuzreim ist angewandt in den letzten Versen des Monologs, um den Uebergang zu andersgearteten Metren zu erleichtern, wie das ähnlich im Jahrmarktsfeste und im Satyros zu finden sei. Eine Bibliographie von beinahe 3 Seiten schliesst die Abhandlung.

Die Diskrepanz von Titel und eingeschlagener Methode ist aus dieser kurzen Inhaltsausgabe wohl klar genug zu ersehen. Der Verfasser erbringt nirgends einen Beweis für die gemachten Aufstellungen und ist einer Aufgabe wie der vorliegenden überhaupt nicht gewachsen. Die Metrik bleibt papiern. Das wirklich Neue an Sarans Theorie, dass nämlich der didaktische oder naiv erzählende Charakter des Hans Sachsverses die alternierende, stark mit Melodiestufen arbeitende Lesung rechtfertigt, ist gar nicht erkannt. Und wenn diese Technik nun gar dem Urfaust aufgezwungen wird, entsteht eine schreckliche Disharmonie von Inhalt und Form. Und dass der junge Goethe sich zu einem solchen mechanischen Experiment sollte hergegeben haben, wie mit Notwendigkeit daraus folgt, wenn man die Verse nämlich wie angegeben lesen will, ist das Schlimmste dabei.

Es ist sehr bedauerlich, dass solche Sachen gedruckt werden, mehr noch, dass sie in der *Hesperia* erscheinen. Die Idee dieser Sammlung hat wohl jeder mit Freude begrüsst, in der Hoffnung, dass sie der Schwierigkeit wissenschaftlicher Veröffentlichung ein wenig steuern werde.

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JOHN DENNIS, HIS LIFE AND CRITICISM. By H. G. Paul, Ph. D. The Columbia University Press; New York, 1911.

Professor Paul's *John Dennis* is an important contribution to the history of English literary criticism,—one of the most important, indeed, since the appearance of Spingarn's *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*. As the title of the work indicates, it is divided into two parts,—the first dealing with Dennis's life; the second, with his criticism. The biographical part is noteworthy from the fact that it is the fullest life of

the once famous critic that has yet appeared, Professor Paul's researches having brought to light many new facts concerning him and his relations with contemporary writers. It is doubtful, however, whether these new facts will do much to change the general opinion of Dennis. To most of those who know him, he is, and probably will remain, a critic in whom real merit and solid attainments were, to a very considerable extent, rendered nugatory by a disposition on his part to insist somewhat too strenuously on his own point of view. There is a positiveness about his statements that must have been trying in the extreme to those of his contemporaries who disagreed with him. Phrases like "it is universally acknowledged", "it follows by undeniable consequence", occur with exasperating frequency in his critical works. "The twilight of dubiety," to use Lamb's phrase, "never falls upon him." For him, the truth is always as clear as day. It was this positiveness in him, as much, probably, as the ill-nature with which he was so frequently charged, that involved him in most of those quarrels with other writers which embittered his later life.

In the sketch of the principal critical tendencies of the age which Professor Paul gives before proceeding to an analysis of Dennis's critical opinions, exception might possibly be taken to the rather slight recognition accorded to the part which the Elizabethans played in preparing the way for the development of these tendencies. With regard to the moralistic tendency of the age, for example, it ought not to be forgotten that the tone of Elizabethan criticism is almost, if not quite, as moralistic as that of the late seventeenth century. The Collier controversy over the immorality of the stage had its exact counterpart in the Gosson controversy a century earlier. It ought not to be forgotten, too, that critics of the sixteenth century entertained the idea, so much discussed in the seventeenth century, that the Christian religion, rather than pagan mythology, should be made the basis of poetry. Harington, for example, in the Preface to his translation of the *Orlando Furioso*, commends that poem for its "infinite places full of Christen exhortation, doctrine, and example", and declares that "in this point (his) author is to be preferred before all ancient poets, in which are mentioned so many false gods, and of them so many fowle deeds. . . as were both obscenous in recital and hurtful in example."<sup>1</sup>

In his sketch of rationalism, Professor Paul follows Spingarn pretty closely. For example, he accepts Spingarn's characterization<sup>2</sup> of Rymer as one who regarded a knowledge of

<sup>1</sup> Gregory Smith, *Eliz. Crit. Essays*, II, 213.

<sup>2</sup> See his Introduction to *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*.

the classics quite unnecessary for the purposes of criticism, common sense being sufficient. Such a characterization, however, scarcely represents that critic's position fairly. Rymer was a firm believer in the rules, and even went so far as to declare that the chorus ought to have a place on the modern stage. He did not of course accept the rules simply on the strength of Aristotle's authority: naiveté of that kind was not very common in so sophisticated an age as his. He did, however, believe that the principles deduced by Aristotle from the practice of the Greek poets, his masters, were as binding upon the moderns as upon the ancients, and asserted that the reasons for believing so were as "convincing and clear as any demonstration in mathematics."<sup>1</sup> His appeal to common sense or reason—by which he meant the simple understanding faculty of the normal man—was to show that the changes which had taken place in the intellectual world since the times of the ancients had not in the least, as some were suggesting, rendered these principles obsolete. To the objection that "Athens and London have not the same meridian," he replied that nature and man were the same in both places, and that what in itself pleased at the one place would be found equally pleasing at the other. He would not of course have the poets revamp the old stories, nor would he have "oracles or goddesses on the stage"; he would, however, have the Greek *method* followed. As for the critics, common sense would, he thought, be found sufficient in many things; but he by no means regarded it as capable of revealing all that the critic should know about literary art. The rôle of Aristotle was not quite complete; his commentators were still able to shed new light on the epic and the drama. "We begin to understand the epic poem," he declared in the Epistle prefixed to his *Short View of Tragedy*, "by means of Bossu; and tragedy by Monsieur Dacier."

Professor Paul's analysis of Dennis's critical views—perhaps the most important part of his work—leaves little to be desired on the score of either clearness or thoroughness. There is, to be sure, some little hesitancy displayed as to whether Dennis ought to be called a thoroughgoing rationalist or not; but Professor Paul concludes that perhaps a better name for him would be "a dogmatist who supported his positions by asserting that they were based upon reason." Thoroughgoing rationalist, Dennis certainly was not; he set too high a value on the emotional element in poetry to permit his taking that position. Whether we regard him as a dogmatist or as a rationalist, however, is of small moment. Of

<sup>1</sup> Preface to *Rapin's Reflections*.

greater importance is it that we recognize in him a critic who, in an age when rationalism and subservience to the rules were the dominating tendencies in criticism, refused to allow either his reason or the rules to dictate to him absolutely what he should like or what he should not. "Good sense," he once remarked, "is not sufficient to form a good taste in poetry."<sup>1</sup> As for the rules, he declared that he was for observing them "as much as any man living,"<sup>2</sup> but only upon conditions. He would not, for instance, follow them so far as to try to impose the practice of the Greek tragedians upon the English stage. He recognized the fact that the conditions under which the drama in England had developed were different from those which had obtained in ancient Greece. Hence, though he preferred, on the whole, the method of Sophocles to that of Shakespeare, he could see that the latter was compatible with the production of really good work. In any case, —and this is what distinguishes him especially from such a narrow formalist as Rymer,—he could appreciate Shakespeare's merits, even if he disapproved of his method. Shakespeare's faults, he said, were to be set down "to his education, and to the age that he lived in;" but in spite of these faults, "he had so fine a talent for touching the passions," that his scenes "often touched us more without their due preparations, than those of other tragic poets who have all the beauty of design and all the advantages of incidents".<sup>3</sup>

With regard to the influences which contributed to mold Dennis's critical views, Dennis had, of course, steeped himself in the critical lore that had been handed down from ancient times; but, like most of the English critics of the time, he had interpreted this doctrine very largely in the light of the commentaries of the French critics of the age of Louis XIV. His theory of the epic, for example, which he elaborates in his *Remarks upon Prince Arthur*, is little more, as Professor Paul points out, than an adaptation of Le Bossu's *Traité du Poème Épique*. Of the great critics of ancient times, his especial favorite was Longinus, to whose influence, doubtless, we are to ascribe the softening in him of the rather hard intellectuality of the rationalistic creed of the age.

Among the writers of his own country who influenced him perceptibly, by all odds the most important were Dryden and Milton. His immediate master was, of course, Dryden. After Dryden's death, indeed, he may be said, in a way, to have carried on the older critic's work. His position, on the whole,

<sup>1</sup> *Remarks upon Prince Arthur*, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> *The Impartial Critic* (Spingarn's *Critical Essays*, III, 180).

<sup>3</sup> *Original Letters*, II, 372.



was not very different from that of Dryden. On one or two points only,—such, for example, as that relating to the aim of poetry,—did he differ markedly from Dryden. Dryden, it is true, held various views as to the aim of poetry. In his *Defense of the Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, he declared that its chief, if not its only, end is delight; but in the *Parallel of Poetry and Painting*, he reversed this opinion and gave the priority to instruction. But though he might hesitate as to where the emphasis should be placed, he always held that delight and instruction were coördinate ends; the one might, under certain conditions, become more prominent than the other, but each had a right to be regarded as a primary end. For Dennis, however, as became one who inherited in some measure the religious fervor and stern Puritan morality of Milton, delight could be regarded only as a secondary or subordinate end, instruction being the sole principal end,<sup>1</sup>—a point of view distinctly rejected by Dryden, as is evident from his *Discourse Concerning the Origin and Progress of Satire* (1693). “They who will not grant me,” he writes, “that pleasure is one of the ends of poetry, but that it is only a means of compassing the only end, which is instruction, must yet allow, that, without the means of pleasure, the instruction is but a bare and dry philosophy.” That Milton should have appealed strongly to Dennis, is not surprising in view of the latter’s attitude toward Longinus; for Milton, more than any other English writer, exemplifies in the field of creative work what Longinus stands for in criticism. Professor Paul, therefore, rightly calls attention to the debt which Dennis owes to Milton. Not only did Dennis imitate Milton’s verse, but he found in Milton, as well as in Longinus, justification for the prominent position which he assigns to the element of passion in poetry. “Poetry is poetry,” he declared, “because it is more passionate and sensual than prose”,—in which expression we have, without doubt, an echo of the “simple, sensuous, and passionate” of Milton’s famous phrase. Perhaps the strongest influence attracting Dennis to Milton, however, was, as Professor Paul says, “the pronouncedly religious character of the great poet’s work.” It was a cardinal doctrine with Dennis that poetry, to be great, must be deeply religious. The moderns, he thought, fell short of the ancients because they did not saturate their poetry with the spirit of religion. Milton, however, was a notable exception. Though he labored under the disadvantage, as compared with Virgil, for instance, of writing in a tongue “not capable of so much beauty, or so much harmony” as Latin, yet he very often excelled even

<sup>1</sup> See his *Grounds of Criticism in Poetry*.

that "prince of the Roman poets, both in the greatness of his thought and his spirit," and he did so "purely by the advantage of his religion."<sup>1</sup>

Of Dennis's relations with his younger contemporaries, only those which involve Addison are worthy of much note, his relations with Pope, for example, being confined chiefly to the exchanging of billingsgate. His quarrel with Addison had, indeed, its personal side; but the personal element did not obtrude itself greatly in their controversy. The main point of this was the validity of the doctrine of poetical justice. This famous doctrine was not, of course, an innovation on the part of Dennis. As Professor Paul points out, both Bacon and Ben Jonson had hinted at the principle of it, and Corneille had observed that it was, in his day, a commonly accepted doctrine with the dramatists of France. According to Dennis, Rymer deserves the credit of having introduced the doctrine into English criticism. Rymer does, indeed, seem to have been the inventor of the term "poetical justice", which he used in his *Tragedies of the Last Age* (1678); but several years before the appearance of Rymer's *Tragedies of the Last Age* Dryden had, in his Preface to *An Evening's Love* (1671), very clearly indicated his acceptance of the doctrine in so far as it related to tragedy; he denied that it had any place in comedy. Replying to the charge that he had made his villains happy in the conclusion "against the law of comedy, which is to reward virtue and punish vice," he declared that he knew no such law either in ancient or in modern poetry. In tragedy, he admitted, the case was different. Here, "where the actions and persons are great, and the crimes horrid, the laws of justice are more strictly observed; and examples of punishment to be made, to deter mankind from the pursuit of vice."<sup>2</sup> But whoever was the first English critic to accept the doctrine, Dennis, undoubtedly, soon came to be regarded as its chief exponent and defender. In Dennis's hands it was applied to the epic, as well as to tragedy, and made a rigid law. That Addison should have attacked it, seems a little surprising, considering his moralistic bent of mind. It is carefully pointed out in No. 548 of the *Spectator*, however, that he was against the doctrine only so far as to affirm that "good men may meet with an unhappy catastrophe in tragedy", and that he did not say that "ill men may go off unpunished."

The concluding chapter of Professor Paul's work deals with Dennis's position and influence in criticism. Through-

<sup>1</sup> *Advancement and Reformation of Modern Poetry*, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Ker. I, 141-142.

out the first quarter of the eighteenth century, in Professor Paul's opinion, Dennis was commonly regarded as the greatest English critic of his age. Giles Jacob, for example, in the first volume of his *Poetical Register* (1719) says of him, "If I did not allow this gentleman to be . . . the greatest critic of this age, I should be wanting in justice to his character." In proof of his esteem for Dennis, he devotes about three pages of the *Register* to him, as against about three-quarters of a page to Rymer. A generation later, Theophilus Cibber, in his *Lives of the Poets*, speaks of him as "a good critic, and a man of genius", and allots over twenty pages to him, as against about a dozen to such writers as Steele and Congreve. By the nineteenth century, however, Dennis had ceased to count for much in the world of letters. Talfourd, writing almost exactly a hundred years after the appearance of Dennis's *Select Works*, says with regard to his criticism that "we contemplate the sarcasms and the invectives which once stung into rage the irritable generation of poets, with as cold a curiosity as we look on the rusty javelins or stuffed reptiles in the glass cases of the curious."<sup>1</sup> It is now very nearly a hundred years since Talfourd's article on Dennis was written, and Dennis is still, in spite of recent attempts at reviving an interest in him, little more than a mere name. There seems to be no chance that he will ever be able to keep his head clearly above the waters of oblivion. His creative work—only slightly esteemed by his own contemporaries—is now wholly disregarded. His one chance to live rests on his criticism; but criticism alone, unless it be of a transcendent kind,—and this, most assuredly, Dennis's is not,—will not keep a man alive. The author of the *Treatise on the Sublime* is perhaps the one eminent writer of whom it may be said that he lives solely by virtue of his critical work; but Longinus is, as Pope has expressed it, "himself that great sublime he draws." Dennis deluded himself with the belief that he did at times catch the very spirit of his great master, but he is a rather tame exemplar of the sublime he talked so much about.

As to Dennis's influence upon later critics, Professor Paul can point to only one case—Dr. Johnson—where that influence was "pronouncedly marked." The early romanticists, of course, did not see much in him to interest them, even if they took the trouble to read him, which few of them, apparently, did. There is, to be sure, a resemblance in certain points between Wordsworth and Dennis, as Professor Paul notes, and there is evidence<sup>2</sup> that Wordsworth knew something about

<sup>1</sup> *Retrospective Review*, I, 305.

<sup>2</sup> See N. C. Smith's edition of *Wordsworth's Literary Criticism*, p. 224.

Dennis's critical theories; but considering Wordsworth's attitude toward the tribe of critics in general, it seems extremely unlikely that he would concern himself much about the theories of a half-forgotten critic of the early eighteenth century. Yet Dennis had some traits which might have given him a certain standing with the romanticists. Like them, he set a high value upon the element of emotion in literary art, though he did not approve of the romanticist's trick of producing the emotional thrill simply by allowing the imagination to run riot. He would have it produced in the orthodox, conventional way of the time, and would prefer to have it take the character of moral or religious fervor, rather than that of pure aesthetic pleasure. In another respect, also,—that is, in his love of nature,—Dennis was of kin to a certain group of romanticists. This does not come out in his criticism, of course; but it is very apparent, as Professor Paul has observed, in some of his letters. "The sight of the country affords me," he writes in a letter to Thomas Sergeant, "an entertainment, of which I can never be weary. I never in all my life time left it without regret, and always returned to it with joy."<sup>1</sup> On the whole, however, the influence of Dennis made against, rather than for, romanticism.

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<sup>1</sup> *Original Letters*, I, 30.

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THOMAS DEKKER, by Mary L. Hunt. The Columbia University Press, 1911, New York, 212 pp.

In this book Miss Hunt attempts to give an orderly synthesis of our existing knowledge of Dekker, augmented by such original discoveries as she herself has been able to make. The treatise traces in chronological sequence Dekker's life as a man and his creative work as an author. Every poem, drama, or prose tract with which his name is connected is discussed at more or less length in its proper place. His connection with contemporary literary currents is also followed. The influence on his work, first, of Marlowe and Lyly, then of Middleton's repellant realism, and finally, of Fletcher's romances, is included in the critical study of the plays.

Any one familiar with Dekker and our sources of information about him will not be surprised to find Miss Hunt's original additions to Dekker scholarship somewhat meager. In regard to his life she has added only one rather vague allusion to the time of his birth, and a plausible but by no means well established theory that he had served in the Netherlands.

In connection with the plays she has unearthed a few minor but interesting facts.

As a critical and comprehensive study of Dekker scholarship the book is praiseworthy and meets a long-felt need. The author lays well-timed emphasis on the fact that Dekker was not an ill-paid but a well-paid playwright and that his whole life is not summed up in the statement that he was imprisoned for debt. Her study of Middleton's influence on Dekker, although based mainly on Bullen's material, represents an advance on Bullen. We think that she at times rates both the man and the poet too high; but as she herself says, "a happy comradeship of three years is bound to leave some trace behind"; and even in scholarly critics a little excess of enthusiasm for a true poet is a very venial sin. Nevertheless when she says that "all names are too gross for the incomparable Shadow," we wonder how the vocabulary that exhausts itself on Shadow will find anything better to say about Falstaff.

The book as a whole suffers slightly from the author's attempt to meet the needs of two different types of audience. For the Dekker specialist the evidence summarized on various points would be valuable; but the digests of plays and pamphlets with which he was already familiar would simply be a clog in his reading, and the same may be said about some of the more obvious literary criticisms as well as about some of the long citations which support them. On the other hand, this latter material would be useful for the cursory student of Elizabethan drama, but he would feel little interest in the more technical discussions. In other words, the book is an attempt to blend the research monograph for specialists with the literary essay for general readers; and, however desirable that method may be in principle, we find it here a little disappointing.

Of course there are numerous points concerning which we would not all agree with the author's conclusions. For instance, she assigns to Dekker nearly all of *The Virgin Martyr*, a position which is certainly not supported by the metre, and we must remember that with poets metre is just as much an expression of personality as is conception of character. Also, after reading Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* and remembering the plays which antedated it, we are not wholly convinced that *The Whore of Babylon* was written before *Patient Grissill* and *The Shoemaker's Holiday* simply because it is so inferior to them in humor and in "Dekker's peculiar humanity". In fairness, however, it must be stated that Miss Hunt has other and better arguments than this for the early date

of the play in question. There are places, also, where a sharper distinction might be drawn between established facts and unsupported hypotheses. For example, the identification of *The Sun's Darling* in its original form with the lost *Phaeton* is simply a plausible guess, and the chronological position of *The Sun's Darling*, depending on this, is likewise guesswork.

After all reservations have been made, Miss Hunt's book remains a thoroughly creditable piece of work. It represents conscientious, intelligent, and exceedingly thorough research, and research wisely directed to meet a real need. Modern scholarship would find use for similar treatments of several other Elizabethans. It must be remembered, however, that Miss Hunt's method of studying an author's personality through his literary remains is one which can easily be abused. It works well in the case of Dekker, who wore his heart on his sleeve; but we fear it has already led to some false scholarship regarding Shakespeare, and it might easily prove misleading in the case of some other writers.

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THE RIDDLES OF THE EXETER BOOK. Edited with Introduction, notes, and glossary, by Frederick Tupper, Jr. Albion Series. Ginn & Co., 1910.

It is of course impossible, in view of the rapid progress which is constantly being made in our knowledge of early literature, to speak of any edition of an Anglo-Saxon text as definitive, but if that term may ever be used with propriety, the present volume will furnish the occasion. Even in these days of minute scholarship, so elaborate and searching a review of all the aspects of a given problem is unusual. At the same time, the volume is noteworthy for the breadth of its outlook; the editor has not allowed a mass of details to confuse the larger issues. This is particularly necessary in treating the Anglo-Saxon Riddles, which must be studied in connection with literary and popular tradition. Much industrious work, like Friedreich's *Geschichte des Rätsels*, for example, suffers from lack of a comparative method, and from neglect of careful classification. Ingenious and attractive conjectures are sometimes shown to be fallacious when the evidence of other riddle-literature is brought to bear upon them. So Blackburn's rather plausible theory that Riddle 61 is really a lyric, forming, with the so-called *Husband's Message*, a single poem, loses all its force when it is observed that the piece falls in with literary riddle-tradition, and that there is a close

parallel in the enigmas of Symphosius. While no problem has appeared to Professor Tupper too specialized for careful investigation, the present volume is very far from being a pedantic collection of details. Common sense and independence of judgment are everywhere visible. In pronouncing upon so many difficult problems, critics will of course often dissent. Many of these problems are, indeed, practically insoluble. Subsequent investigation will no doubt modify some of the editor's conclusions. But it may be safely said that the volume will long be indispensable to every worker in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and that it will be regarded as one of the most creditable achievements of American scholarship.

The introduction begins with a review of the history of the comparative study of riddles, and a discussion of their classification and definition. The Exeter Book presents an interesting combination of popular and bookish matter. Its riddles "teem with popular elements and motives, but they are almost without exception literary enigmas from the hand of an artist." The puzzling distribution of a given riddle-idea among widely separated peoples raises the same questions as the curious similarity in folk-tales, over which so much ink has been spilt in recent years. The rather conscious technic characteristic of Anglo-Saxon verse contrasts strangely with the rustic coarseness of many of these pieces. We can forgive a little of the salt, perhaps, when we recollect how lacking in flavor Early English verse sometimes is. While rightly recognizing the importance of these popular elements, Professor Tupper is forced by the nature of the evidence to discuss at greater length analogs of a literary character,—in Symphosius, Tatwine, Eusebius, Boniface, in the Berne and Lorsch collections, and in the pseudo-Bede tradition. Yet the editor is no friend of a method like Prehn's, which assigns to nearly every Anglo-Saxon riddle a Latin prototype. He disbelieves in the dependence of the Exeter Book collection upon Tatwine and Eusebius. On the other hand, he naturally devotes to Symphosius and Aldhelm very careful consideration.

To whom are we indebted for these Exeter Book riddles? The editor thinks them "homogeneous in their artistry", and asserts that "the burden of proof rests not upon him who argues for unity of authorship, since every precedent and presumption are in his favor, but upon him who champions diversity of origin." He thinks it "fairly certain that they are products of the North." That they were composed at the beginning of the eighth century is "an interesting surmise, unsustained by proof." Professor Tupper pronounces the so-called First Riddle, rechristened by Professor Schofield

*Signy's Lament*, "unquestionably a lyrical monolog", and believes that "all evidence of the least value" speaks against his (Cynewulf's) claim to have written the Exeter Book collection. The judgment he has since reversed, in a striking article in *Modern Language Notes* (Dec., 1910) in which he asserts that the First Riddle presents in disguise the name Cynewulf, and that consequently the riddles which follow are to be ascribed to that author. With this view the present writer is unable to concur, believing Professor Tupper's position in the book under discussion to be sounder than that in the later article. To do his argument for the solution of the First Riddle justice, however, would require more space than a brief review, and since the volume now under discussion expressly avoids analysis of this poem, a criticism of the editor's subsequent work does not seem at present in order. Those who dissent from the conclusions upheld in the article referred to should remember that their sponsor is speaking from a knowledge of riddle-literature equalled by few living scholars, that this puzzling piece does stand at the beginning of the Exeter riddles, and that it was undoubtedly a habit of the riddle-makers to preface a collection of this sort with an enigma concealing the name of the writer.

Certainty is difficult of attainment in the solution of the riddles which follow. Professor Tupper pays deserved tribute to Franz Dietrich, who "unlocked the treasure-gates of nearly all the riddles", weighing each enigma "not as a scholar in his study, but as a man among men of naive minds." Since Dietrich's day many a riddle-guesser has had his shot at these elusive problems, but relatively few solutions have been added which can be regarded as final. Certainty is indeed, in the nature of the case, frequently impossible. Professor Tupper has already shown, in a contribution to a periodical publication, that popular wit often contrives different solutions of the same motive, while the aim of the riddle-maker to mislead often effectually closes the door to the real unravelling of a puzzle. A useful index of solutions at the end of the book gives the key-word alphabetically, with the riddle-number opposite. It would have been convenient if the editor had also supplied an index registering under each riddle the various suggested solutions, with an indication of the one which appears most convincing. Such information may of course be readily gathered from the notes; it would merely be a convenience to have it in tabular form.

Not the least interesting section of the present volume deals with the form and structure of the Exeter Book riddles. "Art-riddles with a large alloy of popular elements", they are



far superior to the Anglo-Latin enigmas. In their feeling for nature, in their vivid pictures of the every day life of the Anglo-Saxons, both high and low, in their broad human interest, in their rapid movement, these poems have great literary and social significance. Although the riddles are preeminently heathen in temper, religious interests are duly represented. Marked kinship with the bulk of Anglo-Saxon verse is revealed in the prevalence of the narrative over the descriptive element, and in the presence of such themes as the lyric regret for a state of things which has passed away. The brief section in which these matters are reviewed is full of suggestiveness for the student of Anglo-Saxon literature. The Introduction closes with a discussion of the manuscript and a full bibliography.

The body of text itself is of course not large. In the present edition it occupies sixty-seven pages,—including full textual variants. Nearly three times as much space is occupied by the Notes, which are, as is to be desired, very complete. The volume is rounded out by a glossary. Those who have used the Albion Series will have found its glossaries among its greatest service to practical scholarship. The binding, uniform in general style with the earlier volumes of the series, forms an attractive exterior for one of the most important and scholarly editions of an Anglo-Saxon text which have appeared for many years.

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## SOME WOMEN IN PARZIVAL

Two well known scholars are before me in this field. San-Marte in the third book of his "Parzival-Studien" devotes several pages to brief characterizations of the principal female characters in *Parzival*, showing how one seems to be set off against the other, and indirectly crediting Wolfram with much breadth of psychological insight. Kinzel in two articles (ZfdA 30,357; ZfdPh 21,48) adopts a more critical view, notably in the former, and considers Wolfram's women as made up in part of purely novelistic traits, in part true to contemporary life. He aims to show that Wolfram was not able to set down the actual women of his day, being bound by loyalty to his source. Particularly illuminating is his sketch of *Antikonie*, for its keen analysis of Wolfram's words and clear exposition of what they imply.

Both scholars, it seems to me, neglect a manifest opportunity by ignoring Chretien, and taking Wolfram simply as he stands. This is to be sure not inadvertence on their part, but the result of their attitude toward the question of *Kyot*. I do not feel competent, nor is this the place, to discuss that very difficult problem. Suffice it to say that while I am not prepared to deny *Kyot*, I do not feel that a clear case has been made out for him, and shall accordingly go on the assumption that he did not exist.

The object of this paper, then, is to gain by a comparison of Wolfram's women with those of Chretien, so far as they run parallel, an insight into Wolfram's ideas about women and his poetic practice in regard to them.

### HERZELOYDE

#### CHRETIEN

Bliocadrans has lost eleven brothers and thus succeeds to the family inheritance. He has a charming wife (538), who begs her husband not to go jousting (526, 637). He goes, however, just before her impending confinement, and Perceval is born at about

#### WOLFRAM

(101,25) News comes to Gahmuret that his friend the *baruc* has been attacked; he goes to succor him. Herzeloyde remains at home in general estimation, her heart devoted to Gahmuret, whom she confidently expects after half a year. One midday while sleeping she has a terrifying dream which proves an omen of evil: she has scarcely been awakened by her maid-

the same time that he is slain. The lady is kept in ignorance of his death at first, then an abbot is induced to break the news to her. He does so in a rather long-winded speech, and she faints at the words: *mors est li preudom vostre sire*, and so does not hear the edifying conclusion. The knights of Bliocadrans also faint, and revive to lament with her. She tears her hair, beats her breast, and curses the hour of her birth and conception. She has masses sung for her husband in all the cathedrals. Long she grieves for him, then begins to take comfort in her fine boy.

Seven months the lady remains in the land, until the month of April. She delights in her son, and often wonders how she may keep him from becoming a knight or bearing arms. His death would be followed by her own. She resolves therefore to take him with her into the wilderness and bring him up there apart from the world, hoping thus to keep him with her for life. (970). She discusses the plan with a faithful servant, who suggests a necessary ruse for getting out of the country. (1050). She calls a council and the ruse is successful (1115). The journey described; a good place found and a house built (1206). The boy grows up and is taught riding and spear-throwing. The

ens, because she cried out in her sleep, when men come with the news that Gahmuret has been killed. She falls in a faint. The messengers report sorcery as responsible for Gahmuret's death; the knights are absorbed in the narrative, and forget the queen, till an old man pries her teeth apart and pours water into her mouth, so that she revives. She laments Gahmuret bitterly, but at once thinks of his child, and prays God to let it be born, that something of her husband be left to her. "It were a second death to him," she says, "were I to strike myself while I hold within me the fruit of his love." (110, 22) With pleasure she discovers that she will be able to nurse the child herself. Two weeks later she is delivered of so large a boy that she barely recovers; she rejoices over him, kisses him many times, and delights in nursing him. She both sighs and smiles upon the child. (114,3)

Few people, whether men or women, would in their youth give up the riches of this world for the sake of heaven. Yet this is what Herzeloide does in giving up her three kingdoms and withdrawing to the desert of Soltane. Nor is it to enjoy the beauties of nature, but for the sake of her child. She forbids her retinue to mention the word knight; and Parzival is brought up wholly without knightly accomplishment, unless it be that he learns to cast the javelin. With it he slays many birds, and then weeps over them; also he weeps at the beauty of their song, but cannot tell his mother the reason. She finds it out, however, and gives orders to kill the birds. The boy asks why she has done so, and she sees the wrong she was doing, and reminds herself that God created the birds. The boy then asks about God, and she instructs him as to the attributes of God and the devil, namely light and darkness. (119,30) He is very skillful with

lady tells her son nothing of name or family. One day she warns him against men in shining armor, who she says are devils that will devour him. The next day he goes out to hunt but finds no game. Later he goes out again, and encounters some knights. When he tells his mother this, she faints, then pours forth an impassioned harangue of 82 lines, which the boy does not heed. She keeps him only three days longer, while she makes him some rude clothing. She gives him advice: to succor the fair, seek their favors, ask every stranger's name, and visit church. He asks what church is, and she explains the Christian faith, briefly. He leaves in a hurry, but turns at the distance of a stone's throw to see his mother fallen at the drawbridge. He goes on however.

his javelins. One day he sees knights passing and converses with them; then hurries home and tells his mother, whereupon she falls in a faint. She discovers the truth, and sees that she can no longer keep him; so she makes fool's clothing for him, hoping that he will be ill-treated and return to her. She gives him advice: to avoid by-ways, heed the advice of aged men, seek ladies' gifts and favors; then tells him of the lands that should be his. Early the next morning he rides away. Herzeloide in her anguish runs after him a little distance, then falls broken-hearted as he rides out of sight. Wolfram commends the unswerving loyalty that has distinguished her from other women.

Whatever may be said of that part of the story of Herzeloide which is not found in Chretien, there can be no doubt of the greater charm and veracity of Wolfram's figure as far as they are parallel. Both poets make the affectionate consort fall in a faint at the news of her husband's death; but how much more dignified and sweet is Herzeloide, as she seeks consolation in her babe for the loss sustained! The extravagant grief of the other, as she curses and beats herself, seems to us less genuine; and it would almost appear as if Wolfram had this in mind when he makes Herzeloide explain why she does not take on in a similar manner. He makes clear to us the transformation of the ardent young wife into the mother whom no earthly pleasures can allure; yet it is not that her heart has grown cold, simply she has renounced the world for the sake of her child.

Again, realizing the shock it must be to her when Parzival tells of the knights he has seen, the long speech that Chretien puts into her mouth seems inappropriate and tedious; and Wolfram in a few words achieves the end for which Chretien strove, and does it much better. Her advice, too, is more appropriate and saner in Wolfram. And when Parzival rides away, it is a fine touch of insight to make her run after him.

Is it giving Wolfram credit for too much depth to suggest that he purposely contrasts the two halves of Herzeloide's story? Certainly the queen who claims Gahmuret's love against his outspoken will, who forgets all maidenly modesty in the ardor of her affection, is not the woman who retires to the wilderness. In this connection it may be significant that Wolfram has no praise for her till after she is married to Gahmuret.

Aside from the improved characterization of Herzeloide, there are important differences of other kinds between the two narratives. Wolfram's story improves on the French at almost every point: in keeping the child unborn until after Gahmuret's death, in dropping the silly deception practised upon the bereaved wife, and so avoiding the trivial abbot-episode, in striking out the detailed and prosy account of Herzeloide's departure from her country, in introducing more naturally the instruction about God which the lad receives from his mother, and in curtailing the conversation between him and the knights—in all these matters Wolfram condenses the story and at the same time makes it more vivid. Questionable is also Perceval's turning to see his mother fall, without going back to her: Wolfram avoids this difficulty by making him ride off without turning back, more characteristic of a scatter-brained youth.

#### JESCHUTE

##### CHRETIEN

Perceval (1830) comes at early morn, after a night in the forest, to a tent in a beautiful plain, through which a stream flows. The tent is red and green, with gold bands and a gilded eagle above it.

##### WOLFRAM

(120,14) Parzival spends the night in the forest, then comes to a handsome tent of three colors, with a rain-guard. The wife of Duke Orilus is asleep within. She is very beautiful, and her parted red lips show her white teeth; she has pushed aside the coverlet, and

Perceval takes it for a church and enters to find a lone damsel asleep. His horse neighs and wakes her; she trembles with fear, but not for herself; she is apprehensive of his death if her lover returns to find him, whom she thinks mad. He kisses her some twenty times against her will, and pulls a ring off her finger; she weeps as she begs him not to take it from her, lest she be abused and he slain. He pays no heed, eats and drinks what he finds, and finally goes off, bidding her farewell. But she will not return his salutation, weeping with apprehension. Her lover returns, rendered suspicious by the hoof prints outside the tent. He questions her sharply; and when she finally confesses that Perceval has kissed her, he bursts into a storm of jealous rage, and swears to give her horse no food and her no extra raiment; if the horse dies, she must follow on foot. This is to continue until the supposed lover is slain. (2024)

(4865) Perceval sees a wretched palfrey coming along the path. It bears a damsel whose garments are fairly dropping off (details!). The tears stream down her face, as she tries in vain to conceal her nakedness at sight of Perceval. She laments her evil case (25 lines), apparently to nobody, but he hears the lament, and salutes her compassionately, but without recognizing her. She resents the

he sees a ring on her hand. Remembering his mother's counsel, he goes to take the ring, and wakens her to alarm and rebuke. He kisses her and takes the ring and a brooch at her throat. He complains of hunger and she points out food to him, which he calmly devours. She thinks he is mad, and his stay in the tent seems very long to her. She begs him to leave her the ring and brooch; her husband may come and do him harm. He is not alarmed, but goes lest she be compromised, kissing her however again and bidding her farewell. Orilus comes and at once accuses Jeschute of unfaithfulness, having seen the hoof-prints on the dewy grass. She admits Parzival's great beauty, but scouts the notion that she would grant favor to one of such lowly birth. Orilus is incredulous, reminds her at great length of his merits and knightly prowess, rebukes her for her wrong to him, and announces her punishment, not wishing to beat her as many a knight would have done: she shall no longer share his bed and board, shall have no change of clothing, shall have a rude bridle and saddle, and her horse shall hunger. She begs for mercy, but he is inexorable. They ride away, and she is consumed with pain, not for herself, but because of his grief; she had rather be dead.

(256,14) Parzival catches up with a starved nag which bears a sad and miserably clad lady, who is beautiful in spite of it. He greets her and she recognizes him and reproaches him as being to blame for her present misfortune; as he asseverates his innocence, and looks compassionately upon her, she becomes aware of her nakedness, and tries to hide it. Parzival offers her his cloak, but she merely begs him to ride away, lest they both be slain; she would not be sorry for her death, but for his.

greeting, as being unworthy of it. She bids him flee to save himself from being slain by *li Orguellous de la lande*. The latter comes and relates at great length the cause of his punishment of the damsel. Perceval reveals his identity; a furious conflict ensues, while the damsel trembles with fear and by her presence stimulates both to the highest effort. At length Orguellous cries for mercy. Perceval swears to his innocence of the supposed wrong, and bids Orguellous restore the damsel to favor and go to Arthur's court. Orguellous bathes his loved one and dresses her in fresh robes, so that her beauty is restored, and her happiness as well.

He is loath to flee, and makes ready for combat. Orilus comes and they fight furiously, while Jeschute wrings her hands, desiring the death of neither knight. Orilus drops his sword and clasps Parzival, but the latter squeezes him until the blood bursts out of his nose. Orilus is reluctant to take Jeschute back into favor, but is forced to do so, and when Parzival goes with them to the cell of Trevrizent and swears a solemn oath that Jeschute is guiltless, Orilus is overjoyed and the reconciliation is complete. As Jeschute lies again beside her husband, she weeps for joy; she is bathed and richly dressed, and as they sit together at their bedside and eat rare viands, Orilus takes pleasure in kissing her.

Again Wolfram takes the outlines furnished by Chretien, and fills them in with greater wealth of detail, greater consistency, and even greater accuracy of insight. Jeschute, as San-Marte points out, is the type of the submissive, patient wife; but her affections are all for Orilus. Chretien overdoes her solicitude for Perceval at the first meeting; Wolfram is shrewder and makes her give him but one warning, which might almost be a threat. Again, her tears flow too freely at first with Chretien: she is much more likely to have been astonished and indignant, as with Wolfram. Chretien makes her confess to having been kissed; Wolfram sees that that is both unnatural and unnecessary, and motivates the scene much more naturally through Orilus's observation of the hoof-prints outside the tent. Chretien leaves the first episode with Orguellous's jealous rage: Wolfram puts into Jeschute's mouth a touching and womanly plea for mercy, and then shows her mourning less her own ill-treatment than the grief of her husband, thus exhibiting in a more natural way the self-forgetfulness of this loving wife. Still more important, Wolfram changes materially the punishment meted out to



Jeschute. He perceived clearly that such a woman would not grieve at material hardship: the real punishment for her was her husband's displeasure. Orilus first announces her exclusion from his bed, and upon this she makes her plea for mercy: only in his second speech does he mention her horse, clothing, etc. In the second part also there are marked alterations. In place of that most improbable long lament, addressed to no one in particular, but nicely timed with Parzival's approach, and Jeschute's rudeness in replying to his salutation, Wolfram makes her recognize Parzival, as she probably would, and blame him for her unhappiness. This avoids the tiresome and absurd speech of explanation which Chrestien's Orgueulous makes to Perceval. It is more natural, too, that in her surprise at recognizing Parzival she should forget for the moment her tattered raiment, and only be reminded of it by his looks. In the combat Wolfram scores a point by making her desire the death of neither knight. And in the sequel, when she is reconciled with her husband again, her tears of joy are another attractive addition by Wolfram, illuminating wonderfully a most charming personality.

Interesting on the narrative side is the omission of a lengthy episode inserted by Chretien into the midst of the combat between Perceval and Orgueulous. The King of the Grail has given Perceval an enchanted sword, which has the pleasant quality of bursting into pieces when the first blow is struck with it. Fortunately, Perceval has his own sword buckled on, so he throws the pieces down, and fights on with his old one. Now the King of the Grail remembers the sword and its qualities, and sends a page after it. He picks up the pieces unnoticed by either damsel or knights, and makes off with it. Nothing further is heard of it. The episode is perfectly useless, and merely hinders the action. One wonders on the other hand, how Wolfram, with his keen sense of fitness, could let Orilus make his long speech of self-glorification; but he offset this decided weakness by dropping the long speech of explanation in the second part, and by the addition of Parzival's oath in the hermit cell, a most solemn and striking scene, indeed almost dramatic.

## CONDWIRAMURS

## CHRISTIES

## WIRMAN

Perceval comes into the palace and sees the maiden there (295); she is very beautiful and finely robed. Lengthy description of her. She takes him by the hand and leads him to her own apartments, where she sits beside him. He utters no word at first, which surprises the others in the room. At length she begins the conversation and asks him whence he comes. It appears that he has been at her uncle's castle. They dine and retire for the night. (3130) Perceval promptly goes to sleep, being without cares or anxieties; but Blancheffours is wakeful, tossing restlessly in anxious thought. At length she arises, throws a cloak over her nightdress and sets out to seek Perceval and tell him her troubles; no spirit of wickedness or folly moves her. She is terrified, her limbs trembling, her body perspiring. She puts an arm about Perceval's neck and her sobs and tears waken him; he is much astonished, but puts his arms around her and asks what is wrong. She begs him not to think her vile to come to him so lightly clad; she is very wretched, because her best men have been captured or imprisoned, and her people are starving. On the morrow her castle must be surrendered, but she will kill herself rather than wed Clamudez, and she is keeping a fine steel knife for that purpose. Her words put courage into Perceval's heart, and he resolves to fight for her on the morrow. Meanwhile he bids her be comforted, and to that end takes her into his arms and kisses her tears away. Thus

Perceval is invited to see the queen (296.11), and goes into the palace. Her uncles lead her to him, and she kisses him, then leads him by the hand to a seat. She is very beautiful, and at once makes a deep impression on him. Mindful of Garnemann's advice not to ask too many questions, he sits in silence beside the queen. At first she thinks he is scorning her, then sees the kindness of his look, and resolves to speak first herself, thinking this may be her duty as hostess. She asks whence he has come, and learns that it was from her uncle's. They have a slender meal, then go to bed. He sleeps promptly; but Condwiramurs is wakeful, and finally throws a cloak over her nightdress and goes softly to Parzival's bed, lighted as bright as day by many candles. No thought of sinful love is in her mind, but she needs help and counsel. She trembles with fear lest he should not respect her. She kneels before his bed weeping, and her tears falling on him waken him. He raises himself and protests at her kneeling before him, begging her to sit at his side, or else to take his place in the bed. She lies down beside him on condition that he will respect her, and tells him of her troubles, half her men killed, and she about ready to kill herself rather than consent to become Clamude's wife. He asks if he can do

they sleep side by side until morning. (3261) At daybreak she returns to her chamber and dresses without assistance, and then repairs to her knight and gaily bids him good day. Then she urges him to leave her castle and go somewhere to find better hospitality. This ruse, if it is one, succeeds in strengthening Perceval's resolution to fight for her, and he declares himself accordingly, desiring only her love as guerdon in case of victory.

She dissembles (as Chrestien admits): "You demand much in return for little; do not bid me become your beloved because you are going out to die for me: that were too great a loss. For you can do nothing against so strong and large and fierce a knight as yonder warrior." "That shall appear to-day," he replies; and she is secretly pleased at the firmness which she has ostensibly tried to shake, as often happens. (3329) Perceval overcomes Guigeron the seneschal and sends him to Arthur, then returns to the castle. They grumble that Guigeron is not slain, but Blancheffours leads Perceval to her chamber and yields herself unreservedly to him. (3538) Clamadex learns the evil tidings. A vessel of provisions relieves the famine. Clamadex sends a challenge to Perceval, realizing the futility of a siege. All beg him not to accept, and Blancheffours especially, kissing him at every word; but all in vain. (3816) He overcomes Clamadex and sends him also to Arthur's court. (4087) Perceval remembers his mother and leaves Blancheffours to go to see what has become of her. Blancheffours is very sad. (4115)

anything, and she says she would be relieved to be freed from King-rune. He promises to aid her. She thanks him and goes back to her chamber; but sees him before he goes out to battle. He overthrows Kingrune and sends him to Arthur. The queen embraces him on his return, helps him disarm, and vows to marry none but him. The citizens swear fealty to him and beg him to be their master. A provision ship comes and relieves the famine. Parzival and the queen share the nuptial couch; but for two nights he leaves her virgin. None the less she does her hair like a wife. Clamide learns of King-rune's defeat. He advances to the assault, but it is repulsed by the citizens with Parzival at their head. Clamide then sends a challenge to him, which he accepts joyfully; Clamide is overthrown and barely saves his life. He too is sent to Arthur. For a short time Parzival and Condwiramurs enjoy the highest happiness. Then he desires to see how his mother is, and to seek adventure, and she, unable to refuse him anything, bids him farewell. (223,30).

In discussing this episode, it is necessary to distinguish sharply between the poet and his characters. There is no question that Wolfram has a strong bent toward the sensual, and that he enjoys dwelling on sexual matters. And it is evident that the piquancy of the situation afforded by a maiden queen seeking the couch of a visitor at night appeals more strongly to him than to Chretien. Wolfram throws in several jocular remarks for the delectation of his audience, with his tongue in his cheek. He says, *was möhte kampfsicher sin, dan gein dem man sus komende ein wip?* and again, *ober si hin an iht nem? leider des enkan er niht.*

On the other hand, the Middle Ages produced no keener judge of human nature than Wolfram, and he knows perfectly what is proper and becoming, and what is natural. Condwiramurs, to be a fit spouse for his spiritually exalted hero, must be a model of her sex, must be a woman of fine sensibility and pure heart. And Wolfram makes her so, by a series of notable alterations, additions, and omissions. If we fix our attention here not so much on what Wolfram says as on what he makes his people say and do, we cannot but confess that he has ennobled to a remarkable degree a very ordinary romantic adventure.

The two men start their scene in a very similar manner, the only marked difference being that Wolfram at once paves the way for the love of the couple, by making the queen kiss her guest, and by keeping his discussion of her beauty until after Parzival is seated beside her. We note also how he explains Parzival's silence toward the queen; and the process of reflection by which she arrives at her resolve to open the conversation reveals a fine, straightforward, womanly nature.

The scene at night is full of neat little touches of insight. Wolfram is so anxious to set his heroine in the proper light that he first tells his audience not to misjudge her, then tells what she does. The mention of the candles about Parzival's bed makes the visit less objectionable. When the queen reaches the bed, she simply kneels at it and weeps, not touching Parzival; and when he awakens, he is (naturally) surprised and startled. He raises himself up (as a mark of deference), and his first thought is that she is kneeling before him. He does

not touch her, and she does not expect it. She on the other hand is not the sophisticated beauty that Chretien knows. A truly modest woman would not think of mentioning her scanty attire, or of anxiously forestalling a misjudgement of her conduct; conscious of her pure motives, she would not imagine that another could doubt them. She might on the other hand fear lest a stranger would not give her the respect she deserved, hence her timidity as she kneels before Parzival, and her anxious stipulation before sharing his couch. In both poems she is made to lie at the side of her guest; but with what a difference! In Chretien Perceval takes her into his arms after she has told her story, when there is no further excuse for her staying at all; and the poet assures us that she does not object to Perceval's kisses. In Wolfram she lies at Parzival's side simply because he feels it unbecoming for her to kneel before him; they do not kiss, and she leaves as soon as her story is told. Wolfram convinces us that she really means what she says in vowing never to marry Clamide; Chretien, in spite of the knife he makes her keep secreted, leaves us with a feeling that she would never use it.

Still more fundamental are the further omissions of Wolfram's account. Parzival has promised to aid her, and in the morning she is content merely to see him before he goes forth to battle. Not so Chretien's heroine. She is sly and sophisticated, she does not trust the stranger, and wishes to test his fidelity. Accordingly she goes to him and hypocritically urges him to leave her castle, where he cannot be entertained handsomely; when he still remains ready to fight for her, she tests him again by insinuating that he cannot manage the enemy he has to face.

Significant is also Wolfram's manner of treating their union. Chretien makes his heroine take Perceval off to her chamber after the first combat, where they (supposedly) consummate the marriage on the spot. Thus their marriage is not more solemn than any ordinary love affair. Wolfram, on the other hand, takes the matter more seriously. Condwiramurs is not a modern heroine: after the combat she embraces Parzival warmly and chooses him as husband. But her subjects pass on her choice; and the couple signify their inten-

tion of getting married according to a time-honored custom (201,19). Here again Wolfram enjoys a piquant situation, but turns it to account in his own fashion. If it is characteristic of the inexperienced Parzival that he does not at once claim the husband's prerogative, it is evidence of the queen's pure womanhood that she is content to have it so.

Overdone and unnatural seem also the extravagant demonstrations with which Perceval is begged not to fight Clamadox. Of this there is nothing in Wolfram. Apart from the confidence which the queen must have in his prowess, it was simply a matter of course that he should accept a challenge; indeed, he could not refuse it and keep his self-respect. And when Parzival begs leave to go, Wolfram's conclusion seems ever so much more touching: *er was ir liep, so'z maere giht: sine wolde im versagen niht*. No need then to say that she grieved at his departure.

SIGUNE seems to have touched Wolfram's imagination more deeply than any of his other women. She is the heroine of the *Titurel*, and appears in that poem as one of his most successful delineations; also she appears on three separate occasions in Parzival. Chretien's account of her is quite meagre. As Perceval rides away on the morning after the night spent in the Castle of the Grail, he suddenly sees a damsel under an oak, (4608) weeping and wailing and speaking wildly, like one in sorrow and wretchedness. She curses the hour of her conception and birth, wishes for her own death, cares neither for body or soul, since her best beloved lies dead in her lap, his head split in twain. Perceval greets her and she returns his salutation with bowed head. She says in reply to a question, "Fair sir, a knight slew him this morning; but I marvel greatly at something I notice." This something is the fresh appearance of Perceval and his horse, since she knows there is no dwelling-place within a good five leagues; she wonders how he comes to be there. Perceval tells her of his recent adventure and she recognizes from his description the Castle of the Grail, gives him a long account of king and castle, learns from him of his omitted question, also his name, and turns to reproach him, naming him as her cousin and telling him of his mother's death. Perceval urges her to go with

him and leave the corpse, but she refuses, and points out the path which the slayer took. She inquires about the sword he wears (see comments on the story of Jeschute) and warns him against it, also telling him where to have it mended if it breaks. He leaves her. (4865).

There are several questionable features about this episode. In the first place the grief of the maiden is again too shrill: this indiscriminate cursing, as in the case of Herzeloyde, is both undignified and unconvincing. But what shall we think of a damsel who is in such a state of mind, who cares nothing for body or soul, who is in a perfect frenzy of grief, yet who can note accurately the appearance of Perceval and his horse, can deal in two lines with the death of her lover, and devote the entire remainder of a rather long speech to wonderment about this stranger, who ought to be nothing at all to her; and who can go into detail about his sword and forget all about her knight until reminded of him by the stranger's proposal that she go with him? Chretien again has the central idea: that of a maiden devoted body and soul to a loved one, and ready to give up all worldly pleasure now that he is lost to her. But it takes Wolfram to clothe this idea in convincing forms.

In *Parzival*, Sigune is first encountered just after the lad has left Jeschute in tears. (138,9) He finds her sitting before a cliff weeping and wailing loudly, and tearing her long brown hair; she holds a dead knight in her lap. *Parzival* has been bidden by his mother to greet every one, so he rides up and gives her salutation, and asks in his blundering way about the knight. Sigune does not answer (doubtless wrapped up in her grief). He is unabashed and asks who has slain the knight, offering to fight him for her. This arouses the sorrowing damsel, and she thanks him for his solicitude. Now she has had her attention called to him, she is moved to ask him his name. He knows none, but she recognizes him and calls his name, going on then to tell him of his birth and lineage, which is all new to him. She is his cousin. Now she tells him also how her knight has met his death: pursuing a hound for the sake of a remarkable collar which it wore. She laments bitterly having refused the knight her love, and has nothing left

but to love his corpse. He says a few words of sympathy and rides away. After he has left the Castle of the Grail he encounters her again (249,11), holding the embalmed body of her knight in her lap, and still lamenting over it. He does not recognize her, and approaches her with offers of assistance. She inquires whence he has come, knowing this to be a dangerous wilderness, and bids him leave it. He speaks of a castle, and she mentions the castle of the Grail and its King Anfortas. She is pleased to think that Parzival may have freed Anfortas from his torment; for she has recognized his voice. She tells him who she is, and he looks at her in wonder: she has pulled out all her hair and has lost all color and strength. He urges her to bury the corpse, whereat she weeps. Then however she returns to the question about the Grail, saying that it would give her joy if Anfortas were now cured; and in this connection she notes Parzival's sword and tells him about it. He admits that he asked no question, and she cries out upon him with cursing, and refuses to speak another word, so that he is forced to leave her. Yet once more Parzival is to see Sigune. (435) At the opening of the ninth book, after many and long wanderings on land and sea, Parzival comes to a little cell in the forest. In it dwells Sigune, her knight being buried in the ground beneath; she has renounced the world for the love of God. She never goes to church, but her whole life is a prayer; she wears a hair shirt beneath a gray dress, and is so pale and worn that he again fails to recognize her. He rides up to the cell, and is ashamed, when he hears a woman's voice answer his call, that he has not dismounted. He ties up his horse and takes off his shield, then approaches the window of the cell to converse with its inmate. She wears a ring on her hand, which he notices. She tells him that she is supplied with food from the Grail, brought her by Cundrie. He thinks she is deceiving him, and asks her about the ring she wears; she replies mildly, telling him how she has come to live in solitude, wife before God of a knight whom she loved but would not wed until it was too late, wearing the ring now as a symbol of this mystic marriage. Parzival now recognizes her, and uncovers his face so that she knows him also; she asks at once about the Grail, and he replies in humility and sorrow



that he is still seeking it. She gives him advice, withdrawing her curse upon him, and he rides away.

Comment is almost unnecessary here; but it may be noted how admirably Sigune's undying grief for the lost love is brought out by the device of having her meet Parzival three times. Exaggerated as the picture is, there is nothing intrinsically improbable in it; and the character of Sigune is surely consistent.

## OBIE AND OBILOT

## CHRETIEN

(6334) The women climb the battlements to see the tournament, and catch sight of Gawain under the tree. The two daughters of Tiebaut join them. The elder boasts of *Melians de lis* as the best knight of them all. Her sister remarks that there are better; she is about to strike her, but the others restrain her, to her further wrath. The tournament commences and Melians is foremost; Obie again sounds his praises. Obilot says calmly, "I see handsomer and better." Obie turns upon her with a gust of furious words and strikes her so that the finger-marks are visible on her cheek. The other ladies separate and censure them. They fall to speaking of Gawain and call him a merchant, since he has not taken part in the tournament. Obilot calls attention to his spears, and asserts stoutly his knighthood. Gawain is put out at the talk, but is determined not to fight. At evening he enters the castle and seeks lodging with a vassal of Tiebaut. (6588) Obie is incensed with her sister, and tells her father

## WOLFRAM

(345,26) Gawan meets a squire on the road who tells him about Obie and Obilot, daughters of Lyppaut. Obie is loved by Meljanz the king, but has refused his suit on the ground that he has not earned her love as yet. Enraged, he besieges Lyppaut. Gawan is curious to see something of the affair, and rides to the place, but is resolved to take no part in the conflict. He passes the tents on the field and would enter the town, but the gates are too well guarded, so he rides up the hill toward the castle. Obie takes him for a merchant at first, but Obilot is sure he is a knight, and vows to choose him for her knight. He rests under a tree. Obilot censures her sister for her overweening pride in refusing Meljanz, but the latter is provoked and insists that Gawan is no knight. Meljanz is victorious in the tournament, while Gawan sits under the tree. Obie remarks that her knight shows greater prowess than her sister's. Soon she sends a page to ask Gawan if he has horses to sell; he is however scared speechless by Gawan's mere look. Then Obie sends the chief Burgess of the city to take Gawan's horses from him, asserting that he is no knight. Scherules the Burgess comes to Gawan, but perceives his quality and invites him to his own dwelling. Gawan accepts. Obie makes a third attempt, by sending a message to Lyp-

of this stranger, whom she calls a merchant masquerading as a knight to secure free passage. Thus she tries to put shame on him on her sister's account. When the latter sees Tiebaut mount and ride off to Gawein, she runs out and gets there first by short-cuts. The host enters (does he learn the danger from Obilot?) and sets out to meet Tiebaut, who is introduced to Gawein. They talk and bid each other farewell. Now the little maid comes forward, clasps Gawein by the leg and demands justice against her sister, who has beaten her. Tiebaut excuses her on the ground of extreme youth, but Gawein listens to her plea, that he enter the tournament on the morrow for love of her. Gawein asks whether she has ever made needless request of a knight and promises to grant hers. Tiebaut carries off the little girl on his crupper and demands the story, which she tells with delicious artlessness, expressing the hope that Gawein will overthrow Melians and so requite Obie for the blows given Obilot. Obie meets father and daughter with shrewish words, but Tiebaut reproves her severely, leaving her much discomfited. Tiebaut takes out a crimson satin robe, cuts off a sleeve from it, and bids Obilot take it to Gawein on the morrow, to wear as love-token in the tournament. She bids her maidens not to let her sleep too long in the morning, but to waken

paut urging him to apprehend Gawan. But Scherules meets him half way and assures him that he has been deceived; Lyppaut rides on with him to see Gawan. (Wolfram inserts at this point an explanation of Obie's perversity: she is deeply in love with Meljanz, and her refusal of him has grieved her so that she is more easily irritated. "Blame her not," he says.) Lyppaut begs Gawan's aid, but the latter will not commit himself. As Lyppaut goes out he finds Obilot playing in the yard with the burgess' daughter Clauditte. At her father's question Obilot says that she has come to see the stranger and ask him to be her knight. Gawan thanks her for taking his part against her sister (he has overheard the conversation about himself), and sits down beside her as if she were a grown maiden. She prefers her request in a rather lengthy address, and he grants it willingly. Wolfram puts some philosophizing into the mouths of both. Clauditte asks her what she will give him as token, and offers one of her dolls! Lyppaut is waiting for her: he takes her on his horse, and his men all want to take Clauditte. Obilot tells him that she has no gift for her knight. Lyppaut's spouse gives her daughter a handsome robe, the sleeve of which is carried to Gawan by Clauditte. (375,25) Gawan is victorious, (390) He takes the sleeve from his shield and sends it by Clauditte to Obilot, who joyfully puts it on and parades it before her sister, who is angry. Gawan sends word to Obilot through Scherules that he would fain see her. He, with Meljanz and the other prisoners, goes to Lyppaut's palace; both are kissed by the duchess, but Meljanz will not be kissed by Obie. Gawan lifts Obilot like a doll to his breast, then turns to see Meljanz and bids him obey her command. Obilot at once turns him

her at break of day. They do so and she goes alone to Gawein and gives him the sleeve. He is victorious. Obilot says to Obie, "Now you see what I told you yesterday, there are others that are worth more." Obie answers furiously, and they nearly come to blows, but are separated by the other ladies. Obilot is waiting for Gawein on his return from the tournament, and thanks him. There is great rejoicing when he reveals his identity, but he will not stay. The little maid kisses his feet, and commends him to God, that he may remember her. (7030)

over to her sister Obie. The latter, weeping, puts forth her hand, takes Meljanz's arm, and kisses the spot where Gawain's spear pierced it. Lyp-paut is overjoyed. They are married. But Gawain must hasten away. Obilot weeps bitterly, and begs him to take her with him; with difficulty can her mother unclasp her arms from him.

The Obie-Obilot episode affords an unusually interesting example of Wolfram's principles and methods. For the first time we have to report a relative failure as compared with Chretien. It is hard to imagine a more delightful, charming, darling little maid than the younger daughter of Tiebaut in Chretien's poem. From the moment when she first appears, stoutly opposing her sister about Melianz, to the last view of her, kissing Gawein's foot to make him remember her, she is in her way quite perfect. Wolfram could not have improved on her, and he does not. In fact, it must be admitted that her conversation with Gawain is not appropriate to her age or character; into her mouth are put worldly-wise utterances quite out of keeping with the rest of her story. This is however the only actual blunder in her case. And if we miss the childish eagerness which bids the maids to waken her early in the morning so that she may go to Gawein (Wolfram has the token carried to Gawain by Clauditte), we must admit that the visit which Chretien has her make all alone is somewhat questionable for her age and rank. Other neat points Wolfram does not fail to make. When Lyppaut finds her in the courtyard, she is playing *vingerlin snaln* with Clauditte; when Gawain sends her the torn sleeve, she puts it on and takes pains to make her sister see it; and when Gawain is going away, she

begs, like the child she is, to go with him. This final scene recompenses somewhat for her precocious speeches to Gawan.

But if Wolfram has not improved on the child, what a woman he has made out of her sister! In Chretien what do we find? A shrill, ill-tempered shrew, without a single redeeming feature. Not a kind word does she speak, and many unkind and harsh ones; thrice in this short episode she raises her hand against her little sister, striking her viciously once; her attempt to discredit Gawein is pure malice against the little one; and she cannot even bear to see her father caressing her sister without a gust of jealousy and spite. In short, Chretien simply furnishes a foil for the charming child, a mere lay-figure for his romance.

Wolfram is not content with this: he thinks too highly of womanhood to let such a figure stand. First he introduces us to her through the mouth of the squire on the road, so that we know she has loved Meljanz, and has refused him not for lack of love, but through a (perhaps mistaken but comprehensible) exaggerated self-esteem. He leads us to think that it is the virgin in her which is responsible for the quarrel, and this is certainly not improbable. She not only does not strike her sister, but does not even threaten to do so; yet she does get angry, and this again keeps her human. Her attempts to discredit Gawan must be retained: the dramatic effort of these scenes is too alluring to be lightly thrown away. But it is differently motivated. Instead of attacking him because she hates her sister, she does so because she is out of sorts generally. Her savage attack on her sister, as she comes riding home with the father, is wholly omitted, and we do not see her again until the final scene. This scene is a masterpiece of insight and truth: the real woman in her comes to the surface when she sees the man she loves wounded for her folly; her resistance and pride are broken down and humbled; with tears of contrition and love she gropes for the bandaged arm and kisses it. Thus we see a really noble woman developed by Wolfram out of a mere shrew, yet without the sacrifice of a single bit of by-play or interest.

## ANTI-KONIE

## CHRISTEN

(7168) Gawein is led by the hand into the damsel's presence. He conveys her brother's greetings and she welcomes him kindly. They are left alone, at which neither is distressed, for she is distinguished in manner and of great beauty, and he is handsome and courteous. They speak of love; Gawein seeks her favor and she agrees without hesitation (7209). As they are kissing amorously, a vassal enters who knows Gawein. He bursts out into a long invective against her, for harboring her father's slayer. She falls in a faint, and thinks only of his danger when she awakes. She runs to find arms for him, but can find no shield. She takes a heavy chess-board. (7271) Vassals and neighbors gather for an attack. She is hardy and ready to aid him. She pours out a torrent of execration on the attackers, justifying her conduct: she had kissed Gawein simply for her brother's sake. When they attack, she hurls the heavy chess-men upon their heads. The lord of the castle returns to find the battle raging. He ends it, but does not encourage Gawein to remain. But he demands of him either the Bleeding Lance within a year, or else his person for imprisonment. Gawein agrees and sets out without his men, to their great distress. He takes leave of the damsel. (7579).

## WOLFRAM

(404,21) Gawan is led to Antikonie, who is very fair. The messenger gives her brother's message. She bids Gawan draw nearer, and offers to kiss him, if he desires it. Gawan is impressionable, and her voluptuous beauty has struck him at once. He replies that her mouth is *Küssenlich getân*, and they kiss more like lovers than strangers. Gawan, emboldened, seeks her favor. She refuses, not knowing who he is. While they talk, her women leave the room. Gawan seizes the opportunity to force her to do his will; but to tell the truth she is not disinclined. Here an old knight enters, cries out upon Gawan, who has slain the father and would now deflower his daughter, and goes out to give the alarm. Gawan asks her advice, for he has no weapons by him. They withdraw to a tower. She begs the people to desist from hostilities, but they do not heed her. Gawan takes a heavy door-bolt for weapon; Antikonie hunts in the tower and brings him a chess-board as shield. She uses the chess-men as weapons, and hurls them at the attackers, weeping as she does so. Gawan looks at her from time to time, and her beauty gives him new courage for battle, so that many are slain. The king comes and like a caitiff urges his people on to fight, and even goes to arm and take part himself. But his vassal and chief bürgess joins Gawan and vows to lay down his life ere Gawan shall be slain. The attackers lose courage at this, and remonstrate to the king when he bids them slay both men; they remind him that his sister stands weeping beside Gawan, and that he had sent him to her.

Antikonie kisses the faithful burgess, who is her relative, then turns in wrath and scorn upon her brother the king, who is greatly ashamed. But some counsel to slay Gawan. Kyngrimursel the burgess opposes and pledges Gawan to meet him after a year in battle. Antikonie then leads both away and converses with them till night-fall, when she serves them with her own hand. On the next day a general reconciliation is effected, Gawan promising to seek the Holy Grail for the king, which the Red Knight had commanded him to seek. Antikonie addresses kind words to her brother. Gawan takes leave of her, and she weeps at his departure, and kisses him. Both are grieved.

The Antikonie episode is one which does not appeal to our modern taste, and one can scarcely think that it represented any actual conditions of Wolfram's own day. But we cannot condemn off-hand both Gawan and Antikonie, and accuse Wolfram of grossness. It is essential to compare Wolfram with his source. Chretien makes Gawein, an utter stranger, enter a castle, make love to its mistress, and succeed in his suit; all within 18 lines! This is of course absurd. Wolfram cannot throw out the entire adventure, and perhaps does not wish to do so; but he can at least make the affair more plausible, by working it out a little more in detail. Accordingly he reminds us of the extraordinary charm of Antikonie before he takes Gawan to the castle, comparing her to a well-known figure of his own country. He reminds us of it again after Gawan sees her, thus indicating the powerful impression which she makes on him. Then he makes effective use of the kiss of salutation, which she has offered merely as a matter of politeness. Gawan, easily inflamed, turns this formal kiss, first by his remark about Antikonie's mouth, then by the way in which he takes it, into a declaration of love. This he then follows up by an outspoken verbal declaration. Thus Wolfram really shows us step by step how Gawan is seized by a sudden passion for this charming and beautiful woman. But how about her? Chretien makes her yield without the least hesitation. Not so Wolfram. A virtuous woman, and Antikonie is that, is not so ready to give her love. She objects, temporizes, puts Gawan off. But he has the man's advantage of

strength, and is about to employ it when he is discovered; his very boldness has captivated her, and her scruples were gone in a moment of unreasoning passion. This is the account given us by Wolfram; if not wholly probable or attractive, it is at least a vast improvement over Chretien.

There are other improvements also. The long speech by the man who discovers the lovers is wholly out of place; and still more so his violent attack upon the damsel, as if she could have known who Gawein is, or as if Gawein were not the only really guilty party. Wolfram is much better in this. Her swoon is quite silly and pointless in Chretien, another example of his way of overdoing things. She is not in love with Gawein to such an extent as that. Again, Wolfram makes Gawan seek aid of her, instead of having her offer it first. And with sure insight he omits entirely her long tirade against the attackers, which is both pointless,—since they are seeking the slayer of their master,—and painfully undignified. Little touches in the battle scene make it more vivid and keep her more clearly in view. And Wolfram does not forget to mention her beauty again; he realizes that this alone can explain the whole episode. In her subsequent appearances she is uniformly attractive; when it comes to the end, and she kisses Gawan farewell with tears, we feel that Wolfram has fulfilled his promise to tell an *âventiure der getriwe unt der gehiure* (404,11).

## ORGELUSE

## CHRETIEN

(8043) Gawein comes upon a damsel alone in a field, and admires her snow-white skin; she wears a gold band about her head. Gawan spurs toward her and she cries, "Softly, you come like a fool that exerts himself for nothing." He salutes her courteously, and asks why she has thus cried out upon him so soon; she says it is because she knew he wished to carry her off on his horse. He ad-

## WOLFRAM

(508,17) Gawan sees a beautiful woman near a spring, second only to Condwiramurs in beauty; her name is Orgeluse. He salutes her and at once gives expression to his admiration. She replies very coldly that she does not desire the admiration of all people; besides, she does not know him: he had better pay court to some other woman. Gawan insists that he is hers to command. She bids him lead her away with him, but does not promise him that he will have any joy of her. Gawan is ready for service; she bids him get her palfrey

mits it and she reviles him. She will not be carried; but she will go with him if he will get her palfrey from yonder garden, and may all kinds of misfortune meet him in her company. Gawein goes to get the palfrey, passing a crowd of people who warn him in vain, ignores the threatening remarks of a large knight near by, and leads the palfrey to the damsel. He offers to help her up, but she forbids him even to touch her garments, with a perfect flood of abuse; she can mount alone, and does so. He stoops to pick up her mantle, but she forbids him to touch it, with more abuse. He is silent and they ride away, she at some distance behind him. (8266) He puts healing herbs on the wounds of a knight, who rewards him by stealing his horse and riding away with gibes and taunts, leaving him a sorry nag to ride. (8506) The damsel laughs and taunts Gawan, who mounts the poor nag (8522), which is cleverly described. So sharp are her taunts that Gawein is moved to protest mildly, but she is unmoved. They come to a river. She enters a boat and bids him enter and flee. (8640) He sees a knight coming, and she tells him who it is, exulting in his certain fall, and reminding him of the fair ladies who will watch the combat in the castle opposite. Gawan overcomes the knight and returns in triumph to the damsel, who is however no longer in sight.

out of yonder orchard. He does not know what to do with his horse; she consents to hold it, but will not touch the bridle where his hand has been. Gawan gets the horse, heedless of warnings against Orgeluse, and of prophecies of evil to himself, and leads it to her. She calls him a goose for offering to serve her, alluding to trials that await him; he offers to lift her to the saddle, but she will not bear his touch, and springs up alone. She bids him ride ahead, with a sarcastic remark. (Here Wolfram bids his hearers to suspend judgment until they know her whole story.) Gawan picks a healing herb, and she utters a gibe about knights and physicians; he tells her it is for a wounded knight, and she says: "I should like to see that; what if I learn some skill from it?" An ugly page on a sorry nag resents Gawan's being in Orgeluse's company; Gawan catches him by the hair and pulls him off his nag. The spiny hair makes Gawan's hand bleed, at which Orgeluse laughs. The wounded knight rides off on Gawan's horse. Orgeluse laughs: "First you were a knight, then you were a doctor, now you must be a varlet; would you still have my love?" Gawan answers vigorously in the affirmative. He tells Orgeluse about the wounded knight. He can but mount the poor nag now, and she laughs at his wretched plight; but he is steadfast. They come to open lists on a river-bank opposite a castle filled with fair ladies. Gawan sees a knight, and Orgeluse bids him defend himself if he can, but thinks he will be overcome, and reminds him of the fair spectators. She gets into a ferry which comes at her call, and forbids him to follow. He is grieved



Gawan asks the knight about the damsel; he says she is worse than Satan and has caused many a knight a broken head, and he advises Gawein to let her be. and asks why she is so anxious to leave him. She says it will be long before he sees her again. (536)

This is not the end of the Orgeluse story, but inasmuch as we cannot know just what Chretien did with the rest of it, we may as well omit the remainder of Wolfram's narrative.

It is hard to resist the idea, championed by several scholars, that Gawan stands in contrast to Parzival, and Orgeluse to Condwiramurs. One does not quite understand otherwise why Orgeluse is not treated like Obie; for all of Gawan's adventures could still be kept intact if that were done.

This is the more probable because Wolfram has by no means left Orgeluse as he found her. Chretien's figure reminds one very strongly of the daughter of Tiebaut, and is quite as unattractive. The moment she sees Gawein coming toward her, she shouts at him like a fish-wife; and his offers to help her are provocative of the most unladylike and intemperate abuse. Nowhere is there a single pleasing trait of character, and Gawein's devotion is quite inexplicable.

Orgeluse, on the other hand, makes a very different impression. To begin with, her beauty is dwelt upon; and we have already seen that Gawan is extremely susceptible to the charms of the fair sex. Instead of having her greet him rudely as he comes toward her, Wolfram makes Gawan address her first, as is proper in any case, and thus gives him time for his admiration of her unusual charm to take hold of him. Her first speech is not so unfavorable as to repel a prospective lover; and while it is not at all encouraging, it is wholly free of the extravagant rudeness in which Chretien's heroine indulges. There is no word of Gawan's carrying her off; and the entire conversation is on a more natural plane. When he offers to help her to mount, she forbids him, but without the gratuitous insults of Chretien's account. And throughout the entire scene Wolfram makes her sarcastic and sharp without wholly sacrificing her feminine charm. She is often witty in her sallies; and Gawan enjoys them even when they cut him.

But withal she remains a thoroughly worldly beauty, a coquette, and so makes a good mate for Gawan, the model of a successful but far from high-souled warrior and man of the world. And Orgeluse is the only example of this type, not only in *Parzival*, but in *Wolfram*.

This outline comparison leaves us with one of two alternatives: either *Wolfram* or the mysterious *Kyot* is a very much greater artist than *Chretien*. If *Kyot*, then what has become of so masterly a work as his must have been? I leave the *Kyot*-enthusiasts to answer the question, and prefer to think that the above comparisons show *Wolfram* as a remarkable artist and portrait painter.

Noteworthy is the fact that the alterations of the men are insignificant, for the most part. *Wolfram* was evidently satisfied with them. But we get a glimpse all through of a man, who, with all his sensuality, has a high ideal of women, and who is concerned to make his characters conform more nearly to that ideal.

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## CELTS AND TEUTONS

The story of the contact between Celts and Teutons, of their conflicts and struggles, of their mutual influencing in the realm of literature and culture forms one of the most interesting chapters in the history of European peoples.

Originally from a common stock or rather to express it more accurately of common linguistic origin, they remained near neighbors for many centuries after the first dissolution of the Indo-Germanic family, and from that remote period long before the beginning of the Christian era down to the present time they have continued to come in contact with each other, sometimes in a friendly, sometimes in a hostile manner; in the former category belong the activities of the Irish Monks, missionaries and scholars in Germany in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries; and also the influence of Celtic saga and legend upon German medieval literature, which was however not direct, but through Norman French transmission; in the second category belong the fierce struggles between the Celts and the Germanic invaders of the British Isles in the fifth century; also the conflicts in Ireland between the Irish and the Norsemen, in the ninth and tenth centuries and again between Irish and Anglo Normans, which began in the twelfth century and which in some form or another have continued to the present time. Of just what nature were the relations between Celts and Germans on the continent in the pre-Christian era it is difficult to determine. But it seems certain that the Celts reached a position of superior civilization and political ascendancy earlier than the Germans and there are indications, which we shall mention later, that for a time the Germans were under the influence of Celtic culture, if not, at least to some extent, under Celtic political domination. However this may be, it seems that the two peoples lived in rather close contact with each other and that the Germans learned from the Celts much that the latter were able to teach them.

It is impossible to determine with absolute accuracy the geographic positions of the two peoples in the earliest times, but their relative positions can be determined with a high de-

We find in the Germanic and Celtic languages a number of words which are either preserved only in these two members of the Indo-European family or have a special meaning different from that of the cognate in the other languages. D'Arbois de Jubainville has collected and discussed such a list of words in the *Revue archeologique* III Ser. 17, pages 187-213, but he has included in his list some words which do occur and with practically or nearly the same meaning in other members of the Indo-European group. This list has not to my knowledge been reviewed or revised. It shall be my purpose in this article to consider these words, or such of them as seem to offer room for discussion, with a view toward establishing a more accurate basis for inferences regarding the relations of Germans and Celts in prehistoric times. It must be borne in mind that in very many cases a genuine Indo-European word is preserved in only two members of the group, or for that matter even perhaps only in one member, and when discussing and drawing inferences from a so-called special Celtic-Germanic word we must reckon with the possibility of its being a mere coincidence that the word has been preserved just in these two languages, in which case it would prove nothing as to a common civilization or closer contact between these two peoples.

Again in several cases where d'Arbois de Jubainville claims that the word is specially Celtic and was borrowed by the Germans, the assumption of original kinship and common preservation is either equally justified or undoubtedly the more probable; with this limitation in mind a consideration of these words is instructive.

First, the German word *Eid*, oath, and Old Irish *oeth*, have just the same meaning; whether the Greek word *οἶτος*, misfortune, is a cognate or not, it is difficult to say. So far as phonetic laws are concerned there is no objection to bringing them together, but because of their great difference in meaning Osthoff *Bezz. Beit.* 24, 199 rejects the assumption. To be sure it seems rather far fetched but it is possible that in Greek the meaning changed to designate a condition which results from a broken oath; cf. German *elend* < *elilenti*, ano-

*ther land*; see Feist, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache, under *aiþs*.

The German word *frei*, free is identical in meaning with Welsh *rhydd*, whereas the cognate in Sanskrit *priyas* means *beloved* and Old Bulgarian, *prijati*, to love, to like, to aid.

In the case of Gothic *liugan*, to marry, and Old Irish *luige*, an oath, the meanings are rather close. The most natural assumption is that in Gothic the meaning was limited to the special marriage vow. It may easily be a mere coincidence that this word is preserved in Celtic and Germanic; at any rate it is forcing a point to claim it, in view of the difference in meaning, as evidence of closer contact of the two peoples.

German *Geisel*, hostage, O. H. G. *gīsal*, and Old Irish *giall* are identical in meaning and found only in these two members of the Indo-European family. The German word is not borrowed from the Celtic, but both go back to an Indo-European \**gheislo*. The media aspirate *gh* became *g* in both languages; *ei* became in Irish *e* which during the eighth century diphthongized into *ia*. The diphthong *ei* regularly became in Germanic *i*—in Celtic the consonant combination *sl* became by assimilation *ll*. If the word were in German a borrowing from the Celtic we should expect the long vowel *ē* instead of *i* and in all probability as an initial consonant *K* instead of *g* because I. E. *gh* became in primitive Celtic *g*, and if taken up by the Germans in this form would have undergone the shifting to the voiceless stop *K*, unless we look on it as a very late borrowing.

The Celtic word *catus*, battle, preserved in Old Irish *caith*, also in proper names such as Caturiges, Catuvoleus, is cognate with a Germanic *hathu*, as in proper names Hadubrand, modern German *Hader*, but their connection with Old Bulgarian *cōtora*, battle and Sanskrit, *çatrus*, enemy, is so apparent that d'Arbois de Jubainville is forcing a point when he claims the word as in any sense specially Celto-Germanic. And the same is true of Gothic *dulgs*, *debt* and Irish *dligim*, I *deserve*, *earn*, *have claim upon*, for the word occurs with the same meaning in Old Bulgarian, *dlugu*, *debt*.

Again, the root which occurs in German *Bann*, Gothic *bandwa sign*, *bandwjan*, to give a sign, O. H. G. *bannan*, com-

word in *leithen*, and Old Irish *airlicim*, *I lend*, is very general in the Indo-European group with everywhere practically the same meaning, so that we are not justified in claiming it as a special Celtic-Germanic phenomenon, e. g. Skt. *līṣati*, *he special calls out*, Armenian *lean*, *word, speech*, Russ. *Urak*, Greek *ἐρμαι*, to appear, *ἐρμα*, a signal torch.

The Gothic *air* and Old Irish *air* *das Erbe*, *heritage*, may be accepted as sustaining only partially the point in question, because the Icelandic *erfr* and Old English *grfe* have besides the meaning *heritage* also that of *cattle* which is identical with Lithuanian *arbowas* *cattle*, as Sievers has pointed out PBB 12-176. In view of the Greek and Latin cognates *ἐρμός* and *erbus* "remnant" it would seem that the Indo-European word designated *heritage*, but since the heritage generally consisted of cattle, this meaning developed in some dialects. A part of the Germans were in closer contact with the Balto-Slavs, hence the parallelism between the Icelandic, Anglosaxon and Lithuanian words; others of the Germans were nearer to Celts, hence the identity in meaning of the Gothic and Old Irish words.

The parallelism between the Germanic *leihen* and Old Irish *airlicim*, *to lend*, is not altogether convincing, because in the first place the prefix *air* is necessary to give the Irish word its special meaning of *to lend* and in the next place there is no evidence to show that this special meaning even with the prefix is Prim. Celtic; it may very easily be a later Irish development. The simple verb in Old Irish, *leicim* has just the same meaning that we find for the cognate in all the other related languages, namely, *to leave*, *to turn over to*, *to give up*, etc.—cf. Skt. *rinakti*, Latin *linquo*—Greek *λείπω*, Armenian *Ukhanem* Lithuanian *likti*, Old Bulgarian *otŭlēkŭ*, *remnant*. It really looks more probable that the specializing of meaning is a general Germanic phenomenon and the similar development in Old Irish with the prefix *air* is a coincidence.

The Gothic *skalks*, *servant* is co-ordinated by d'Arbois de Jubainville with Irish *scal* which originally meant also *servant*, later *man* or even *hero*. If this be true one naturally asks: what has become of the guttural element at the end of the Irish word. Feist—Etym. Wtb. suggests that it may be a

loan word from Celtic and mentions Irish scoloc. But if this be true we should expect the *K* sound after the *l* to appear in Gothic as *h*. The word is not clear. Grienberger, *Untersuchungen zur gotischen Wortkunde*, Wien 1900, page 187 holds that it is from a root \**skel*. Gothic *skulan*, that is, *one who is under obligations or necessity* (to do certain work); a similar formation and development exists in the Old Bulgarian *sluga*, *a servant*, which is connected with the root \**kleu*, *to listen*. Brugmann IF 19, 381 thinks that *skalks* means the *one who jumps round*, the active, attentive servant, and identifies it with Skt. *ṣaḷabhas*, *grasshopper*—O. H. G. *scelo*, *stallion*, M. H. G., *schellec*, *jumping*, and cites as parallels the Celtic *ambactos*, Gothic *andbahts*, *the one who runs round*, discussed above, and the Icelandic *þræll*, O. H. G. *drigil*, cognate with Gothic *þragjan*, *to run*; also Greek, ἀμείπολος, *servant*, literally *one moving about*.

The Old Irish *bāg*, *battle* is identical with O. H. G. *bāga*, *pāga*, *strife*, *conflict*, Old Norse *bágr*. Whether this survives in modern German *bägern*, *to torment*, *kill*, as d'Arbois de Jubainville thinks or whether the latter is as Kluge things "von rotwelscher Herkunft," from Jewish *peger*, *a corpse*, is impossible to determine. At any rate the O. H. G. *pāga* seems to be a pure Germanic word and there is no objection to correlating it with Old Irish *bāg* and including it in a list of Celto-Germanic terms.

Again d'Arbois de Jubainville is right in claiming identity of meaning for Gothic *weihan*, *to fight*, and Old Irish *ficim*, *I fight*, *contend*, although the meanings of the cognates elsewhere are very close to this, e. g. Latin *vincere*, *to conquer*, Lithuanian *vikrus*, *quick*, *lively*; *apveikiu*, *I force*, *subdue*.

German *Held*, Old Saxon *helith*, etc. is undoubtedly cognate with Old Irish *calad*,—Old Breton *calet*, *hard*, but there is no reason for further identifying it with the other root preserved in *hart*, Gothic *hardus*, Greek *χαρής* and claiming that the *l* of German *Held* is due to a borrowing from the Celtic in which the syllable *r* was changed to *l*. There is no confusion in Celtic, as there seems to be e. g. in the Indo-Iranian between syllabic *l* and *r*, but they are kept entirely distinct, becoming *li* and *ri* respectively; cf. Old Irish *bri*, *height*, *cride*,

*heart, dligim, I earn, deserve*, etc. see Brugmann, *Grundris* I. 516.

D'Arbois de Jubainville correlates O. H. G. *hildja, hilda*, *battle* from Primitive Germanic \**keltio*, with the proper name *Celta*, celt, found in Greek and Latin writers as *κελτοί, Celtæ* i. e. *warriors*. § German *Heer*, Gothic *hardjis*, O. H. G. *hari* etc. which occurs as one element in proper names, e. g. in the Merovingian form, *Ragnacharius*, modern French "Regnier," *Berchtecharius*, "Berthier," *Chariberchtus*, "Herbert," is cognate with a Celtic *corio* *troup, company*, which is found in the names Petrucorii, Tricorii, literally 4 *companies, armies, 3 armies*. But there is no ground for d'Arbois de Jubainville's statement that *Chario* is the Merovingian pronunciation of the Celtic *corio* if he means thereby to say that the word is borrowed from Celtic. The root is undoubtedly Indo-Germanic and can only be looked upon as especially Celto-Germanic in the sense that among these two peoples it was perhaps in more general use than elsewhere, cf. Lithuanian *kàras, army*, Old Bulgarian, *kara, strife*, Greek *καίρωνος* (for *καρίωνος*), *war lord*, which corresponds with Icelandic *Herjann*, an epithet of Odin, and is identical in formation with Gothic *piudans*, literally, *ruler of the people*, see Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* under *Heer*, and Feist, *Etymologisches Wtk.* under *harjis*.

The Celtic word for *speer, javelin, gaison*, Irish *gae*, and the German *Ger* (with rhotocism) may be looked upon as peculiar to these two peoples; whether it owes its preservation among the Germans to the fact that they adopted the Celtic weapon or not is impossible to say, although this seems probable in view of the fact that from the time of our earliest information about the Celts the *gaison* (which word the Romans borrowed as *gaesum*) was their chief weapon. When d'Arbois de Jubainville cites the Greek cognate *χαίος* with its different meaning, namely "*shepherd's staff*," he fails to mention the Skt. *heśas, Geschoss*, which would seem to indicate that the idea of *hurling, throwing*, was in Indo-European times associated with this word for *staff, rod*. It looks as though in Greek the word had undergone a slight specialization of meaning, although the English word *goad* which is from the same



root is almost identical. It is possible that the word is a very old Indo-European name for a *stick* used by our early ancestors in their conflicts either with man or beast. The word exists in its unrhoted form as *Geissel*, which according to Kluge is from \**gaiswala* cf. Gothic *walus* a *staff*, O. N. *volva*, the prophetess, i. e., *the one who predicts the future by means of little staves*. Thus \**gais-wala* would be a sort of tautological compound like *Windhund*, *Elentier*, etc.

The O. H. G. *marah* may be a borrowing from Celtic *marca* war horse, Welsh *march*, Irish *marc* horse, *marcach* horse-man, or it may be a common inheritance from the Indo-European. The feminine is still preserved in German *Mähre*, English *mare* and the masculine form exists as the first element in the word *Marschall*, O. H. G. *marahscalc*, literally *Pferdeknecht*, later "one who has charge of the mounted company on journeys or war expeditions."

D'Arbois de Jubainville's correlation of a Celtic root \**bodi*, Irish *buid*, victory, Welsh *budd*, profit, gain with the English *booty*, Old Icelandic *býti*, French *butin*, German *Beute*, is very doubtful, although possible. Whether the Germanic and Celtic words go back to a primitive form \**bhoundi*, which was in general use among these two peoples along side the other Indo-European word for victory, German *Sieg*, Gothic *sigis*, Old Irish *segim*, *I attain, accomplish*, Skt. *sahas*, victory, is difficult to determine. According to Kluge, *Etymologisches Wtk. unter Beute* and *Falk og Torp, Etym. Ordbog* under "bytte" the Low German *bute* *Tausch, Verteilung*, is the starting point for this group, (exclusive, of course, of the Celtic forms cited above) which made its way into Scandinavian and High German. It seems that the English *booty* is a Danish loan word and the French *butin* is borrowed from the Scandinavian, although it is difficult to explain the final nasal. German *Beute* is from Low German *bute*, rather than, as d'Arbois de Jubainville says from French *butin*. According to Falk og Torp the German word is to be analyzed as *bi-utjan*, i. e. *to divide, parcel out*. If this be true, it is not probable that it is in any way connected with the Celtic words.

Celtic *dunum*, fortress, English *town*, German *Zaun* and Celtic *briga*, height, stronghold, Irish *bri*, German *Burg*, (cf.

Brigantia, Burgundiones) are special Celtic-Germanic, although it cannot be determined whether they are merely cognates or, as d'Arbois de Jubainville claims, were borrowed by the Germans from the Celts. There is, however, no ground for claiming Gothic *þaurp*, German *Dorf*, etc. as a loan word from a Celtic *trebo* village, Irish *treb*, house, *trebaim*, I inhabit, occupy, Welsh *tref*, house, or group of houses; nor is there much basis even for claiming these words as specially Celto-Germanic, in view of the following cognates: Lithuanian *trobà*, dwelling, Oscan *tribum*, house, Latin *trabs*, beam (by specialization, a part of dwelling). The only element which is peculiar to the Celtic and Germanic words is the collective idea, the signification of a group of houses. Just what the connection of these words is with Latin *turba*, a crowd, Swiss, *Dorf*, in sense of meeting, Icelandic *þyrpast*, to press, crowd together, is not clear. Feist suggests that two originally different roots have perhaps become confused.

D'Arbois de Jubainville claims four geographic terms as specially Celto-Germanic, namely, *Land*, *Flur*, *Furt*, and Gothic *fairguni*, mountain. As to the first two, his assumption is justified, but in the case of the other two it is doubtful. German *Land* is identical with Breton *lan*, Welsh *llan*, church yard, cemetery. It is not certain whether the French *lande* is a borrowing from the German or Celtic; from the latter according to Kluge. German *Flur*, English *floor*, from a form *\*plaros* is identical with Irish *lar*, in which an initial *p* has been lost, according to a well known phonetic law in Celtic, (cf. *athir*, Latin *pater*, English *father*, etc.). German *Furt*, English *ford* is cognate with a Celtic *ritum* from older *\*pri-tum*, e. g. in the proper name *Angustoritum*. Although the evidence in Celtic is scanty, yet the term seems to signify, as in Germanic, "a shallow place in a stream, suitable for wading through" whereas the Latin *portus* means a port, harbor and Avestan *peretu* means a bridge, possibly also a ford. One Germanic dialect, namely Old Norse, has a word *fjörðr* modern *fjord*, with a meaning very similar to that of Latin *portus*, and these are undoubtedly independent developments. These words are derived from the root preserved in *fahren* and mean according to Kluge "*gangbare, passierbare Stelle*—

cf. Greek *πόρος*, *Ford*, *Βόσπορος*, *Oxford*. Gothic *fairguni*, *mountain*, Anglo-Saxon *fyrgen*, *mountain forest*, O. H. G. *Ferguna*, *Virgunna*, (*Erzgebirge*), O. N. *Fjörgyn*, *mother of the god of thunder*. The Celtic cognate is preserved in the Latin and Greek writers in the form *Hercynia*, *Orcynia*, *Ἀρκύνια* (central highlands of Germany) which point to a primitive Celtic \**Perkunia*. The initial *p* was regularly lost, and the initial *h* in the Latin form is inorganic and of no significance. So far the Celtic-Germanic parallelism is good, but the Lithuanian *Perkúnas*, *thunder god*, is undoubtedly the same word, as is also the Old Bulgarian *prĕgyni*, *a mountain*.. The word then seems to mean, "high forest land," or "the spirit or deity associated with such a place," the latter meaning being easily derivable from the former at a time when the woods and mountains and all the elements were almost identical with their immanent spirit. But this group bespeaks no special Celtic-Germanic contact. In fact the Germanic words are really closer in meaning to their Slavic cognates (O. N. *Fjörgyn* Lithuanian *Perkúnas*, and Gothic *fairguni*, Old Bulgarian *prĕgyni*) than to the Celtic \**Perkunia*. According to Hirt, IF I, 479, the same root of which these forms are derivatives, occurs in Latin *quercus* (from \**perquos*) and Skt. *par-kati*, "figus infectoria."

Again, the word *Egge*, *harrow*, Cornish *ocet*, Breton *oged*, cannot be looked upon as specially Celto-Germanic, cf. Latin *occa*, Lithuanian *aketi*, Green *ḡḡva*, *harrow*.

The Gallo-Latin *viriae*, (Pliny) *metal spiral*, *bracelet*, is cognate with Anglo-Saxon *wir*, Old Norse *vírr*. The special meaning of *ornament for the arm* is peculiar to Celts and Germans, although the root from which it is derived is found in other languages: Latin *viere*, *to bind*, *plait*, Sanskrit *vyayati*, Greek *ίῖα*, *woven or plaited shield*.

The three words, *iron*, *lead* and *leather* seem to be common to Celts and Germans; German *Eisen*, Gothic *eisarn*, Irish *iarn*, Welsh *haiarn*, Breton *houarn*; German *Lot*, Irish *luaide*; German *Leder*, Irish *lethar*, Welsh *lledr*, Breton *lezz*, *ler*. Again the Gallo-Latin *reda*, *a four wheeled wagon*, and O. H. G. *reita*, *wagon*, German *reiten* belong in this list. Finally the Irish *liaig*, *physician*, Gothic *lekeis*, O. H. G. *lahhi*,

Old Bulgarian *lekari*. It seems probable that the Germans borrowed the word from the Celts and in turn passed it on to the Slavs, for according to d'Arbois de Jubainville the Celts were the first to practice medicine, which of course must have consisted chiefly in the use of magic charms and incantations.

In conclusion we may say that there is linguistic evidence for rather close contact between Celts and Germans in the earliest times, although the evidence is not quite so extensive as was maintained by d'Arbois de Jubainville, but in view of the fact that we have similar evidence of close unity of these two with the Italic group on the one hand and with the Slavonic on the other hand, we are hardly justified in claiming any special common Celtic-Germanic civilization. In fact the evidences of Celtic-Italic unity (which have barely been hinted at in this article) are to my mind stronger than those of a Celtic-Germanic common civilization. The most we can say is that the relations of all four of these peoples to each other were, judging from linguistic evidence, just about what we should expect them to be, in view of their respective geographic positions.

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## DIE DEUTSCHE KRITIK ÜBER NOVALIS VON 1850-1900

In den weiten Kreisen der Literatur und Bildung Deutschlands bekundet sich seit geraumer Zeit ein reges Interesse für „den seelisch tiefsten und künstlerisch begabtesten Genossen der älteren romantischen Schule.“ Während vor kaum 20 Jahren Minor vergebens sich bemühte, für eine kritische Ausgabe der Gedichte des Novalis einen Verleger zu finden, mehren sich jetzt die Schriften rasch, die sich mit dem „rätselvollen Seher“ beschäftigen. „Reclam und Hendel werden erst auf einen der grössten Lyriker aller Zeiten und Völker aufmerksam und nach einander erscheinen kostspielige Ausgaben, die aus dem Umschlag der Mode ihren Nutzen zu ziehen suchen“ (Minor, Anzeiger 28, S. 82).

Eine Zusammenstellung der im neunzehnten Jahrhundert veröffentlichten Urteile und Anschauungen über Novalis in Deutschland ist somit ganz zeitgemäss. Ein Bild von den Schwankungen der deutschen Kritik über Novalis in der ersten Hälfte des vergangenen Jahrhunderts habe ich an anderer Stelle entworfen (Modern Philology, Jan. 1912). In dieser Arbeit kommen nur die Äusserungen der zweiten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts in Betracht. Ich führe diese in objektivster Weise vor, ohne jede Zutat des eigenen Urteils. Natürlich kann ich in der Novalis-Literatur nicht den Schwall von Zeitungsartikeln berücksichtigen, von denen die meisten zur tieferen Erkenntnis von Novalis' Wesen nichts oder nur wenig beitragen.

Unter den Gelehrten, die zuerst den Versuch gemacht haben, Novalis' Persönlichkeit und Schaffen uns näher zu bringen, die Werke des Dichters kritisch zu deuten und in dessen Gedanken einzudringen, ist vor allem Dilthey zu nennen. Sein nunmehr über 40 Jahre geschriebener, geistvoller und gedankenreicher Novalis-Essay<sup>1</sup> gehört noch immer zum

<sup>1</sup> In den „Preussischen Jahrbüchern,“ Bd. 15. Berlin 1865. S. 596-650. (Zum Teil übernommen in Diltheys Leben Schleiermachers, Bd. I, Berlin 1870. Unverändert abgedruckt in Diltheys „Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung.“ Leipzig 1906. S. 201-282).

besten, was wir über den Dichter besitzen. Der Verfasser beabsichtigt "nicht Vollständigkeit der Nachrichten, sondern gegenüber den damals herrschenden Ansichten über den Dichter eine bessere Würdigung desselben, und zwar besonders in bezug auf die Folgerichtigkeit und Bedeutung seiner dichterischen und philosophischen Konzeptionen." Dilthey schildert mehr den Denker als den Dichter Novalis. Er will vor allem dessen Persönlichkeit herausarbeiten. Nach seiner umfassenden, eingehenden Behandlung ist Novalis fest eingefügt in die romantische Schule, seine Ideen und Empfindungen sind mit denen der andern romantischen Dichter und Philosophen in engen Zusammenhang gebracht und aus der ganzen unermesslich reichen Kultur der Zeit hergeleitet. Novalis erscheint als ein Produkt der Tendenzen seiner Zeit, als reinste Verkörperung des Geistes der älteren Romantik. Dadurch unterscheidet sich Diltheys Darstellung von Novalis' Leben von allen früheren. Durch ihn lernte man damals Novalis überhaupt verstehen, das innige Band seines Lebens, Denkens und Dichtens erfassen.

Dilthey vertritt die historische Einfühlung,<sup>1</sup> der volles Verstehen höchstes Gesetz bleibt. Er will nachfühlen, verstehen, begreifen und nicht durch schroffe Ablehnung von Sätzen, deren Verständnis nicht auf den ersten Versuch hin sich ergibt, sich selber den Eindruck erschweren. Er will die übliche Ansicht von der Verworrenheit, Verschwommenheit, dem Dunkel und den Widersprüchen in den Schriften des Novalis als unhaltbar nachweisen und zeigen, dass auch das, was uns in den Fragmenten und Nachlassstücken vorliegt, einen festen Zusammenhang habe und fruchtbare und klare wissenschaftliche Gedanken enthalte.

Anknüpfend an ein Fragment über Baader: "Baader ist ein realer Psycholog und spricht die echte psychologische Sprache. Reale Psychologie ist vielleicht auch das für mich bestimmte Feld," erkennt Dilthey in dieser "Realpsychologie" ein wichtiges Zentrum von Novalis' Denken. Unter "Realpsychologie" versteht er "eine Psychologie, welche den

<sup>1</sup> Der Terminus "Einfühlung" stammt nicht von Schiller, sondern ist romantisch, das Wort findet sich zuerst bei Novalis. (Vgl. Ziegler. Zeitschrift f. vgl. Literaturgesch. Bd. 7, S. 116).

Inhalt unserer Seele selbst zu ordnen, in seinen Zusammenhängen aufzufassen, soweit möglich zu erklären unternimmt" (S. 622).

Dilthey hält Novalis für eine "subjektive, wenn nicht geradezu eine pathologische Natur, bestimmten Gemütsindrücken hingegeben bis zur Vergessenheit der Totalität der Erscheinungen, welche die Welt ausmachen" (S. 605). Er hebt hervor, dass die Religion des Novalis im Grunde nichts anderes sei, als religiös gefärbte Naturphilosophie und dass sein Christentum mit dem orthodoxen Kirchenglauben nur wenig gemein habe. "Will man sein innerstes Verhältnis zum Christentum erfassen: so tritt zunächst ein grenzenloses Bedürfnis wahlverwandten Verstehens und Genießens der christlichen Gemütsstimmung gegenüber hervor. Da ist kein Bemühen um kritische Wahrheit; keine Andeutung wäre zu finden, dass er die Geltung des Christentums inmitten unserer modernen Kultur jemals mit objektivem Geiste erwogen hätte. . . . Er lebte in der jenseitigen Welt. Sie war in Wirklichkeit die Heimat seines Herzens. Das gab seinem Christentum gegenüber dem seiner objektiv auffassenden Freunde und Genossen, insbesondere Schleiermachers ein ganz verschiedenes, ganz eigenartiges Gepräge" (S. 627). Nach Dilthey vermag man auf die Frage: "War er ein gläubiger Christ?" (S. 628) erst vom Standpunkt derjenigen aus eine befriedigende Antwort zu geben, welche "eine seit der Begründung des wissenschaftlichen Geistes in Europa vollkommen geänderte Stellung der Modernen zum Christentum anerkennen." Auf diesem Standpunkt lautet schliesslich das Urteil: "Maria, Christus, die Auferstehung waren für Novalis nicht Glaubensartikel; doch würde man freveln, sie als poetische Gestalten für ihn zu betrachten. In tiefbewegten Stunden, da er in den nächtlichen Himmel einer jenseitigen Welt hinausblickte, formte sich das Chaos unendlicher Welten für ihn zu diesen Sternbildern, zu denen der einsam Dahinschreitende als zu leitenden Schützern sehnsüchtig emporblickte." (S. 630).

Bei der Erörterung des Kampfes zwischen dem im tiefsten Schmerze gefassten Entschluss des Dichters, seiner Geliebten nachzusterben allein durch die Gewalt der Sehnsucht und seiner menschlichen Natur, fragt Dilthey: "Wer kann sagen, wie

der Streit geendet hätte, wenn er in einer einsamen Klosterzelle gekämpft worden wäre?" (S. 607). Er erinnert, was die Ausführung des "Entschlusses" betrifft, an Ottilien in den "Wahlverwandschaften;" vielleicht habe Goethe von Novalis' damaligem Geschick und von dessen Todesgedanken gehört.

Den dichterischen Ausdruck des seelischen Prozesses, den Novalis damals durchlebt hat, findet Dilthey in den Hymnen an die Nacht. Er ist der Ansicht, dass ihre Abfassung in das Jahr 1797 fallen müsse. "Sie konnten nur aus der Vertiefung in die Schmerzen dieser ersten Zeiten geschrieben sein, sie sind das wahrhafte Bild derselben" (S. 608). Er nimmt an, dass der Gesamtentwurf derselben eine spätere Neubearbeitung erfahren habe, um ihre Grundanschauungen mehr dem Ideenkreise der später gedichteten "geistlichen Lieder" zu nähern. Er gibt keine Beweise dafür, aber er glaubt, Spuren der Bearbeitung zu fühlen. Dilthey hat, nach den neuesten Publikationen über Novalis, jedenfalls die Wahrheit geahnt, hat herausgefühlt, dass die heut vorliegende Form der Hymnen nicht die ursprüngliche sein kann. Er charakterisiert diese mit folgenden Worten: "Wie ein langsam hingezogener, rätselhafter Klage-ton, der mitten in der Nacht vernommen wird, so scheint aus dem gepressten Herzen des Einsamen der Ausdruck der Todessehnsucht zu brechen.<sup>1</sup> Ganz fremdartig; an uns herantretend, wie sein dunkler Entschluss vorher an seine Umgebungen, von einer grenzenlosen Traurigkeit" (S. 608), und fügt hinzu, dass diese Hymnen "mehr Grauen erwecken als die schrecklichste Geschichte." Er denkt wohl an das Grauen einzelner Märchen Tiecks im Phantastus.

Diltheys klare und vorurteilslose Beurteilung des Osterdingen hat zuerst wieder diesem Roman die Stelle unter den Kunstwerken der deutschen Literatur errungen, die ihm gebührt; seine Analyse des Romans ist ein lebendiger Gegenbeweis gegen die Behauptung Goedekes,<sup>2</sup> dass eine Erklärung

<sup>1</sup> Ähnlich sagt Scherer: "Die Hymnen an die Nacht erklingen aus einer dunklen Tiefe, gestaltlos aber melodisch, in einer Prosa, die an den Ossian in Goethes "Werther" gemahnt (Gesch. d. deutschen Literatur. 5. Aufl., Berlin 1889. S. 647).

<sup>2</sup> Grundr. d. Gesch. d. deutschen Dichtung. 1881. Bd. III, S. 29. Goedekes Urteil über Novalis lautet überhaupt ablehnend.



desselben "mehr in die Geschichte der Schwärmer und Träumer gehöre, als in die der Dichtung." Er hält den Roman trotz des fragmentarischen Zustandes für das Bedeutendste, was die ältere Romantik hervorgebracht habe. Der Dichter führe uns hier in seine Welt, "eine Welt, in welcher gewissermassen der metaphysische Zusammenhang des menschlichen Lebens zu Tage liegt" (S. 643). Und dieser metaphysische Zusammenhang wird durch die Hypothese vom Kreislauf der Seelen in der Zeit und ihrer Daseinsform von Geburt und Tod vorgestellt. Dilthey stellt fest, dass der Ausdruck "Seelenwanderung" für diese Hypothese unzutreffend sei, obwohl Vorstellungen dieser Art in der Identität der Personen im Roman ausgesprochen sind. Er versucht die mannigfachen Spuren derselben im Roman nachzuweisen; macht auch auf die Worte in dem Bilde Sophiens von Novalis aufmerksam. "Sie glaubt an kein künftiges Leben, aber an die Seelenwanderung." Jedoch dieser Gedanke dürfe nicht im Sinne einer wissenschaftlichen Überzeugung genommen werden. "Sein Schwerpunkt ligt in der Annahme, dass eine in der Vergangenheit bestimmte Ordnung der Seelen zueinander die Bedingungen in der Gegenwart enthält, gleichviel wie jene jenseitige Ordnung und ihr Zusammenhang mit dem Geschehen im Diesseits zu denken sei."

In dem "wundervollen" Märchen im Osterdingen spricht sich nach Diltheys Ansicht eine durchgeführte Naturphilosophie aus, während aus den Märchen Tiecks die Poesie eines träumenden Pantheismus spricht. "Die Natur von Novalis ist ein Weltgemüt, die von Tieck eine dämonische Phantasie. Unter ihrem Stern sind seine Menschen geboren, deren Seele ein Spiel elementarer Stimmungen ist. . . Fernab stehen die sittlichen, die geschichtlichen Mächte, Wille und Weltverstand: diese Menschen wollen nicht, die Natur in ihnen bewegt sich. Novalis ist die Natur eine Ordnung und Entwicklung der Welt, deren innerstes Geheimnis das unsres eigenen Gemütes ist" (S. 647). In der Auflösung des Märchens will der Philosoph keine Schwierigkeiten finden. "Wer mit der Naturphilosophie vertraut ist, deren magnetische und galvanische Theorien überall zu Grunde liegen, wird den Novalis vorschwebenden Sinn leicht in allen Einzelheiten fas-

sen; kaum ein Wort in demselben bleibt dunkel" (S. 648).

Betreffs der Fortsetzung des Romans teilt er die Vermutung mit, dass alles, was in der angegebenen Weise von Tieck als Fortsetzung und Schluss der Erzählung vorliege, sich in zwei klar unterschiedene Teile teilen lasse, in den ersten vom Gespräch des Pilgers mit Sylvester an bis zum Kampf der Sänger, und in einen zweiten, dessen Ereignisse sämtlich als träumerische Anschauungen, über das gegenwärtige Dasein Heinrichs in ein verschwimmendes Dunkel hinausblickend, aufzufassen seien, beide seien durch den Tod Heinrichs, den Novalis zu erzählen im Sinne gehabt habe, von einander getrennt.

Den Stil im Ofterdingen bezeichnet Dilthey als "eine wunderbare Reproduktion des Goetheschen Stils, übertragen auf eine ganz von der Imagination geschaffene, wunderbare, fremdartige, ganz typische Welt."

Es besteht nach Dilthey der grösste Gegensatz zwischen Novalis' dargestellten wissenschaftlichen Gedanken über Religion und Christentum und seinen geistlichen Liedern. Von diesen heisst es in dem Aufsatz: "Diese Lieder werden leben, ewig wie das Christentum" (S. 630). Sie unterscheiden sich von denen der grossen geistlichen Liederdichter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts "durch eine Simplifikation und Verinnerlichung des Stoffs, welche auf dem veränderten Verhältnis zu demselben beruht. Sie sind empfangen aus einer das Gemüt tief bewegenden individualisierten Stimmung: ihr Inhalt ist eine ganz einfache, von der Phantasie in unbestimmter Weise getragene Anschauung, so verschwimmend, als ob diese Stimmung sie emporgetragen hätte und sie dann wieder mit ihr versinken und sich auflösen müsste, einer Vision zu vergleichen" (S. 630).

Wie Dilthey so sucht auch Haym in seinem umfassenden, grundlegenden Buch <sup>1</sup> Novalis mehr als Denker denn als Dichter zu schildern. Auch er versucht Novalis' Persönlichkeit herauszuarbeiten; auch bei ihm erscheint er als ein Produkt der Tendenzen seiner Zeit. Andererseits ist Haym in seiner Darstellung ohne jedes persönliche Verhältnis zu dem von ihm geschilderten Dichter. Er will auch als Literarhis-

<sup>1</sup> R. Haym, Die romantische Schule. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte d. deutschen Geistes. Berlin 1870. S. 324-390.

toriker ein Werturteil geben und wird damit zu einer wesentlich negativen Kritik geführt. Kongenialität, Mitfühlen und Miterleben geht ihm gänzlich ab; seine Darstellung will *nur* gerecht sein. Liebevoll in das Wesen einer Persönlichkeit sich versenken, auch wenn diese Persönlichkeit dem Betrachter im innersten nicht sympathisch ist, war ihm fremd.

Haym bezeichnet Novalis als den "Profeten der Romantik" und vergleicht ihn mit Hölderlin. "Novalis, der einzige echte Dichter des romantischen Kreises, rein und edel wie Hölderlin, eine lyrisch-musikalische Natur wie jener, ein mystischer Naturphilosoph wie jener, und doch—jenem durchaus entgegengesetzt" (S. 324). Ausführlich erörtert er die Doppelnatur des Dichters. "So ganz nach innen gewandt war das poetische Auge von Novalis, dass er zu irgend welcher plastischen Gestaltung schlechterdings unfähig war. Einen so tiefen Schatz andererseits von Heiterkeit verband er mit jener Innerlichkeit, dass er selbst über die bittersten Seelenschmerzen triumphierte und selbst die Finsternisse des Grabes mit duftenden Blüten, selbst den Gram mit Liebenswürdigkeit zu schmücken verstand" (S. 324). Trotz seiner intensiv poetischen Begabung stand Novalis mit gesunden Sinnen, mit kräftigem Verstand, mit reinem Pflichtgefühl in der Wirklichkeit, in den Anforderungen des praktischen Lebens. "Er gehörte nicht zu jenen unseligen Naturen, die sich durch ihr Phantasieleben das gewöhnliche Leben verleiden oder zerstören sondern, in beiden gleich heimisch, lächelte er nur aus jenem die heiterste Verklärung auf dieses herab" (S. 353).

Es war, wie Haym hervorhebt, der zuversichtliche Heroismus der Fichteschen Lehre, welche den Willen zum Herrn auch über das Schicksal erhöhte, der Novalis' sinnreich grübelnden Geist in der regsten Gärung hielt, während sein Herz von dem härtesten Schlage bedroht war. "Eben diese Lehre von der unendlichen Macht des Willens, die ihn an den bevorstehenden Tod seiner Sophie nicht hatte glauben lassen, verwandelt ihm sein Verlangen nach der Gestorbenen in die Überzeugung,—in den Entschluss, ihr nachzusterben" (S. 335).

Bei der Besprechung von Novalis' "Fragmenten" geht Haym von Fichtes Philosophie als ihrer Grundlage aus und

bringt Novalis' Ideen mit denen dieses Philosophen in engern Zusammenhang. Er gibt eine Übersicht über die Gesamtheit der Aufzeichnungen der "Fragmente" und sucht alle Wendungen und Schwankungen in ihnen zu verfolgen. Er wird dabei den Paradoxen Novalis' weit mehr gerecht als denen Fr. Schlegels. Es bleibt Hayms unleugbares Verdienst, dass er aus den "Fragmenten" tatsächlich Positives herausgeholt, ja ein Gedankenzentrum aufgesucht hat, an dessen Betrachtung auch heute noch die Forscher ihre Arbeit wenden. In Novalis' Philosophie erscheint der absolute Wille als Schöpfer der Welt, des menschlichen Schicksals. Als solcher hat der letztere unbedingte Macht, auf das Seelenleben zu wirken, und um die vollkommene Bildung zu erlangen, ist es Aufgabe jedes Menschen, alles Unwillkürliche in seiner psychischen Natur willkürlich zu gestalten. Das ist Novalis' Hauptlehre, die in den "Fragmenten" auf die mannigfaltigste Weise zum Ausdruck kommt. Seine Hauptsätze sind: 1) das Physische ist zur Erklärung des Psychischen heranzuziehen und umgekehrt; 2) Körper und Seele können und müssen sich gegenseitig zur Vervollkommnung dienen; 3) der menschliche Wille hat vermöge dieses Zusammenhanges zwischen Seele und Körper dieselbe unbedingte Macht über diesen wie über jene.—Im Gegensatz zu Dilthey erkennt Haym den Kern der Weltanschauung des Novalis in der Formel des "magischen Idealismus." Darunter versteht er den "poetisch und mystisch potenzierten Idealismus, der, vermittlungsscheu, sowohl theoretisch wie praktisch das Innere, Geistige mit Einem Schlage realisiert und umgekehrt das Äussere, Wirkliche mit Einem Schlage vergeistigt wissen will" (S. 360). Er belegt allerdings diese Behauptung nur durch vereinzelte Äusserungen und seine Ausführung zeigt, wie lose die Beziehungen sind, in denen die Masse der in den "Fragmenten" enthaltenen Ideen zu diesem "magischen Idealismus" steht.

Es war, wie Haym feinsinnig ausführt, Novalis' ausgesprochenes Streben, Fichtes Idealismus ins Praktische zu übertragen, d. h. die Konsequenzen aus seiner Lehre zu ziehen, die er selbst nicht zu ziehen gewagt hatte. Er sagt: "Novalis war eifrig bemüht, die Grundgedanken der Fichteschen Philosophie seiner Individualität anzupassen, sie zu ihren Konse-

quenzen zu entwickeln, sie hin und her zu wenden und allseitig kombinierend anzuwenden" (S. 332). Novalis schlägt kühn die Brücke von der rein geistigen zur wirklichen körperlichen Welt und baut auf diesen Grund drei Hauptsätze: 1) bloss durch konzentriertes Denken erreicht der Mensch ein Ziel, das ausser ihm liegt; 2) durch einfaches konzentriertes Denken vermag er etwas ausser sich zu schaffen; 3) der Mensch vermag bloss durch konzentriertes Glauben einen Zustand, eine Veränderung in sich selbst, die er will, wirklich hervorzubringen, so dass hier also Glaube, Wille ist und gleich dieselbe unbedingte Macht hat wie dieser.

Den Ofterdingen bezeichnet Haym als ein "traumhaft verworrenes Gebilde," das nur durch die Beziehungen zu den persönlichen Erlebnissen des Dichters einen natürlichen Halt bekomme. "In mythologischer Einkleidung, in metaphysischer Verallgemeinerung enthält das Gedicht die Gemütsgeschichte, die poetisierte Lebensgeschichte des Dichters selbst. Ganz Abdruck seiner selbst, Abdruck seines ganzen Selbst, seiner metaphysischen Überzeugungen, seiner poetisch-künstlerischen Ideale, seiner äussern wie seiner innern Schicksale und Erfahrungen: das, und zwar das Alles zusammen und in innigster Durchdringung ist der Roman" (S. 387).

Haym lehnt die von Dilthey entwickelte Auffassung des metaphysischen Zusammenhangs im Ofterdingen ab. "Es hiesse die Ansicht des Dichters rationalisieren, wenn man annehmen wollte, dass seine Erzählung wesentlich auf den Gedanken der Metempsychose ruhe. Seine Ansicht ist um Vieles unhistorischer und mystischer" (S. 386). Und zudem gewähre die Seelenwanderungshypothese für die schliessliche absolute Verklärung der Wirklichkeit, die Verwandlung des Romans in das Märchen, keine Aufklärung. "Die Wahrheit ist: diese Hypothese spielt allerdings sowohl in der Weltanschauung wie in dem Roman Hardenbergs eine Rolle, aber doch nur eine Nebenrolle" (S. 386).

Klingsohrs Märchen steht nach der Ansicht des Kritikers "um vieles hinter dem Märchen in den 'Lehrlingen' zurück." Er tadelt darin die Menge der auftretenden Personen und ihre bald geheimnisvolle, bald grell heraustretende Bedeutsamkeit;

in beiden sei Novalis von dem Vorgange des unglücklichen Auswanderer-Märchens Goethes irregeleitet.

Die Hymnen an die Nacht nennt Haym "tiefsinnig schwer-mutsvolle Laute klagender Verzückung und inbrünstigen Schmerzes, mit nichts zu vergleichen, was unsre klassische Poesie hervorgebracht, mit nichts auch, was wir bisher von der nach-goethischen, der romantischen Poesie kennen gelernt haben" (S. 336). Die Entstehung derselben verlegt er in den Sommer 1797, da sie in den Stimmungen dieser Zeit wurzeln. Er bemerkt jedoch: "Es finden sich Wendungen in ihnen, die offenbar einer späteren Periode angehören. Sie sprechen von den Erschütterungen und Begeisterungen am Grabe der Geliebten wie von einem vergangenen Erlebnis" (S. 337). Er nimmt an, dass sie später eine Überarbeitung erfahren haben.

Haym macht darauf aufmerksam, dass Novalis sich in jenen Monaten tiefster Trauer mit Youngs "Nachtgedanken" beschäftigt habe; er gibt einige nähere Parallelen zwischen den beiden Werken, will aber in dem kalt reflektirenden und moralisierenden Ausdruck der "Nachtgedanken" keinen Anklang in Novalis' Dichtung finden.

Bei der Erörterung des Märchens von Hyacinth und Rosenblütchen hebt Haym "die innige Zartheit und die fröhliche Schalkheit" desselben hervor und vergleicht es mit einer "blühenden Insel der Poesie, die aus der Flut unfertiger Symbolik aufsteigt." "Wie die Hymnen an die Nacht Novalis' frühere Seelenverfassung poetisch spiegelten, so ist dieses Märchen die poetische Quintessenz derjenigen, die ihn jetzt (1798) beherrschte" (S. 351).

Den ersten Versuch, die Religion des Novalis zu erörtern, machte der Theologe Rothe in seinem, übrigens nicht tiefgreifenden, Aufsatz: "Novalis als religiöser Dichter."<sup>1</sup> Der Verfasser ist ein enthusiastischer Bewunderer des Dichters und hat in mehreren Gedichten ("An Novalis," "Novalis Geist") sein Lob verkündet. Bei ihm finden wir volle Übereinstimmung mit Novalis "in dem messianischen Ausblick auf jene höhere Einigung von Katholizismus und Protestantismus."

<sup>1</sup> In Schenkels "Allg. kirchl. Zeitschrift." III. Jahrg. Elberfeld 1862, S. 608-624. Vergl. auch dessen "Gesammelte Vorträge und Abhandlungen." Elberfeld 1886, S. 64-82.

Rothe charakterisiert Novalis als "einen modernen religiösen Dichter, einen Dichter, der wirklich beides ist in innerlicher Einheit, ein moderner und ein religiöser" (Gesammelte Vorträge und Abhandlungen S. 76). Die Bedeutung des Dichters liege mehr in dem, was er war und was er versprach, als in dem, was er leistete. Er legt dar, wie Novalis in der Poesie das eigentliche Mittel sah, die Religion wieder zu beleben, wie sie ihm das Höchste war, was er nach der Religion kannte. "Wenn man irgendwoher die sichere Ahnung vorweg nehmen kann, dass eine religiöse moderne Poesie möglich, dass sie kein eitler Traum ist und wie, wenn dereinst ihre geschichtliche Stunde gekommen sein wird, die Züge ihres Antlitzes gestaltet sein werden: so ist es aus Novalis" (S. 70). Der Theologe hebt hervor, dass bei Novalis Glaube und Philosophie keine unvereinbaren Gegensätze bildeten. "Seine Philosophie und sein Gemütsleben liefen in ihm nebeneinander her, ohne sich zu stören. Die Philosophie, so hoch er sie auch schätzte, war nicht das Element, worin er lebte" (S. 78). Rothe kann dem nicht beistimmen, wenn gegen die Behauptung, dass Novalis ein moderner Geist sei, etwa seine vielgescholtene Hinneigung zum Katholizismus eingewendet wird. Er tut diese Sache ziemlich leicht ab. "Wer zwischen Sachen und Form zu unterscheiden weiss, der wird auf diese angebliche katholisierende Tendenz unseres Dichters nicht viel geben" (S. 77). Rothe liefert eine vortreffliche Charakterisierung von Novalis' Stil im *Offertingen*. So heisst es z. B. von der ersten Szene der Begrüssung Heinrichs und seiner Mutter durch den alten Schwaning: "Jene Eigenschaften (ein leicht zerrinnender, fast narkotischer Duft zartester, aber zugleich frischester Empfindungen, ein magisches Dämmerlicht der ersten Morgenfrühe) üben bei Novalis nur deshalb einen solchen Zauber aus, weil sie mit einer ganz ungewöhnlichen plastischen Kraft Hand in Hand gehen" (S. 81).<sup>1</sup>

Einen trefflichen und feinsinnigen Vortrag über "Novalis und die Romantik" gab der Universitätsprofessor Fortlage im Jahre 1872.<sup>2</sup> Voller Bewunderung für den Dichter sagt er

<sup>1</sup> Ein populärer Vortrag über "Novalis als religiöser Dichter" (Leipzig 1877) von G. A. L. Baur bietet im grossen und ganzen nichts Neues.

<sup>2</sup> K. Fortlage, *Sechs philosophische Vorträge*. II. Ausg. Jena 1872. Darin über "Novalis und die Romantik."

von ihm: "Novalis ist ein Name von grosser Bedeutung, mehr noch in unserm Leben, als in unsrer Literatur. Obgleich er seiner Naturanlage nach mehr Dichter war, so ist doch sein philosophischer Charakter noch weit mehr, als der poetische es gewesen, was der romantischen Dichtung ihr ausgesprochenes Gepräge verliehen hat" (S. 76f). Fortlage legt dar, dass Novalis die Not des Lebens nie gekannt habe. "Als Sprössling der freiherrlichen Familie von Hardenberg, deren Mitglieder durch Vermögen, Verbindungen und Geistesgaben zu den höchsten Ansprüchen an das Leben berechtigt gewesen, ist er wie spielend in seine Laufbahn eingetreten" (S. 97). Er weist darauf hin, dass Novalis in eben dem Grade wie Fichte moralischer Idealist sei, und gibt einige Parallelen zwischen der Spekulation des Novalis und der Philosophie Fichtes. Sein Urteil lautet: "Es ist die männliche und philosophische Gedankenklarheit, welche vorherrscht auf der Seite der Fichteschen Sittenlehre. Es ist die weibliche und poetische Gemühtiefe, welche vorherrscht auf der Seite der Romantik des Novalis" (S. 82f). Der Redner erörtert ausführlich den Unterschied zwischen dem Glauben des Novalis und dem Kirchenglauben. "Der religiöse Glaube des Novalis ist zwar nicht seinen Resultaten, wohl aber seiner Entstehung nach vom Kirchenglauben verschieden. Der kirchliche Glaube ist die Annahme von Wahrheiten, welche auf einem andern Grunde beruhen, als auf dem der blossen Vernunft. Der Glaube des Novalis ist gerade umgekehrt der Glaube an die Anschaubarkeit aller aus reiner Vernunft entspringenden Wahrheiten. Er hält sich bloss innerhalb dieser Wahrheiten wie der Philosoph auch" (S. 89). Fortlage gibt eine feinsinnige und geistreiche Auslegung von Klingsohrs Märchen im Ofterdingen. So heisst es unter anderem: "Eros, die himmlische Liebe selbst, gerät in eine fade Erschlaffung durch ein falsches Bündnis mit der üppigen Phantasiegöttin Ginnistan. Die Verweichlichung der römischen Kirche im abgöttischen und äusserlichen Marien-Kultus konnte nicht treffender als so symbolisiert werden. Während nun Eros in dieser welschen Betäubung südwärts taumelt, seufzt und ringt der zu diesem Schwindel unfähige Mensch der nordischen Sphäre unter dem Schilde des eisernen Helden in der kühlen Halle des Arktur,



des Sternenkönigs der Polar-Region, in schweren Herzens- und Gewissenskämpfen, in aufrichtiger Selbstkritik, nach der Erkenntnis seiner wahren Bestimmung. Dieses Emporseufzen nach Erfassung des wahren, nicht abgeirrten Eros und nach Vermählung mit ihm ist Freia, die Tochter Arkturs" (S. 113f).—Zuweilen verrät die Sprache des Redners den begeisterten Ton biblischer Lyrik, z. B. in den Äusserungen über das Fragment "Christenheit oder Europa": "An diesem Orte seiner Verirrung zeigt uns Novalis völlig die Verblendung des durstlechzenden Wanderers in der Wüste, welchem die erhitzte Phantasie den Bar Schaitan, den sogenannten Satansfluss, vorspiegelt, dass er geblendet durch den vor Hitze zitternden Dunst, wie er gerade aus den heissesten Stellen des glühenden Bodens entsteigt, den Sand der Wüste, den Urheber der Qualen, für die Welle eines nahen Flusses hält, die nach Kühlung begierige Hand ausstreckt nach der labenden Flut, in den Sand fährt und die Hand verbrennt" (S. 110).

Novalis' Hymnen an die Nacht und geistlichen Lieder bilden den Gegenstand von Woerners Inaugural-Dissertation aus dem Jahre 1885.<sup>1</sup> Die Untersuchung über den Sinn der Hymnen im einzelnen ist sorgfältig und gründlich geführt, namentlich durch die vergleichende Heranziehung der "Fragmente." Woerner legt in seiner Schrift starkes Gewicht auf den persönlichen Glaubensstandpunkt des Dichters. Das Kreuz, das als Schlussstein der vierten Hymne steht, möchte er gern tilgen, da es "hier ziemlich unvermittelt in dieser pantheistischen Anschauungswelt aufgestellt wird" (S. 22).

Der Kommentator macht die interessante Entdeckung, dass sich die Prosa der vier ersten Hymnen mit Leichtigkeit in die Rhythmen auflösen lasse, in welche die fünfte (auch im Drucke) ausgeht. Er gesteht allerdings selbst zu, dass es im Belieben jedes Einzelnen ligt, die Sätze in kürzere oder längere Verzeilen zu zerlegen (S. 6). In der fünften Hymne erkennt der junge Gelehrte einen "Gegengesang" gegen Schillers "Götter Griechenlands" und stellt die anklingenden Gegensätze beider Gedichte bis ins Einzelne neben einander (S. 43-45). Den Stil des Eingangs zu den Nachthymnen hält er

<sup>1</sup> R. Woerner, Novalis' Hymnen an die Nacht und geistlichen Lieder. Inaugural-Dissertation. München 1885.

für "ein kleines Meisterstück" und operiert hier mit Ausrufungszeichen des Entzückens.—Die geistlichen Lieder betreffend, glaubt Woerner beweisen zu können, "dass sie nach ihrem Inhalte eben so entfernt vom Katholizismus als von jeglichem andern christlichen Bekenntnisse sind" (S. 33). Er behauptet wörtlich: "Die geistlichen Lieder Hardenbergs sind durchaus unkirchlich," und will aus der Anregung durch Schleiermachers "Reden" das Unkirchliche und Unchristliche derselben beweisen. Er meint, nicht nur erkenne man den Baum an den Früchten, sondern auch die Früchte an dem Baume. Mit andern Worten: wie Schleiermachers Reden völlig unkirchlich seien und noch ganz im Vorhof des eigentlich Christlichen stehen blieben, so auch die von den Reden angeregten Novalisschen Lieder. Es wird also damit die ungeheuerliche Behauptung aufgestellt, dass die innigsten Jesuslieder, die wir besitzen, die Sonntag für Sonntag in den protestantischen Gotteshäusern Deutschlands gesungen werden, von jedem christlichen Bekenntnisse entfernt seien. Woerner sucht seine Behauptung dadurch zu begründen, dass er sich auf die Gedankensplitter und Fragmente von Novalis beruft, aus denen hervorginge, dass der Dichter einem christlichen Bekenntnisse ferngestanden habe. Er legt dabei einzelnen Fragmenten eine Beweiskraft zu, die sie nicht besitzen. Einen innern Zusammenhang, eine Ähnlichkeit der geistlichen Lieder von Novalis mit denen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts leugnet Woerner.—Von den beiden Marienliedern (No. 14 und 15) sagt er: "Diese beiden Lieder sind für den zweiten Teil des Romans *Ofterdingen* bestimmt gewesen, gehören aber trotzdem sehr wohl zu den geistlichen Liedern" (S. 55). Im übrigen muss man gestehen, dass der Verfasser in seinem Schriftchen eine Sprache führt, die in keinem Verhältnis zu seiner Leistung steht.

In einer feinsinnigen Studie über Kleist und Novalis zieht Weissenfels Parallelen zwischen der Gedankenrichtung Kleists und Novalis', vergleicht ihre Charaktere und ihre Auffassung des Lebens und glaubt einen direkten Einfluss des Novalis auf Kleist behaupten zu dürfen.<sup>1</sup> Beiden gemeinsam ist eine "ei-

<sup>1</sup> Rich. Weissenfels, Kleist und Novalis ("Vergleichende Studien zu H. von Kleist II"). Zeitschr. f. vergl. Literaturgesch. und Renaissance-lit. N. F. Bd. I. Berlin 1887. S. 301-323.

serne Konsequenz in der Entwicklung der Gedanken, die sie einmal gefasst haben." So kamen beide zum Extrem des Fichteschen Idealismus. Für Novalis ist diese Konsequenz nicht nur im Denken, sondern auch im Handeln ausdrücklich bezeugt; sie machte ihn sogar zum Lobredner des Robespierreschen Schreckenssystems und der päpstlichen Alleinherrschaft.—Gemeinsam ist Novalis und Kleist das Streben nach "Bildung" und der Begriff, den sie damit verbinden, sowie "die immer wiederholte Betonung dieses Strebens in aufmerksamer, grübelnder, quälerischer Selbstbeobachtung, Selbstüberwachung von frühester Jugend an bis zu ihrem Tode" (S. 302).—Es ligt ein didaktischer Zug in beiden Dichtern, und denselben richten sie nicht nur gegen sich selbst, sondern auch gegen alle Personen, zu denen sie in ein näheres Verhältnis treten, so Novalis besonders gegen seine Brüder, Kleist gegen Ulrike und beide am auffallendsten gegen ihre Bräute. Wie Kleist, so sieht auch Novalis in der Gründung einer Familie das höchste Glück seines Lebens. Mit dieser Überzeugung zusammen hängt die Ansicht beider Dichter von der Bestimmung des Weibes, über die sich auch interessante Parallelaussprüche bei ihnen finden.—Beide Dichter setzen die äussere, physische Welt zu der innern, moralischen in Beziehung und suchen das Physische durch das Psychische und umgekehrt zu erklären.—Am charakteristischsten für beide Dichter und deshalb in ihrer Übereinstimmung am auffallendsten sind ihre philosophischen Betrachtungen über den Tod, die sich bis zur Todesbegeisterung steigern. Zu Grunde liegt der ganzen Todesphilosophie eine gewisse Geringschätzung des Lebens. "Das irdische Leben ist nicht Selbstzweck, sondern nur eine Station auf der Reise nach dem Ziel, das ausser ihm liegt. Dieses sehen die beiden Dichter nun nicht einfach mit dem christlichen Dogma in einer künftigen himmlischen Existenz, sondern sie konstruieren sich eine Art Seelenwanderung" (S. 307). Auf die Geringschätzung des Lebens und die Auffassung vom Sterben gründet sich folgerichtig bei Kleist wie bei Novalis eine Freude auf den Tod, eine förmliche Begeisterung für denselben.—Die enge Verbindung, in welcher bei Novalis Philosophie und Religion stehen, lässt es nur als folgerichtig erscheinen, dass auch die letztere in seine Todesbetrachtungen

hineinspielt, "sie mystisch vertieft, d. h. noch unklarer, verwirrender macht, als sie schon bis hierher sind" (S. 311).— Von Novalis wie von Kleist wird das Element der Wollust in das Gefühl des Sterbens gemischt und dieses durch jenes Element mit den Empfindungen der Liebe und Freundschaft in eine mystische Verbindung gebracht. Weissenfels bemerkt: "Novalis war trotz seines Tiefsinnes eine Augenblicksnatur, wie fast alle Romantiker; er schwankt fortwährend zwischen Extremen, viele seiner Aussprüche, besonders seiner Fragmente, sind offenbar weiter nichts als Reflexe augenblicklicher Eindrücke von Personen, Schriften oder Erlebnissen. Daher die vielen Widersprüche in seinen Schriften" (S. 303). Er hält die Religion des Novalis, wie der älteren Romantiker überhaupt, für im Grunde nichts anders, als religiös gefärbte Naturphilosophie. "Nur da, wo sich mit ihren mystischen Phantasien Ideen oder geschichtliche Tatsachen des Christentums begegneten, nahmen sie dieselben in ihre Weltanschauung u. den philosophischen oder poetischen Ausdruck derselben auf. Bei Novalis ist das unter dem Einfluss seiner herrenhutischen Erziehung allerdings in reichlicherem Masse der Fall, als bei den übrigen Romantikern. Aber er ist deshalb noch immer kein gläubiger Christ im kirchlichen Sinne" (S. 304).—Weissenfels wollte in dieser Studie einen Teil der philosophischen Anschauungen des Novalis in festem Zusammenhang darstellen, damit die einzelnen Fragmente sich wechselseitig erklären und berichtigen und wir ein klares Bild dieser ganzen Philosophie gewinnen. Er meint, Diltheys und Hayms Bemühungen in dieser Richtung können nicht als erschöpfend gelten.

Ein umfangreiches Buch über Novalis' Leben und Schriften von Schubart erschien im Jahre 1887.<sup>1</sup> Die Absicht des Buches geht nach zwei Seiten: erstens alles, was bisher über Novalis veröffentlicht war, zu einer Darstellung seines Lebens und Wirkens zusammenzufassen, also auch sehr wichtige Publikationen, besonders von Briefen, welche Haym und Dilthey in ihren Abhandlungen über Novalis noch nicht haben be-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. A. Schubart, Novalis' Leben, Dichten und Denken. Auf Grund neuerer Publikationen im Zusammenhang dargestellt. Gütersloh. 1887.

nutzen können, mit heranzuziehen, und zweitens, Novalis als einen gläubigen Christen zu erweisen. Schubart verfolgt die einzig richtige Methode bei der Lösung der vielen Rätsel, welche sich an den Namen des Dichters und an seine Werke knüpfen. Bei der Erklärung und Erläuterung der vielfach sehr dunklen, mystischen Aussprüchen des Novalis sowie einzelner Stellen seiner Gedichte sucht der Verfasser den Kern der Gedanken herauszufinden, indem er Parallelstellen aus den Werken und Briefen oder bestimmte Lebenserfahrungen des Dichters heranzieht. Das Material, welches ihm dabei durch die früheren Publikationen aus der romantischen Literaturperiode zu Gebote stand, ist sorgfältig, fleissig und vorsichtig benutzt; die Ausführungen enthalten manchen sehr schätzenswerten Beitrag zur Kritik und chronologischen Fixierung des Materials. Schubart ist bemüht, die Widersprüche in den Schriften des Dichters zu beseitigen und sie in die Harmonie einer völlig ausgebildeten geschlossenen Weltanschauung aufzulösen. Dadurch lässt er sich verleiten, manches miteinander in Übereinstimmung bringen zu wollen, was sich nicht vereinigen lässt. Das ist besonders der Fall in den Abschnitten, welche über die Stellung des Novalis zum Christentum handeln.—Überall schenkt Schubart den Beziehungen der Dichtung zu dem Leben des Dichters ein überwiegendes Augenmerk und legt dabei besonderes Gewicht auf die geistlichen Lieder und die religiösen Fragmente, um dadurch die Übereinstimmung der Novalischen Weltanschauung mit der strenggläubigen, christlichen zu beweisen. Den Zweck seiner Schrift fasst er in den Worten zusammen: "Jesus *hat* ihn wiedergefunden, dass wir den Dichter und den Denker in ihm um so unverhüllter verstehen, je mehr wir uns davon überzeugen, Jesus hat ihn in einer glaubenslosen Zeit vor vielen anderen wiedergefunden, dies darzulegen ist der Zweck dieser Schrift über ihn" (S. 193).—Der Biograph sucht die Behauptung Diltheys zu widerlegen, dass das Christentum des Novalis mit dem orthodoxen Kirchenglauben nur wenig gemein habe. Er muss eine Bemerkung über Novalis' Christentum mehrmals einschränken; er spricht von Pantheismus und andern unchristlichen Elementen, welche die Strenggläubigkeit des Novalis etwas beeinträchtigten. "Bei seinem Suchen,

sich mit den spekulativen Systemen seiner Zeit auseinanderzusetzen, verirrte Novalis sich vielfach in pantheistisches Denken, und das Gewissen, welches er doch als die eigentlich religiöse Kraft im Menschen betrachtete, bewahrt ihn nicht von dem im Hintergrunde seiner Seele schlummernden Vorhaben, sich selbst zu töten" (S. 151).

Schubart führt aus, dass Novalis eine gesonderte Stellung unter den Romantikern einnehme. "Einmal trägt, was wir von seinem leider so früh abgebrochenen Leben wissen, den Stempel einer lieblichen Reinheit und Unschuld, andernteils ist das Eigentümliche seiner ganzen dichterischen Individualität so tief in seinem schlichten und doch innerlich so bewegten Lebenslauf begründet, dass uns darin keineswegs das Willkürliche, Launenhafte, Ironische, rein Subjektive entgegentritt, welches die hervorragendsten Dichtungen der Romantiker bezeichnet" (S. 5). Der Roman Heinrich von Ofterdingen wird von Schubart eingehend erläutert; seine Ausführungen sind "eine literar-historische Tat ersten Ranges." Er wirft dem Dichter hier "Mangel an Gedankenpoesie" vor. "Es fehlt an der charakteristischen Zeichnung der auftretenden Personen; Novalis besass nicht den Kunstverstand Goethes. Die bei Novalis vorkommenden Personen reden alle ohne Unterschied, weil eben dem Dichter vor allem an der Mitteilungs seiner namentlich naturphilosophischen Ideen liegt" (S. 317). An mehreren Stellen (so z. B. S. 326 gegen Hettner) wird die Doppelnatur des Novalis energisch betont, sein gesundes Eingreifen ins praktische Leben neben seiner übersinnlichen Schwärmerei, die plastische Anschaulichkeit mancher Schilderungen neben der Verschwommenheit anderer. Die reiche Symbolik, mit der wir bei Novalis die Beschreibung der "wirklichen Welt" durchflochten finden, sei eben in der Weltanschauung der Romantiker zu tief begründet, als dass sie anders hätten dichten können, als es geschehen ist.

Zum Verständnis der Symbolik von der Verwandlung der berühmten "blauen Blume" in das reizendste Mädchenantlitz zieht der Verfasser eine Thüringer Sage herbei, dass es am St. Johannistage einem Glücklichen beschieden sein könne, am Kyffhäuser eine Blume zu pflücken, in deren Besitz er die Schätze der Erde zu heben vermöge.—Neu ist die Ausfüh-

rung, dass im Märchen des Osterdingen beim Flammentod der Mutter dem Dichter der Versöhnungstod Christi vorgeschwebt habe. "Dass die Allegorie jener Märchenstelle, in der Bestimmtheit ihres Ausdrucks, mit Novalis' Glauben an das Sühnopfer Christi in Zusammenhang steht, wird der unbefangene Leser nicht in Abrede stellen wollen; nur muss man zugeben, dass der Dichter dabei das Entsühnende, Rettende, Erlösende von der Objektivität der Offenbarungstatsache abgelöst und auf eine subjektive Fassung der Seele übertragen hat, die nach christlichem Verstande lediglich eine Wirkung des Sühnopfers Christi ist" (S. 405). Schubart lässt die Hymnen an die Nacht aus den Stimmungen des Sommers 1797 entspringen und glaubt, dass sie später nur eine stilistische Überarbeitung erfahren hätten. Bei den Marienliedern hebt er stark heraus, dass die religiöse Empfindung, welche dieselben eingegeben hat, als eine ebenso unmittelbar persönliche im Dichter lebte, wie die in den vorangehenden Jesusliedern zum Ausdruck gekommene. Der Glaube an Jesum, von welchem die Hymnen beseelt seien, stehe in des Dichters religiöser Anschauung nicht im Widerspruch mit der Liebe zu Maria.

Schubart behandelt trotz der ausgesprochenen orthodoxen Tendenz seinen Dichter mit Wärme und Unparteilichkeit. Sein Buch greift tief in das Wesen der ganzen Romantik hinab und regt viele Fragen über dieselbe an, welche noch immer der endgültigen Lösung harren.

Ein im guten Sinne geistreiches und scharfsinnig durchdachtes Buch über Novalis hat uns Just Bing im Jahre 1893 gegeben.<sup>1</sup> Es ist keine Biographie und keine Monographie, sondern eine Charakteristik des Dichters. Bing gibt selbst im Vorwort an, dass er mehr als Dilthey und Haym Novalis' Persönlichkeit habe herausarbeiten und im Unterschied von jenen und von Schubart weniger den Denker als den Dichter habe schildern wollen. Er zeigt uns den Menschen, den Denker im Menschen und den Dichter, der sich aus dem Denker entwickelte. Er verzichtet von vorn herein auf alle literarhistorische Methode und erklärt, dass er weder ungedrucktes Material benutzt habe, noch eine Schilderung von Novalis'

<sup>1</sup> Just Bing, Novalis (Friedrich von Hardenberg). Eine biographische Charakteristik. Hamburg 1893.

literarischen Zeitgenossen, d. h. seinem Milieu, geben wolle. Die Einwirkung der Dichter und Philosophen auf Novalis tritt daher in den Hintergrund. Die Persönlichkeit des Dichters und seine Entwicklung ist ihm Hauptsache. Sein Novalis entwickelt sich wesentlich aus sich selbst heraus, erscheint eben als eine Persönlichkeit, deren angeborene Eigenart sich unter tief eingreifenden Erlebnissen rasch in Denken und Dichten entfaltet. Bing möchte in dem gesamten Leben und Wirken von Novalis einen einheitlichen Grundzug nachweisen: nämlich das Streben nach Individualität, das Novalis auch zur Dichtung geführt und seine Naturansicht bestimmt habe; das Streben, alles von aussen Herantretende sich zu assimilieren, es so aufzunehmen, dass es ein organischer Bestandteil seines eigenen Wesens wurde. Dies Streben bei Novalis hielt jener Empfänglichkeit für Reize, für Einwirkungen das Gleichgewicht. Poesie und Wirklichkeit rückt bei ihm auf eine Stufe. "Die Poesie war ihm schon das höchste Leben, und er hatte selbst das freudigste Gefühl, dass die Schöpfungen seiner Phantasie dem wirklichen Leben entsprachen" (S. 68). Poesie ist ihm nicht nur Kunstform, sie ist ihm Lebens-  
element. Die Vollendung der an Poesie und Leben sich gleichmässig nährenden Individualität kann jedoch, nach der Meinung des Dichters, nicht im engen Rahmen der endlichen Welt sich vollziehen. Erst im Jenseits wird die Entwicklung der Persönlichkeit vollendet. Daher blickt Novalis immer wieder ins Jenseits, daher der immer wieder auftauchende Gedanke an den Tod. Diese wichtigste doppelseitige Eigentümlichkeit des Novalis rückt Bing scharf in den Vordergrund; er bemüht sich, alles auf Grundzüge des Charakters und ihnen entsprechende Grundanschauungen zurückzuführen und dadurch über Novalis' eigenartige Persönlichkeit helleres Licht zu verbreiten, als bei Dilthey und Haym auf diese fällt.

Die Ansicht, dass der Fortschritt in der Welt von Monotonie durch Disharmonie zu Harmonie geht, nennt Bing eine Grundanschauung des Novalis und leitet aus ihr mehr ab als seine Vorgänger; er bringt z. B. damit die Begeisterung für Krankheit in Verbindung. "Eine Argumentation ad hominem des Hektikers ist es, wenn er diesen Gedankengang auf die Krankheit anwendet" (S. 54). Wenn Novalis Krankheit



und Tod verherrlicht, so erklärt sich das einmal aus Erfahrungen, die er in seinem Leben an sich und mehreren ihm besonders nahestehenden Personen machte, und zweitens aus der Zeitstimmung.—Bing bemerkt fein, dass sich bei Novalis' Liebe zu seiner Sophie der Zug in ihm geltend mache, nicht bei seinen individuellen Gefühlen stehen zu bleiben, sondern sie zum Idealen, Ewigen zu erweitern. "Es ist die unendliche Idee der Liebe, Spinozas und Zinzendorfs Liebe, die sich durch ihn realisieren soll. Dieser Zug ist ihm ganz eigen: so wie er hier seine Liebe zu Sophie als eine allgemeine Liebe fasst, so fasst er später sein Christentum—und zwar ein Christentum höchst individueller Färbung—als allgemeine Religion überhaupt" (S. 19).—Es war, wie Bing festzustellen sucht, des Dichters Phantasie, die ihn zu dem Glauben brachte, er könne der hingeschiedenen Braut nachsterben allein vermöge des festen darauf gerichteten Willens. "Novalis sehnt sich nach einer Wiedervereinigung mit der Geliebten, und hier bringt ihn seine Phantasie zum Glauben, dass er sich einen baldigen Tod erzwingen könne, allein durch den festen Beschluss sterben zu wollen und durch den unablässigen Glauben an die liebe Verstorbene" (S. 22).

Bing tritt mit einer ganz neuen Hypothese über die Datierung der Nachthymnen hervor. Er reiht sie unmittelbar an die geistlichen Lieder, um die Jahreswende 1799-1800, und zwar in ihrer Gesamtheit. Er behauptet, dass sie Novalis' vertrautesten literarischen Freunden, Tieck und Fr. Schlegel, bis 1799-1800 nicht bekannt gewesen wären. Neben den äusseren Gründen macht er aber auch einen inneren Grund geltend, nämlich den Charakter der Hymnen. Durch eine die poetische Schönheit des Werkes begeistert und tief erfassende Analyse versucht er zu zeigen, dass das Erlebnis, welches der Dichtung zu Grunde ligt, darin "künstlerisch isoliert" sei, dass Novalis ein so reines Kunstwerk nicht mitten in der leidenschaftlichen Erregtheit nach Sophiens Tode "unter dem fürchterlichen Gefühlshochdruck" habe schaffen können, sondern erst später, als ihm das schmerzliche Ereignis in eine Ferne gerückt war, die es ihm ermöglichte, in Goethescher Weise "seinen Gegenstand sich vom Leibe zu halten" und ihn dadurch eben zum Gegenstand eines reinen Kunstwerkes zu

erheben. Bing exzerpiert Novalis' Tagebuch und erhärtet, wie viel echtes und grosses Gefühl und wie viel "erzwungenes Hochdrucksgefühl" er in den Schmerz um Sophie auf die Erinnerungen an jene traurigen Erlebnisse wendete. Er gibt zu, dass wir mit dieser versuchten Neudatierung fast ebensoviel verlieren wie gewinnen: verlieren nämlich die Möglichkeit, die Youngschen Nachtgedanken für die Hymnen als Anregung heranzuziehen. Bing bestreitet allerdings, dass Youngs "weitschweifig moralisierender Ton" irgend welche Anregung habe geben können (S. 113).

Die "geistlichen Lieder" werden eingehend und verständnisvoll analysiert und daran ganz neue, zum guten Teil überraschende Betrachtungen geknüpft. Das individuelle Erlebnis ist in ihnen diskret zurückgedrängt und "auf das allgemein christliche Erlebnis, die Geburt für die Ewigkeit durch die Erfahrung der Erlösung in Christus beschränkt" (S. 96). Das Urteil über das Marienlied No. 14 lautet: "Ich glaube, das Novalis selbst keine derartigen Visionen gehabt hat. Wohl aber glaube ich, dass er von einer analogen kindlich-religiösen Stimmung beseelt gewesen, und dass ihm nichts natürlicher war, als in Heinrich von Ofterdingen, seinem idealisierten Selbst, diese Stimmung in lebendiger Gestalt hervortreten zu lassen. Das Lied ist dem Inhalte nach wahr, nur insofern es erdichtet ist" (S. 97).

Der Ofterdingen führt Novalis' eigentümliche Weltanschauung durch; das künstlerische Problem lautet, eine Entwicklung zu zeichnen, deren Ziel die Unendlichkeit ist. "Das Individuum reicht über die Zeit hinweg, wird erst in der Ewigkeit vollendet" (S. 117). — Nach Bings Bemerkung ist die Ansicht, die in dem mystischen Zusammenfall mehrerer Personen im Ofterdingen poetische Gestaltung gewonnen hat, Novalis eigentümlich. Im Gegensatz zu andern Kommentatoren interpretiert er: "Diese Sonderbarkeit, die kein Erklärer Novalis' verstanden hat, wie sie verstanden werden soll, beruht auf einer eigentümlichen Ansicht unsres Dichters. Man beachte, sie *sind* nicht dieselbe Person, aber sie *werden* es in der vollendeten poetischen Welt" (S. 120). Gegen Hayms abfälliges Urteil über Klingsohrs Märchen gewendet, lehnt Bing eine Vergleichung mit dem Märchen der "Lehrlinge von

Sais'' ab. Klingsohrs Märchen sei nicht nur eine eingeschaltete bedeutsame Geschichte; es bedeute eine Welt, die Welt der Ewigkeit, deren Schleier sich hebt. Darum die Menge der Personen und ihre bald geheimnisvolle, bald grell hervortretende Bedeutsamkeit. Goethes Märchen ist Vorbild; bei Goethe indes ist das mystische Schweben zwischen Person und Nichtperson (wie im Haideröslein oder Erlkönig) die poetisch wirksame Kraft. Bei Novalis ist die *bestimmte* Auffassung der Persönlichkeit in jedem Existierenden das dichterische Grundvermögen.

Bing sucht das Räthsel zu lösen, wie Novalis zu dem Anempfinder Tieck sich so mächtig hingezogen fühlen konnte. Tiecks Kunstandacht und Wunderwelt berühren sich mit Novalis' magischem Idealismus. Das Religiöse findet bei Tieck Anklang. Gerade auf religiösem Gebiet vollzieht sich die Vereinigung.—Der Verfasser zeigt überall ein sympathisches Verständnis für die eigentümliche Persönlichkeit des Dichters. Wenn er ihm auch eine tiefe subjective Anteilnahme zollt und die Untersuchung der künstlerischen Komposition ihm öfters in blosse Bewunderung übergeht, so überschätzt er ihn doch nicht, sondern erkennt sehr wohl die enge Begrenzung seines dauernden Wertes. Am Schlusse seines Buches spricht er das grosse Wort gelassen aus: "Es würde dem deutschen Geistesleben damit schlecht gedient sein, wenn Novalis sein Führer geworden wäre; denn man kann sich wohl kaum einen Dichter denken, der sich weniger zum Lebensführer und Lebensbegleiter eignet als Novalis."

Die Lyrik des Novalis wird von Busse im Jahre 1898 eingehend untersucht.<sup>1</sup> Die Arbeit verbindet mit Geschick und Erfolg psychologische und kritisch-analytische Behandlung miteinander. Sie ist auf gründlicher, fleissiger und sehr genauer Forschung basiert und von einem ruhigen und selbstständigen Geiste ausgeführt. Busse hält es für eine Behandlung des Dichters für unerlässlich, den Mut zu haben, sich von den traditionellen Anschauungen zu befreien und zu konstruieren. Er macht den Versuch, Novalis zu einem "grundfröhlichen Gemüt, einem gesunden, jungen Menschen" zu stemeln. "Das Eine kann nicht genug betont werden: dass No-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Carl Busse, Novalis' Lyrik. Oppeln 1898.

valis ein grundfröhliches Gemüt war, ein gesunder, junger Mensch, der als Student sich fröhlich geschlagen, allen Mädchen die Cour geschnitten, die lebhafteste Heiterkeit über alles geliebt hat. Bis zu seinem Ende hielt diese Heiterkeit vor. Er war gar kein Dichter des Tragischen; das Graziös-Schalkhafte und Anmutig-Innige lag ihm am besten" (S. 38). Erst seine Freunde, denen stets das Bild des Sterbenden vor Augen stand, hätten ihn "halb zu sehr ins Krankhaft-Schwindsüchtige, halb ins allzu Ideal-Himmlische gemalt."—Novalis ist nach Busse vor allem Lyriker. Als solcher hatte er, wie die meisten Lyriker, nur für die Szene Talent, nicht für die Handlung. Den Philosophen Novalis unterschätzt der Autor ein wenig. "Novalis war als Philosoph weder ein reifer noch ein männlicher Geist. Er denkt nicht philosophisch, sondern phantastisch" (S. 49). Der Verfasser setzt sich ganz und gar über die tiefdurchdachten und trotz aller fragmentarischen Zerfahrenheit hochbedeutsamen Aphorismen des Nachlasses hinweg.—Er rühmt Novalis nach, dass es ihm, insbesondere im Gegensatz zu dem sich ins griechische Heidentum flüchtenden Goethe gelungen sei, den christlichen Charakter der Epoche zum Ausdruck zu bringen und den Jesusglauben wieder als Angelpunkt der ganzen christlichen Religion aufgezeigt zu haben.—Abweichend von den bisherigen Ansichten, verfißt Busse die These, dass die erste Konzeption der Nachthymnen im Hinblick auf eine Versbehandlung geschah. Er nimmt für ihre Entstehung alle drei Jahre 1797, 1798 und 1799 in Anspruch, glaubt jedoch, dass sie ihre heutige Gestalt erst bei der letzten Redaktion für den Druck (1800) erhielten. Er wendet sich gegen die traditionelle Bewunderung derselben und preist ihre jetzige Form keineswegs wie herkömmlich als Meisterstück, sondern weist im Gegenteil nach, dass sie weder "einheitlich noch natürlich" sei. Das Ergebnis der kritischen Bewertung derselben fasst er in das Urteil: kein reifes Kunstwerk, eine Art Notprodukt aus einer Übergangsperiode, im besten Falle nur die interessante Dichtung eines Jünglings, die der Mann Novalis wahrscheinlich selber verdammt hätte. Dabei lässt aber Busse ihren Schönheiten im Einzelnen volle Gerechtigkeit widerfahren. Die bestehende Überschätzung der

Hymnen führt er auf die "merkwürdige, wenn auch erklärlche Idealisierung" des dahingeschiedenen Dichters zurück.

Das Gepräge der "geistlichen Lieder" ist, wie Busse ausführt, weder katholisch noch protestantisch, sondern durchaus christlich. Er rühmt ihnen nach, dass sie eine Brücke von der Romantik zum Volke schlugen und das Kirchenlied aus der Tiefe Gellerts emporhoben. "Sie tragen den Stempel einer allgemeinen Giltigkeit und allgemeinen Wirkung. Sie waren von vornherein für einen bestimmten Zweck, für ein bestimmtes Publikum geschrieben. Das einzige Mal, wo Novalis sich von solchen Rücksichten leiten liess" (S. 45). An Kunstwert stehen sie wegen ihrer schlichten Innigkeit weit über den Hymnen an die Nacht. "Sie fallen aus der Schule, wie sie geworden sind, heraus, aber sie entsprechen auf ihrem Gebiete dem Ideal dessen, was die Romantik uns hätte werden sollen, erfüllen wenigstens einen kleinen Teil dessen, wozu sie berufen war" (S. 47). Die Anregung von Schleiermachers "Reden" wird bestritten. "Einige von den geistlichen Liedern waren aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach schon gedichtet, ehe Novalis noch Schleiermachers Reden gelesen hatte. Sie zeigen absolut keine Beeinflussung" (S. 52).—Die Marienlieder sonderet Busse von den geistlichen Liedern des Dichters. Sie ruhen lediglich auf romantischer *prédilection d'artiste* für Marienkult und gehören gar nicht zu den geistlichen Liedern. Es handelt sich hier um Ich-Lieder,<sup>1)</sup> die für den Ofterdingen geplant waren, um ganz individuelle Dichtungen, zu denen die Betrachtung der Sixtinischen Madonna in Dresden wesentlich angeregt habe, während die geistlichen Lieder als protestantische Gemeindegesänge gedacht sind, und auch bis heute diesem Zwecke vollauf genügen, also wie es jedes echte Kirchenlied sein soll, Wir-Lieder sind.—Die Ofterdingenlieder bezeichnet Busse als den Höhepunkt in Novalis' Dichterlaufbahn; sie allein vermochten auch nur den Roman bis in unsre Zeit zu retten. Was den Roman selbst betrifft, so leiht der Verfasser seiner Freude Ausdruck darüber, dass derselbe nicht vollendet ward. Er wäre bloss eine schwierige Dichtung mehr geworden. Den Aufsatz "Christenheit oder Europa" weist er aus den Sammlungen von Novalis' Schriften als "unreif" hin-

aus, da er ein durchaus falsches Bild von seinem Verfasser gebe.

Eine interessante Zusammenstellung des Dichters mit Nietzsche bringt Jentsch im Jahre 1898.<sup>1</sup> Der Verfasser findet in Novalis den ganzen Nietzsche, nur einen, der es zur Versöhnung aller Gegensätze und zur wehmütig-heitern Ruhe gebracht hatte. Auch verrät der jung verstorbene Dichter mehr positives Wissen, namentlich in den Naturwissenschaften, als der älter gewordene Philosoph. Aber in ihren Paradoxien berühren sie sich enge, obwohl auch hier ein Unterschied zwischen beiden obwaltet. Nietzsche hat Bücher voll Paradoxien in Aphorismenform veröffentlicht; Novalis hat diese Sachen nur für sich aufs Papier geworfen, und lange nach seinem Tode haben seine Freunde diese Blätter herausgegeben. Hätte er selbst länger gelebt und philosophische Bücher herausgeben wollen, so würde er ohne Zweifel die Aphorismen nur als Stoff behandelt, daraus ein Ganzes gestaltet und jeden Satz gestrichen oder ungearbeitet haben, der keinen verständlichen Sinn ergab. Ferner sei zu erwägen, dass er nicht, wie Nietzsche, mit seiner Schriftstellerei welterschütternde Taten zu tun gedachte, sondern dass sie ihm bloss Zeitvertreib und Bildungsmittel war; das bergmännische Amt, das er anstrebte, und das häusliche Glück, das er sich aufzubauen gedachte, waren ihm die Hauptsache. Novalis war, wie Nietzsche, in seiner Lebensanschauung durch und durch Aristokrat und Monarchist; sein Ideal war das patriarchalische Regiment. Aber er erkannte die Schattenseiten des Monarchismus und die relative Berechtigung der demokratischen Republik und forderte, dass die Anhänger der beiden Staatsformen einander duldeten. Auch das Übermenschentum kommt schon bei Novalis vor, ebenso ist sein Urteil über das Christentum dem Nietzsches ganz ähnlich. Dagegen hat Novalis "keine pessimistische Ader," während "der Ekel an dem Allzuvielen Nietzsche umbringen will." Jentsch nennt den Ofterdingen und die "geistlichen Lieder" künstlerische Leistungen von bleibendem Wert, dagegen werde von Nietzsche im nächsten Jahrtausend wahrscheinlich nichts mehr gelesen werden. Die Überschätzung Nietzsches kommt z. T. daher,

<sup>1</sup> Grenzboten Bd. 57, IV, S. 111ff.

“dass sich Leute auf ihn geworfen haben, die nicht besonders belesen sind, und die nun hier manchen packenden Gedanken zum erstenmale finden, den andre schon oft in älteren Büchern besser ausgedrückt haben.”

Eine Ausgabe von Novalis' Werken veranstaltete Meissner im Jahre 1898.<sup>1</sup> Es ist ein ganz dilettantisches Machwerk, ein ziemlich kritikloser Abdruck der Reimerschen Ausgabe. Diese Ausgabe auf Treu und Glauben zur Grundlage zu nehmen, war ein böses Versehen.—Die Einleitung zu dieser Ausgabe von Bruno Wille bringt eine Charakteristik des Dichters und eine überaus knappe Darstellung seiner Werke. Wille legt seiner Darstellung die Biographien von Tieck, Just, Schubart, Bing und Andern zu Grunde; er verfolgt lediglich populäre Zwecke und bietet wenig Neues. Die Charakteristik variiert das Thema von Gegensatz und Verwandtschaft der Romantik und Gegenwart; sie spricht von Novalis' Individualismus (S. XXIII) und zeigt, wieweit er Magier gewesen ist, wie er alles Heil der Kraft zuschrieb, in das Geheimnis der Dinge zu dringen (S. XXVf). Der Verfasser meint, “modisch” sei Novalis in unsern Tagen nicht geworden, und für die Masse werde er auch niemals “modisch” werden. “Das eigentliche Edelmetall, das ein Novalis einbringt, ist nicht in Geschäftskassen zu suchen, sondern da, wo ein Gemüt unserm Dichterphilosophen sich erschliesst, weil es in ihm centrale Harmonie findet” (S. XIII). Er rechnet ihn nicht zu den Dichtern, die man zum ständigen Begleiter auf der Lebensbahn nehmen kann. “Dazu ist er zu einseitig in seiner Art, das Leben zu spiegeln. Seine Harfe hat wenig Weisen, ähnlich wie die Kunst seiner Gemütsverwandten: Höltz, Hölderlin und Shelley. Nur in den Momenten idealistischer Weihe lockt uns Novalis, und auch nur dann sollten wir ihm nahen. Dann aber verspüren wir die Fülle seines Segens; er wird zum Tempel, zum Propheten” (S. XCI).

In der Einleitung, die Blei seiner Ausgabe von Novalis' Gedichten vorausstellt, zeichnet der Herausgeber geistreich und lichtvoll ein Bild des Menschen und des Dichters Novalis und bringt feine Bemerkungen über dessen Christentum. Er

<sup>1</sup> Carl Meissner, Novalis sämtliche Werke. Florenz und Leipzig 1898.

meint, dass seinem Christentum manches fehle, was dem Christentum als solchem charakteristisch sei.

Eine tiefgründige Abhandlung über Novalis' Verhältnis zur Naturphilosophie veröffentlichte Huber im Jahre 1899.<sup>1</sup> Der Artikel hat erfolgreich gezeigt, auf welchem Wege die Erforschung des romantischen Mystikers zu neuen Resultaten vordringen kann. Huber stellt zunächst nach den (Haym z. T. noch unbekannten) Quellen Novalis' persönliche Beziehungen zu Schelling fest. Bei der Betrachtung von Novalis' "Fragmenten" ergeben sich in Hinsicht auf die Naturphilosophie folgende wesentliche Punkte: Aus dem Grundsatz der Naturphilosophie, der Einheit von Geist und Natur, folgt eine symbolische Auffassung der Natur, wenn sie rein auf den Geist projiziert wird. Von Schelling geleitet, beginnt Novalis, die Natur aus den allgemeinen Bedingungen des Geistes zu konstruieren. Wird sie selbständig gefasst, so erscheint sie beseelt, personifiziert. Novalis' ganze Stellung zur Natur ist die gedankenmässiger Erfassung. Er betrachtet den Geist in seiner Naturbedingtheit, als Naturobjekt und macht den Versuch, ihn so darzustellen. "Sehr gewöhnlich ist bei Novalis die Übertragung aller Art geistiger Qualitäten auf die Natur. Er schreibt der Natur Witz, Humor und Phantasie zu" (S. 94f.). "Wertvoller noch ist ihm der umgekehrte Bezug des Geistes auf die Natur; er überträgt das Gesetz der Dynamik aus der Physik auf die Psychologie" (S. 95). So wendet er nicht nur die Geschlechtsverhältnisse auf die Natur an, auch umgekehrt die Lichttheorie der Naturphilosophie auf die Geschlechtsverhältnisse. Namentlich reizt ihn der Galvanismus, den er ohne weiteres im geistigen Leben ansetzt. Wie Schelling verlegt Novalis in die "Sensibilität" den Sitz aller Krankheiten. Dieselbe ist für ihn aber zugleich Zeichen höchster menschlichen Entwicklung; sie ist die Vorbedingung freien Willens der Aussenwelt gegenüber. Die Verherrlichung derselben macht Novalis zum Enthusiasten des Schmerzes. Sie leitet weiter zu seiner "potenzierten Todessehnsucht." "Die Quellen derselben wird man natürlich in erster Linie in seinen Lebensumständen suchen müssen. Aber auch die philosophische Richtung der Zeit trug gewiss dazu bei,

<sup>1</sup> A. Huber, Studien zu Novalis mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Naturphilosophie. Euph. Ergänzungsheft 4, S. 90-132.



diese Sehnsucht zu verstärken, wenigstens die gedankliche Prägung ihr aufzudrücken" (S. 100). Huber glaubt sie auch mit Spinozas "Moment der Vernichtung" (in dem der freie Mensch sich und sein Bewusstsein völlig und auf immer von der Aussenwelt trennt) zusammenzubringen.

Die "Lehrjahre von Sais" sind, wie Huber zeigt, von dem vielen, was die Romantiker in dieser Hinsicht planten, der einzige ausgeführte Versuch eines sinnbildlichen Naturromans. Sie erregen, obwohl Fragment geblieben, schon aus diesem Grunde Interesse. Das Romanfragment fällt deutlich in mehrere Partien auseinander und verrät dadurch sein stückweises Entstehen. Huber deutet und charakterisiert die Personen desselben und weist Schellings Einfluss nach. Mit Schelling wird die Natur hier als "furchtbare Mühle des Todes" bezeichnet und gezeigt, welche Mittel der freie Mensch ihr gegenüber habe. Die Parallele von Geist und Natur und die dynamische Naturauffassung der Naturphilosophie schimmert auch in den Bemerkungen über die Ursprache durch. Von dem Märchen im Ofterdingen heisst es bei Huber: "Es ist der für die Ökonomie des Romans wichtigste Teil des Ganzen. Denn es sollte ja der Schlüssel des Romans sein und was das Märchen andeutungsweise vorführt, sollte im zweiten Teile in Erfüllung gehen. Daher ist das Märchen nicht eine Unendlichkeitsperspektive, wie sein Vorbild, das Goethsche Märchen aus den "Unterhaltungen deutscher Ausgewanderten," sondern der eigentliche Kulminationspunkt des Romans, von dem aus nach vorne, wie nach rückwärts Fäden laufen" (S. 112). Huber erklärt die Entstehung einzelner Figuren und sucht im ganzen Märchen die Erfüllung des romantischen, besonders von Fr. Schlegel und Schelling formulierten Problems einer neuen Mythologie. Es ist "wahrer Mythos," denn alle seine Gestalten bedeuten nicht nur etwas, sie haben auch selbständige Wesenheit. Diese von Novalis neugeschaffene Mythologie ist indes nicht bloss auf Schelling und auf die Naturphilosophie zurückzuführen, vielmehr zeigt sich ein Streben nach einer Universalmythologie, die griechischen und germanischen Mythos hinzuzieht.

Eine der anregendsten und wertvollsten literar-historischen Schriften über die Romantik ist das fesselnd geschriebene

Buch von Ricarda Huch "Blütezeit der Romantik."<sup>1</sup> Gemeint ist die Frühromantik bis zum Endes des 18. Jahrhunderts. Die Verfasserin identifiziert romantische Poesie mit Poesie überhaupt; sie zeigt überall den engen Zusammenhang mit der deutschen Philosophie auf. Die mutige Dichterin hat bewiesen, dass man nicht seicht zu werden braucht, um romantisches Fühlen und Denken unseren Zeitgenossen verständlich zu machen. "Und wie das ganze Buch mit ihrem Herzblut geschrieben ist, wie da auf jeder Seite kräftig das Bewusstsein geistiger Kongenialität pulsiert, so enthüllt sie dem staunenden Auge des Beobachters, wie ganz romantisch eine Frau von -1900 denkt, die vom Scheitel bis zur Sohle von modernem künstlerischen Fühlen durchdrungen ist. In die schwerverständlichen, schwer fassbaren Charaktere hat sie sich so tief eingelebt, dass sie ihnen auf ihren verschlungenen Pfaden nachfolgt. Ohne kleinliches Zagen hat sie die schönste Aufgabe des Historikers erfüllt, nämlich die, das innerste Wesen längst Entschwundener zu verstehen und zu deuten" (O. Walzel, Romantik, Neuromantik, Frauenfrage. Herrigs Archiv. Bd. 117, S. 255f.).

Huch nennt Novalis einen Gelegenheitsdichter. "Alles, was er geschrieben hat, könnte man Tagebücher nennen, worin auch die Schwächen seiner Prosawerke liegen" (S. 65). Er gehört nicht zu jenen Idealisten, "die die Augen an den Sternen hängend mit den Füßen durch den Sumpf waten, im Gegenteil pflegte er nach Art der guten Realisten mehr zu leisten als er versprach, indem seine Äusserungen über sich selbst sich immer nur mit dem Nächstliegenden beschäftigten, was er in sich erlebt hatte und wofür er einstehen konnte" (S. 67). Er besass mehr Kraft und Fertigkeit, als seine Zartheit vermuten liess. Das Gleichgewicht seines Innern blieb trotz aller Erschütterungen ungestört oder stellte sich rasch wieder her. "Sein elastischer Geist war nicht zu zerdrücken, sondern strebte immer und immer wieder empor, seine Vernunft erhielt das entschiedene Übergewicht über Sinnlichkeit und Phantasie. Er hatte die Tugend der Besonnenheit, jene Klarheit und leichte Gegenwärtigkeit des Geistes, die alle Handlungen wie eine sanfte Musik begleitet und auch die wil-

<sup>1</sup> Ricarda Huch, Blütezeit der Romantik. Leipzig 1899.

desten, mit der ganzen Blindheit des Instinkts einstürmenden durch ihren Rhythmus zähmt und erheitert" (S. 69). Huch erkennt in der ganz eigenartigen Mischung von sachkundigem Realismus und mystischem Magiertum Novalis' innerstes Wesen. "Gerade in der Art und Weise, wie er den Stoff, der ihm in den äussern Lebensumständen, zunächst im Beruf, geboten wurde, benutzte, bewies er, dass der Mensch wirklich jener Magier ist, der sich seine Welt erschafft und Staub durch seine Berührung in Gold verwandeln kann" (S. 70). Sie weist auf die Vorliebe hin, die dieser Phantasiebegabte, künstlerisch Veranlagte für Mathematik hegte. Bei der Erwähnung des Entschlusses des Dichters, seiner Geliebten aus freiem Willen nachzusterben, meint die Verfasserin, dass es nichts Erhabeneres gebe, als wenn ein Mensch seinem Geiste die Kraft zutraue sich allmählich, aus freier Willkür, aus Sehnsucht nach dem Überirdischen vom jungen, genussfähigen Körper, von der geliebten Erde loszulösen. "So innig erlebte er den Idealismus an sich, dass er sein Ich, das unsterbliche, zu dieser höchsten Freiheit und Unsterblichkeit zu erziehen sich getraute. Wie unendlich viel kühner, stolzer und menschlicher war dieser Plan als die rohe Abtötung des Fleisches, durch welche mittelalterliche Heilige die Erde zu überwinden suchten" (S. 75). Den Verlauf dieses Ringens möchte Huch "eine umgekehrte Tragödie" nennen. Das Leben, von dem der Entsagende im ersten Akte Abschied genommen hat, lockt durch seine einfache Kraft und Schönheit ihn wieder in seine Mutterarme und drückt im letzten Akte den schamhaft Glühenden, Besiegten wieder an sein ewiges Herz. Seine anmutige Natur war ganz erfüllt von dem schwebenden Element seines Geistes, dass er sich nie "bis zur Bewusstlosigkeit unter dem Schicksal krümmte. Selbst wo er sich in's Herz und zu Tode getroffen fühlte, blieb sein Haupt frei und immer seiner mächtig" (S. 74). Seinen Freunden gab er nie das Bild der Verzweiflung und Zerrüttung. Er war ein Romantiker "mit Riesenarbeitskraft und Lust." In seinem schönen Gemüt "entzündete jeder hinein gesprühte Ideenfunke eine schlank auflodernde Flamme." Er konnte keinen Gedanken aufnehmen, der nicht neue lebensvolle Gedanken in ihm belebt hätte. So z. B. floss er "Blut und Seele in das starre Knochenge-

rüst von Fichtes System." Huch will im Ofterdingen alle Vorzüge finden, die man an Wilhelm Meister vermisst. "Die Unendlichkeit der Persönlichkeit, ihre seelenwanderische Wandelbarkeit, die Versöhnung aller Gegensätze, der Tod im Leben und das Leben im Tode, das Verborgenste und Heiligste, alles strömt duftend aus dem tiefen Kelche dieser wunderbaren Geschichte" (S. 316). Mit Wilhelm Meister in Eins verschmolzen, gäbe es keinen schöneren Roman. Man fühlt in dem Roman überall, dass nicht das, was geschieht, das Wichtige ist, sondern das, was es bedeutet. Er unterscheidet sich von den übrigen romantischen Ich-Romanen dadurch, dass Novalis nicht sich suchte, sondern die Welt, das Nicht-Ich.

Das Märchen im Ofterdingen leidet an demselben Grundfehler wie das Goethesche, nämlich an Unverständlichkeit. Es ist "eine offenbare, unzweideutige Allegorie, das sich niemand die Mühe nimmt zu Ende zu lesen, der sich nicht für die Bedeutung interessiert" (S. 333). An dem Fragment "Christenheit oder Europa" hat die Verfasserin auszusetzen, dass die Weltgeschichte darin von einem zu hohen Standpunkte aus überblickt wird. Sie hält die Schrift für einen "höchst farbigen, prächtigen Prosa-Dithyrambus."

Das Interesse an dem Dichter der blauen Blume beschränkt sich nicht auf die Kreise, die sich gemeinhin mit Analysen und Quellenstudien an verstorbenen Grössen der Literaturgeschichte fachmännisch zu vergnügen pflegen; es ist über diese Kreise hinausgedrungen. Die Spuren von des Dichters Nachwirken zeichnen sich auch in der Dichtung, vor allem in der Roman-dichtung.—In seinem besten Roman, "Christian Lammfell" (1853) lässt Karl von Holtei einen Pfarrer auf Novalis hinweisen und neben Seume und Lessing für eine katholische Auffassung der Bibel zeugen. Im Verlaufe des Tischgespräches heisst es: "Dabei gedachte ich eines gleichfalls protestantischen Dichters, eines obenein zu den evangelischen Brüdergemeinden gehörigen, der mitten aus freier geistiger Weltansicht heraus für den Katholizismus streitet."

In Spielhagens Roman "Problematische Naturen" (1860) findet sich eine feine, wahre, wenn auch nicht erschöpfende Deutung der "blauen Blume" des Novalis. Dieselbe wandelt sich hier in die Liebe. "Sie erinnern sich doch der blauen

Blume in Novalis' Erzählung? Die blaue Blume? Wissen Sie, was das ist? Das ist die Blume, die noch keines Menschen Auge erschaute, und deren Duft doch die ganze Welt erfüllt. Nicht alle Kreatur ist fein genug organisiert, diesen Duft zu empfinden.—Wer nun einmal den Duft der blauen Blume eingesogen, für den kommt keine ruhige Stunde mehr im Leben" . . . "Die Liebe ist der Duft der blauen Blume, der, wie Sie vorher sagten, die ganze Welt erfüllt und in jedem Wesen, das Sie von ganzem Herzen lieben, haben Sie die blaue Blume gefunden" . . . "Sie lösen so doch das Rätsel nicht, denn eben die Bedingung, dass wir von ganzem Herzen lieben müssen, können wir ja nicht erfüllen" (Fr. Spielhagens Sämmlische Werke. Leipzig 1902. Bd. I, S. 239f.).

Theo. Fontane, der als Dichter den Dichter versteht und ihn ohne gelehrte Brille anschaut, schreibt in seinem Roman "Vor dem Sturm" (1878), als im Verlauf des Gesprächs auch auf Novalis die Rede kommt: "Haben Sie nicht Novalis auf Kosten Tiecks überschätzt?"—"Ich zweifle, dass er überhaupt überschätzt werden kann. Die ganze Schule vereinigt sich in dieser Anschauung. Es bedarf einer besonderen Organisation und kaum minder einer allereingehendsten Beschäftigung mit ihm, um diesem Lieblinge der Schule, wie ich ihn nennen darf, folgen zu können. Es gilt dies gleichmässig von seiner Prosa wie von seinen Versen. . . . In den Hymnen an die Nacht haben Sie den eigentlichen Novalis. An einer allerintimsten Stellung unseres Dichters zum Christentum ist gar nicht zu zweifeln; käme dieser Zweifel aber auf, so wäre es mit seiner Suprematie vorbei. . . . In allem Schönsten, was die Schule geschaffen hat, klingt laut oder leise dieser Ton, und die Sehnsucht nach dem Kreuz ist ihr Kriterium. In keinem ist diese Sehnsucht lebendiger als in Novalis; er hat sich in ihr verzehrt" (Theodor Fontane, Gesammelte Romane und Novellen. Berlin 1891. Bd. 7, S. 214). Fontane bemerkt sehr fein an genannter Stelle, die Schilderung des Christentums in der fünften Hymne bleibe künstlerisch hinter der Verherrlichung des Griechentums zurück. Aber er fügt treffend hinzu: "Die Kraft des poetischen Aus-

drucks ist kein Gradmesser für unsere Überzeugungen. Alles Farbige hat den Vorzug'' (S. 217).

K. F. Meyer stellt Novalis dar mit einem verkörperten Amor an der einen Seite und dem Tod an der andern und deutet damit an, dass sein ganzes dichterisches Schaffen eine Verklärung der Liebe und des Todes war.

So lebt Novalis in der Geschichte der deutschen Literatur. Ein Jahrhundert hat ihm nichts antun können. Gerade heute ist seine Wirksamkeit ausserordentlich gross. Sein Geist erwacht heute stärker wie je und ergreift immer weitere Kreise. Seine Ideen- und Stimmungswelt ist allerorten unter seinem Einfluss oder unabhängig von ihm wieder aufgelebt. Sein Fühlen entsteht in andern wieder. Sein zum Teil von der deutschen Nation aufgenommenes Lebenswerk wird auch ein weiteres Jahrhundert standhalten und das Interesse für ihn wird noch dauernd zunehmen und sich vertiefen. Er hatte das Zeug dazu, ein Imperator in der deutschen Dichtung zu werden, soll Goethe gesagt haben. Dem ist wohl nichts mehr hinzuzufügen.

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J. F. HAUSSMANN.

## MHG MICHEL AS A STRENGTHENING MODIFIER

In Vol. IV, No. 3 of the *Journ. of Germ. Phil.* is found an article by F. C. Hicks entitled: Strengthening Modifiers of Adjectives and Adverbs in Middle High German. This paper contains six or seven references to an article by the writer, published about a year earlier, under the heading: Zur Geschichte der Steigerungsadverbien in der deutschen geistlichen Dichtung des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts (*Journ. of Germ. Phil.* Vol. III, No. 2). Two of these references have to do with my discussion of the adverbial modifiers *harte* and *wol*, Dr. Hicks advancing views more or less at variance with those expressed in my paper. We have here merely a difference of opinion, where, furthermore, one view does not necessarily exclude nor render superfluous the other. Further consideration of the points involved is therefore uncalled for. More serious is the disagreement that appears in connection with the particle *micHEL*, for here questions of fact are at issue. And inasmuch as both articles, so far as they contain any elements of permanent value, will presumably furnish material for future lexicographers and editors of MHG texts it is essential that no erroneous statements should pass unnoticed.

In connection with his remark that "in the transitional, or preclassical MHG period, scattered instances of this particle are found, as well as in the monuments of the early part of the thirteenth century" Dr. Hicks adds in a foot-note the following:

"Compare the citations by Kip, p. 178, also the following:  
*micHEL vreissam*, Judith MSD 3-2  
*wi micHEL lût*, Lob Salomon, MSD XXXV, 3-4  
*mihhil gôtlich*, Freis. Ausl. des Paternosters, MSD LV, 2  
*mihhil sêre*, Seq. de S. Maria, MSD XLI, 28  
*micHEL reht*, Geb. einer Fr. Diem. 376, 11

Kip's statement that *micHEL* during this period is found only with *reht* is therefore incorrect."

Of the five instances of *micHEL* as an adverbial modifier here given, the third, *mihhil gôtlich*, (also referred to incidentally in my article, pg. 178), does not concern us here,

inasmuch as the Freisinger Paternoster dates from the first half of the IX century, approximately two hundred years before the beginning of the period under discussion. Furthermore it is altogether probable that *mikhil* as here used is nothing more than a verbal translation of *magnum*, *magno* or some similar word of the Latin text. Cf. Koegel, *Gesch. der d. Litt.* II, 458: Das lateinische Pater Noster nebst deutscher Übersetzung, hinter jeder Bitte eine deutsche Auslegung, deren lateinischer Text noch nicht wieder aufgefunden ist.

In the first of the above citations *Michel* is an adj., and not an adv. as indicated, *Michel vreissam* representing an emendation by Müllenhoff and Scherer, the reading of the mss. itself being:

*Do gi wan oloferni  
ein heri michil undi vreissam*

(Darauf brachte Holofernes ein grosses und Schrecken erregendes Heer zusammen). It is in just such cases as this that it is desirable to know whether *Michel* was really used in this period with adjectives other than *reht*. For the answer to this question will necessarily govern an editor in any attempt at reconstruction. At all events it is out of the question to change *Michel* arbitrarily from an adj. to an adv. and then bring it forward as a proof of its adverbial character.

The passage from which the second citation is taken stands in the original as follows: *herro du vil woli wrist al wi michil leuth ich bi warin sol*. As reconstructed by Müllenhoff and Scherer the lines read:

*hêrro, dû weist vil wali  
wi michil lût ich sol biwarin*

In any case the word *leuth*, *lût* is a substantive (MHG *liut*, Mod. Ger. *Leute*) and *michil* accordingly an adj. and not an adv. Cf. I Kings 3, v. 7-9: *tu me fecisti regem super populum tuum multum*, etc.

The lines in the *Sequentia de S. Maria* aus S. Lambrecht from which Dr. Hicks has taken his fourth citation are these:

*gotes gebot sie (i. e. Eva) übergie,  
von danne ir afterkünfte Michel sêre lie*

Here also *Michel* is an adj., *sêre* being the MHG substantive



*sêre*, st. fem., used in place of, and by the side of the older masc. and neut. form *sêr*.

The last citation, *Michel recht*, is evidently included through inadvertence, inasmuch as it is already found in fuller form in my paper, under *Michel*, where it serves as partial confirmation of the statement the accuracy of which Dr. Hicks has called in question.

Of the seven instances given by Dr. Hicks for *Michel* as a modifier of adjectives other than *recht* in the period subsequent to the one considered in my paper I am able at the moment to examine only the first. But here also, it seems to me, the adj. has been mistaken for the adv. The proof lies in the metrical requirements of the line, according to which *Michel* is not subordinated to, but is in every respect on a par with the two following adjectives. It is the ear rather than the eye which must here decide:

*Dar zuo gab er in moere, zelter unde marc,  
diu ros ûz Irlande, Michel hôch und starc.*

Gudrun, 65, 2.

In conclusion I can only say that as yet I see no reason for revising the statement in dispute. The use of *Michel* as an adverbial modifier is surely very limited, and in the period of transition from OHG to MHG it is found, so far as we are able to observe, only with *recht*.

Vanderbilt University.

H. Z. KIP.

## ZU DEN RÄTSELN IM APOLLONIUS DES HEINRICH VON NEUSTADT

Die Rätsel in Heinrichs Apollonius stimmen mit denen der *Historia Apollonii* nicht überein und es fragt sich daher, wie sich Heinrich seiner Quelle gegenüber verhält. Es wird im Folgenden versucht, diese Frage zu beantworten.<sup>1</sup>

In allen Redaktionen der *Historia* findet man an der hier in Betracht kommenden Stelle<sup>2</sup> dieselben Rätsel wie in der Urfassung, nur ist ihre Zahl in einigen Fällen mehr oder weniger vermindert worden. Im ganzen sind es zehn, die in Heinrichs Vorlage gestanden haben können und zwar mit den Lösungen:<sup>3</sup>

I. unda-pisces; II. canna; III. Naus; IV. balneum; V. ancora; VI. spongia; VII. spaera; VIII. speculum; IX. rotae; X. scalae. Diesen gegenüber weist das deutsche Gedicht nur sechs auf und zwar mit den Lösungen:<sup>4</sup>

I. Jahr; 2. Wasser-Fisch (unda-pisces); 3. Eiche-Schiff; 4. Wachstafel; 5. Würfel; 6. LVX.

Die Nummern 1, 4, 5, 6, lassen sich in keinen Zusammenhang mit den lat. Rätseln bringen. In Nr. 2 hat man längst Nr. I erkannt und wenn man Nr. III mit Nr. 3 vergleicht, so wird man die Ähnlichkeit kaum verkennen:

III. Longa feror velox formose filia silve,  
Innumera pariter comitum stipante caterva,  
Curro vias multas, vestigia nulla relinquo.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Im 2. Kap. meiner ungedruckten Doktorarbeit: *The Apollonius von Tyrland of Heinrich von Neustadt*, Harvard University 1910, habe ich die Rätsel behandelt. Hier wird nur das Wesentlichste in anderer Form gegeben. Für das Verhältnis der lat. Rätsel zu denen des Symphosius vgl. E. Klebs, *Die Erzählung v. Apollonius aus Tyrus*, Berlin 1899; zu denen des Volksbuchs vgl. Schröter, *Mitth. d. d. Gesell. zur Erforschung vaterl. Sprache und Altertümer*, Leipzig, Bd. V, Heft 2, S. XIV (mir unzugänglich); wegen der früheren Übertragung ins Deutsche vgl. H. Weismann, *Alexander vom Pfaffen Lamprecht*, Frankfurt 1850, I, 473ff.)

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Ap. regis Tyrri, ed. A. Riese, Leipzig 1893, cap. 42-43.

<sup>3</sup> Nach Rieses Text AP geordnet.

<sup>4</sup> Die Werke Heinrichs von Neustadt, ed. S. Singer, Berlin 1906. Ap. v. 16551ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. H. Osterley, Berlin 1872, S. 528.

3. "Weylent und ee da ich lebte V. 16591  
Und in hohen wurden schwebte,  
Da gab ich mit preyse  
Den lebendigen speyse:  
So pin ich layder nu dot.  
Also tode leid ich grasse not:  
Paide fleuch und jag.  
Ich pin schwanger und trag:  
Ich kum alle tag nider  
Und wird aber schwanger wider.  
Mein pauch ist mir sinewel,  
Und pin zu dem gange schnell.  
Ich lauff also drate  
Payde frü und spate  
Das noch weyb noch man  
Mein füssdritt erkennen kan.  
Ich bin zu gutter masse langk.  
Auf den lebendigen ist mein gangk." V. 16608.

Die Motive der Verwendung des Baumes beim Schiffbau und der Spurlosigkeit der Fahrt sind beiden Rätseln gemeinsam. Die neuen Motive bei Heinrich aber lassen sich fast überall auf germanischem Gebiete in den Rätseln von der Eiche und von dem Schwein nachweisen.<sup>6</sup> Ob es Heinrich war, der diese Verbindung zuerst herstellte, lässt sich nicht entscheiden; es ist möglich, dass er sie irgendwo vorgefunden hat. Zweifellos aber scheint es mir, dass Heinrichs Rätsel nicht ein willkürliches Einschiebsel ist, sondern durch Nr. III unserer Liste veranlasst wurde, sei es nun, dass Heinrich das vorgefundene Rätsel selbst erweitert oder dafür eine verwandte, aber geläufigere Fassung eingesetzt hat.

Da nur zwei von Heinrichs Rätseln der lat. Quelle entnommen sind, müssen wir die Redaktionen der *Historia* aussuchen, welche die wenigsten Rätsel beibehalten haben. Das sind diejenigen der Welsergruppe, die ich aus Welsers Text<sup>7</sup> und dem der *Gesta Romanorum*<sup>8</sup> kenne. Hier sind nur noch drei vorhanden und Klebs versichert, dass

<sup>6</sup> Über die Lit. siehe unten. Als Beispiel diene hier: "Rat was das sey, do es lebt, do speyst es die lebendigen; do es todt war, do beschirmt es die lebendigen; es trug die lebendigen, und ging auff den lebendigen." Eiche.

<sup>7</sup> Marci Velseri Opera Hist. & Phil., Norimbergae 1682, S. 677f.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. Anm. 5.

in keiner anderen Gruppe die Zahl so gering ist. Dabei ist es auffallend, dass wir zwei von diesen drei bei Heinrich finden, nur eines, das Rätsel vom Bad (*balneum*) fehlt. Warum dieses fehlt, lässt sich vielleicht erklären. Die hochentwickelten römischen Bäder konnte Heinrich nur auf literarischem Wege kennen gelernt haben und bei seinen Lesern durfte er kaum Kenntnisse in dieser Richtung voraussetzen. Ist es nun nicht leicht möglich, dass er ein bekanntes Rätsel vorgezogen und dafür eingesetzt hat? Beweise hierfür lassen sich freilich nicht erbringen aber man möchte lieber eine als vier solcher Substitutionen annehmen, und wenn man diese eine annimmt, so sind andere unnötig.<sup>9</sup>

Um das Vorhandensein der übrigen drei Rätsel zu erklären, möchte ich eine Stelle anführen, die sich weiter unten in den angezogenen Texten findet. Nachdem Apollonius die von Tarsia gestellten Rätsel gelöst hat, heisst es weiter immer noch mit Bezug auf die Rätsel: *cum haec et similia dicerent*, was, wie mich dünkt, die erwünschte Erklärung bietet. Heinrich war nicht müssig, diesen Wink zu befolgen, und ich glaube, dass er hier auf Grund der angeführten Worte eine gleiche Anzahl Rätsel aus dem eigenen Schatze hinzugefügt hat.

Die Hypothese, die ich als Antwort auf unsere Frage vorschlagen möchte, ist also folgende:

Die lat. Vorlage bot dem Dichter drei Rätsel, wovon er eins ohne weiteres aufnahm, eins mit dem bekannten Motif von der Eiche und dem Schwein verband, und eins als wenig verständlich verwarf, indem er ein anderes dafür einschob. Die Worte "*cum haec et similia dicerent*" veranlassten ihn ausserdem, drei Lieblingsrätsel als eigene Beigabe einzuführen.

<sup>9</sup> Dass ich ohne weiteres die Welsergruppe zum Vergleich gewählt habe, darf nicht befremden. Im 1. Kap. meiner Doktorarbeit habe ich im Gegensatz zu Klebs festgestellt, dass Heinrichs Vorlage viel mit dieser Gruppe gemeinsam hat, ein Resultat, welches durch die 1911 erschienene Untersuchung von Bockhoff und Singer (*Sprache und Dichtung* Heft 6) zum grossen Teil bestätigt worden ist. Ich sah mich genötigt, für den Teil des Gedichts, der auf cap. 14 bis gegen Mitte 41 (nach Riese) beruht, der Welsergruppe die führende Stelle anzuweisen, von Mitte 41 an nimmt dann die Gruppe RA (nach Klebs) diese Stelle ein. Jene Gruppe hat aber, falls meine Annahme richtig ist, auch in den beiden darauffolgenden cap. ihren Einfluss zum Teil bewahrt.

Zum Schlusse sei die mir bekannte, diese sechs Rätsel betreffende Literatur kurz angeführt:

- I. Jahr: A Wünsche, *Zt. f. vergl. Lit.-geschichte*, 1896;  
R. Wossidlo, *Mecklenberg. Volksüberlieferungen*, I. Nr. 35, 36 & S. 277f.;  
Wolff, *Zt. f. d. Myth*, I, 146;  
Wackernagel, *Zt. f. d. Alt.* III, 32 Nr. 47;  
Dietrich, *Zt. f. d. Alt.* XI, 457 Nr. 23;  
Friedreich, *Geschichte des Rätsels* §§ 64, 69, 80, 93;  
Simrock, *D. Rätselbuch*, Nr. 5, 376;  
Simrock, *Abh. über d. d. Volkslieder* (ed. H. Fischer) S. 141;  
Frischbier, *Zt. f. d. Phil.* XXIII, 257.
2. Unda-Pisces: *Historia Ap.*;  
Symphosius (Riese, *Anthol. lat.* I, 1, S. 187ff. 2. Aufl.) Nr. 12;  
Simrock, *D. Rätsel*, Nr. 7 und *Apollonius Volksbuch*;  
Dietrich, *Zt. f. d. Alt.* XI (Exeter Book Nr. 82) S. 451, 485;  
Wilmanns, *Zt. f. d. Alt.* XIV, 551, 553;  
Frederick Tupper, Jr., *Riddles of the Exeter Book* (Boston 1910) Nr. 85 & S. 225; *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 1903, S. 3, 5; vgl. auch Petsch, *Palaestra* 1899, S. 133.
3. Eiche-Schiff: Friedreich, §§ 80, 94;  
Müllenhoff u. Scherer, *Denk.* VII, 2 und Anm.;  
Tupper, *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Asso.* 1903, S. 222, 250;  
Wossidlo, I Nr. 78 und S. 282.
4. Schreibtafel aus Wachs: (Dasselbe Motiv aber mit anderer Lösung)  
Strassburg. *Rätselbuch* 209 (ed. A. F. Butsch, 1876);  
Lorichius, *Reusner I*, 287;  
Frischbier, *Zt. f. d. Phil.* XXIII, 240 Nr. 108;  
ungedruckte Hss. des Brit. Museums,—  
Cott. *Cleopatra*, B, IX, fol. 10b;  
Sloane, 513, fol. 57b (lat.).
5. Würfel: Wolff, *Zt. f. d. Myth.* I, 398;  
Wossidlo, Nr. 100 und S. 284;  
(Folgende haben ein ganz anderes Motiv:—  
Friedreich, §§ 70, 105;  
Symphosius, Nr. 89;  
Reusner I, 163, 178; II, 42;  
Royal *Riddle Book*, Glasgow 1820, S. 4.<sup>10</sup>
6. LVX: vgl. Friedreich, S. 42, DVX, OVID.  
*Cambridge, Mass.* R. W. PETTENGILL.

<sup>10</sup> Für fast alle unter 4 und 5 angeführte Lit., habe ich Herrn Prof. Tupper zu danken.

## NOTES ON OLD ENGLISH POEMS

1. Genesis B 473 ff. (*ac mōste . . .*) *his lif āgon, / hyl-do Heofoncyninges hēr on worulde, / habban him tō wāron wītode gēpingþo / on þone hēan heofon.*

This new arrangement of l. 474 f. by Graz (in *Festschrift für Schade*, 1896), is no doubt the right one, but the sense assigned by him to *tō wāron* 'in Aussicht (haben)' (cf. *tō hyhte habban*) is not supported by any evidence, the real meanings of the noun *wār* being 'compact, agreement, pledge, protection'. Moreover, such an expression would hardly have been used in connection with *wītode*. It seems to me far more likely that *tō wāron* is merely the familiar O. S. formula *tō wāron* 'in truth, certainly, indeed' (cf. Gen. B 681 *wār*, 652 *wārlice*), which corresponds to the O. E. phrase *tō sōðe* as found in Gen. B 570). That the original reading of l. 475<sup>b</sup> was different from that exhibited in the MS., is clearly proved by the alterations made, it seems, by two different hands (*þo* standing on an erasure, and the *e* of *wītode* added, according to Sievers, by the official corrector of the codex), and it requires no great ingenuity to restore conjecturally the prototype: *habban him tō wāron wuldor* (or *wynne*, O. S. *wunnia*) *gēpinged / on þone hēan heofon*.<sup>1</sup> The adjectival participle *wītod*, a synonym of *gēpinged*, might first have been added, by way of a gloss, above the line, and after being placed by mistake in the text proper it would naturally have given rise to further modifications of the wording. It should be mentioned, by the way, that this very common idiomatic use of *wītod* 'appointed, in store' is found in the Heliand also, though its meaning has been strangely missed in all editions: <sup>2</sup> *thār siu iro niðskepies / uuītodes uuānit* 1878.—Gen. B 470 (*wesan on*) *worulde*, it seems necessary to add, is a scribal blunder for *wuldre*, just as Phoen. 386 *wunian in worulde*; see Jour. E. Gmc. Phil. VI, 198.

<sup>1</sup> I note that Grein, *Sprachschatz* I 472, suggested the possibility of *wītode* [*tires*] or [*wuldres*] *gēpingþo*, and Ettmüller thought of *him tō wāron wītode wynna gēpingþo*.

<sup>2</sup> In his latest edition, however, Behaghel has removed the comma after *niðskepies* at the instance of Trautmann.

2. Gen. B 589 f. *oð þæt hire on innan ongan / weallan wyrmes geþeagt*. Andr. 768 *brandhāta nið / wēoll on gewitte, weorm blædum fāg*. Gen. A 899 (*mē nādre beswāc. . . .*) *fāh wyrm þurh fægir word*, 903 *þā nādran sceōp Nergend ūsser, / Frēa ælmihtig fāgum wyrme / wīde siðas*. Hel. 1877 *sō samo sō the gelouuo* (blundering variant *glauuo*) *uurm, / nādra thiū fēha*. Cambr. Psalter (ed. Wildhagen) 90. 13 *ofyr nādran and fāgum wyrme* (varr. *fāgwyrme*) = super aspidem et basil(1)iscum; Vesp. Ps., Jun. Ps. (ed. Brenner) *fāgwyrm*. A comparison of these passages tends to show that the *weorm* of Andr. 769 is to be interpreted in the light of Gen. B 590 *weallan wyrmes geþeagt*, and that *fāh* (*fāg*) means 'variegated' in Gen. A and Andr. as well as (*thiū fēha*) in the Heliand passage, so that Grein's translation of *weorm blædum fāg* 'der Wurm dem Glücke feind', which Krapp seems to endorse, will have to be abandoned. Could *blædum* be used adverbially = 'gloriously, wonderfully'?

3. Gen. B 623 ff. *Swā hire eaforon sculon æfter lybban: / þonne hie lāð gedōð, hie sculon lufe wyrcean, / bētan heora Hearran hearncwyde and habban his hyldo forð*. The universally accepted change of *hire* to *his* (i. e. Adam) and the inclusion of these lines in the devil's address to Eve would certainly seem to justify Ettmüller's animadversion: 'inepta . . . Satani commemoratio de Adami propagine mihi videtur.' But the MS. reading *hire* (possibly meant for *hira*) is a clear argument in favor of making the speech end with the preceding line (622) and regarding the passage in question as one of those favorite interspersed moralizations of the poet, cf. 297 *swā dē monna gehwīlc. . . .*; 634 *bið þām men full wā. . . .*; 594 *ne wearð wyrse dād. . . .* In this instance, the deceitful solicitation of the tempter is made the basis of an orthodox comment on the relation that should exist between God and the progeny of the first pair.

4. Gen. B 701 ff. *þæt hēo on his willan spræc, / wæs him on helpe handweorc Godes / tō forlæranne*. By supplying [*lēofne mannan*] after *forlæranne* we obtain satisfactory sense and meter and are further enabled—though not compelled—to take *handweorc Godes* as the subject of the clause. The change of *hire* to *him*, which was objected to by Grein (Germ. X 417),

Wülker, and Piper, is manifestly demanded by the context, since the phrase *wæs on helpe* could not be used absolutely, and a pleonastic reflexive *hire* in this case would be open to serious doubt.

5. Gen. B 707. *þe him þæt wif wordum sægde*. To remedy the metrical status of this line, Holthausen inserts *ofta* (presumably = *ofto*, Hel. 1515) after *wif*, Behaghel adds the colorless and metrically questionable *wārlice*, Graz rearranges 707<sup>a</sup> to *þe þæt wif tō him*, but fails to explain the use of *tō* in connection with *sægde*. I would suggest that the original reading was *þe him þæt wif wēðum wordum sægde* ('suavibus verbis'). The cause of the omission of *wēðum* (O. S. *wōðium*) by the scribe would not be far to seek.

6. Gen. B 812. *unwured wādo*. The obvious way to account for *wādo*, which could do duty neither as accusative<sup>3</sup> nor as genitive, is to take it as corruption of *wādon* (cf. 330 *wæro* corrected to *wæron*) or *wādum* (perhaps *wādū* > *wādu* > *wādo*; cf. 941 *wādum gyrede*), as is also proved by the O. S. text: *unwuerid mīð giuūādi*.<sup>4</sup>

7. Attention may be called to a few minor Old-Saxonisms in Gen. B which do not yet seem to have been noticed. 617 f. *Saga Ādāme, hūilce þū gesihðe hæfst, / þurh mīnne cime cræfta*. The feminine gender of *cræft* (*cræfta* is acc. pl., parallel with *gesihðe*), unknown in O. E., agrees with O. S. usage. (See Holthausen § 299, n. 3 on the threefold gender of *kraft*.) —331 *on þā hātan hell*. The form *hell* need not be changed (with Ettmüller, Dietrich, Sweet) to *helle*, considering its good O. S. standing (Holthausen § 285, n. 1), cf. Hel. 4446 *an thea hētan hel*, (3388), 2511 *an thena hētan hell*. In 792<sup>b</sup> the O. S. *hell* (O. S. Gen. 2<sup>b</sup> *nū maht thū sean thia suarton hell*) has been made into *helle* (*gesyhst þū nū þā sweartan helle*), but in this place as well as in 312<sup>b</sup> and 529<sup>b</sup> the form *hell* would be better from a metrical point of view (Graz,

<sup>3</sup> The accusative of "specification" (so Piper), two genuine Gothic examples of which have been established by Curme (Jour. E. Gmc. Ph. X 372) is, of course, out of the question.

<sup>4</sup> It seems permissible to state that independently of Holthausen (E. St. XXXVII 203, Beibl. XVIII 204) I arrived at the following two more or less likely emendations in the text of Gen B: 574 *swā wit him bī tū [nū] / an spēð spreca*; 648 *spōn* (or *spēon*) *hyge Euan*.



*Metrik*, p. 98).— 621 f. *pēah hē his wyrðe ne sīe / tō ālētanne þæs fela hē mē lāðes sprac*. The construction and phraseological use of *ālētan* is distinctly O. S., cf. O. S. Gen. 65 *that thū mī ālātas lēðas thingas*, Hel. 100 *that sīe Uualdand God / lēðes ālēti*, 1567, 1616 f., 5036. — 609 *se forhātena*, a *hapax* (in meaning), looks quite suspicious and may very well be from an O. S. *forhwāten* 'damnatus', cf. O. S. Gen. 77. I would add that the not unnatural explanation of *āhwet* 406 (*āhwet hīe from his hylðo*) as *āhwēt* = *āhwæt* from an O. S. type \**hwātan* (\**āhwātan*?) was suggested to me by Braune's remark on *forhwātan* in his *editio princeps*, p. 258, before I came across Symons's reference (Z. f. d. Ph. XXVIII 149) to Cosijn's nearly identical view of the case. Possibly the formation *āhwātan* is due to the translator, cf. 304 *ācwaeð* (=proscripsit?) *hīne pā from his hylðo* (Gen. A 1032 *ādēmest from duguðe*).<sup>5</sup> Another, but probably too easy, solution of *āhwet* would be to emend it to *ācwið*.—A non-O. E. vocable is *landscepe* 376, = O. S. *landskepi*. (O. E. *landsceap* quoted from Andr. 501 has been shown to be a ghostword, the MS reading being *on landsceare*.)—The strengthening of the negation by *mid wihte* (*wihtti*) is peculiar to Gen. B (381, cf. 428) and Hel. (219 f., 299, 935, etc.); the isolated *tō wuhte* Gen. B 839 is not quite analogous to Hel. 1371 *te uuhtti nī dōg* (= *ad nihilum valet*).<sup>6</sup> — *bysen* in the sense of 'command, pre-

<sup>5</sup> Napier, O. E. Glosses, 1,4845 *fordēman* = *proscribere*.

<sup>6</sup> The use of *onwenden* 431 *sibðan bið him se wela onwended* (403 *oðwenden*) has been recognized as Saxon (*an(d)wendeān* = Ger. 'entwenden') by Muller and Sievers (Beitr. XI 363 f.). Blickl. Hom. 195.26 *ne þearf sē nāfre wēnan þæt hē* (i. e., *Godes frēondscipe*) *him onwended weorþe* might seem to offer a parallel, but *onwenden* may just as well mean here 'turn aside, overturn, destroy' (see Wand. 107, Ruin 25).—*brāde līgas* 325, *pā brāðan līgas* 763 has the appearance of a Saxon phrase (Hel. 2461 *brēða lōgna*, cf. 1501 *brēð baluuiti*; also Musp. 58 *denne daz preite uuasal allaz varprennit*), but Wulfst. 188. 3 has likewise *brāde liggas*.—*Ærendian* 665, which has been repeatedly claimed as one of the continental elements, is well-known in O. E. prose, and possibly occurs in poetry also (see M. Ph. II 145).—*cræft* in the sense of 'host,' 402 *mid his engla cræfte* (cf. 269), O. S. *kraft*—the equivalent of O. E. *mægen* = *virtus*—is foreign to O. E. poetry; prose instances are Oros. 52.29 *Mēða cræft and heora duguð gefēoll*; 46, 31 pl. *cræftas* = *iuuentus*; (Oros. 56.7 *mid eallum hiera cræftum* (*him be-*

cept' 533, 651, 680 corresponds exactly to the O. S. *ambusan*, Hel. 901, 2451. — *rihtan* = 'erect, set up' appears to be confined to Gen. B 749 *rihte rodorstōlas* and Hel. 5532 *galgon rihtun*.—The construction of *ongyldan* = 'pay for,' 'be punished for' with accusative, 295 *sceolde hē pā dǣd ongyldan* does not seem to be supported by any conclusive O. E. example, but is paralleled by the use of O. S. *an(t)geldan* both in the Heliand and in the O. S. Genesis.—Furthermore, it does not seem improbable that the isolated *gād* Gen. 236 (by the side of the regular *gāđ*) owes its vowel to the parallel O. S. form-*gēdea* (cf. 774 *gērād*, 797 *gerād* = O. S. Gen. 7 *giried*?).

It should be noted that several of the "Old Saxon" words of Gen. B occur in the Old Norse also. Thus *sceaða* 'injury' (recorded only once in O. S.: Wadstein 53,32), O. N. *skáði*; *síma*, O. N. *síma*; *þegnscipe* in the sense of 'allegiance', O. N. *þegnskapr*; *bodscipe* (*gebodscipe*), O. N. *boðskapr*; *abal* Gen. 500, O. N. *afl* (the O. E. spelling suggests indeed continental origin, though no O. S. equivalent can be found; two instances of *woruld-afol* occur in late O. E.); *strið* 'contest, strife' is to be compared to the O. N. adjective *striðr*, 'firm, stubborn, vehement' (and the noun *strið* 'grief, affliction'); *herra* (*hear-ra*, *hierra*), O. N. *herra* (*harre*). The last mentioned noun, *hærra*, *hearra*, *heorra*, in the *Battle of Maldon*, *Judith*, and *Edward's Death*—it is of importance to remember—was regarded by Kluge (Beitr. IX 448) as an indubitable Norse loan-word. Of course, the O. S. origin of the very frequent *herra* of Gen. B is not to be called in question; but supposing the date of Gen. B to be really as late as G. H. Gerould has tried to prove (M N L. XXVI, 129 ff.), it would be quite legitimate to reckon with the possibility in general of Scandinavian influence on its language.

I beg to submit in this connection whether the curious *forweard* Gen. B 788 may not be a 'blend' of *forew(e)ard*

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*twēonum winnende wēron*) is = totis viribus).—The uncompounded *stōl*, which is not found in other O. E. poems, occurs in Gen. B and Hel. (Sievrs), but likewise in O. E. prose.—The noun *lēn*, O. S. *lēhan* is recorded in no poetical texts except Gen. B (601, 692) and O. S. Gen. (173), but it frequent in O. E. prose.—Prose instances are cited in B.-T. of *heardmōd*, *lygen*, and *wāwa*.

'agreement, compact, covenant' and *forword* 'fore-word, stipulation, agreement',<sup>7</sup> which latter is mentioned by E. Björkman, *Scandinavian Loan-Words in Middle English* I, 12 as one of the possible "translation loan-words" from the Old Norse. At any rate, whatever the origin of this O. E. *forword*,<sup>8</sup> the interpretation of the unique *forweard* of Gen. B 788 (which is commonly held by mere conjecture<sup>9</sup> to be an adverb, 'in future', 'continually') as a noun carrying the meaning of *foreward*: *forword* seems to me in perfect agreement with the context: *gif hīe wolden lāre Godes, / forweard fremman* 787 f.; cf. *þæs þū gebod Godes, / lāre lāstes* 571 f., *nū hīe wordcwyde his, / lāre forlēton* 730 f.

8. Gen. A 869. Neither the retention of the shadowy *sceaðen* nor the foisting in of *sceame* (Ettmüller, Grein, Wülker) can be commended. But the simple change of *sceaðen* to *sceande* (cf. 874 *sceonde*) sets the passage right: *lēafum þecce // scyldfull mīne / sceande, is mē sære, // frēcne on ferhðe*. As to the caesural separation of *mīne* and *sceande* and the syntactical pause within the half-line, I would refer to Gen. 72 *seomodon swearte / sīðe, ne þorfton // hlūde hlihhan*; 906 *þū scealt wīðeferhð / wēr[i]g þinum // brēostum bearm tredan / brād[r]e eorðan*; 16 *saegdon lustum lof / heora Lāffrēan // dēmdon Drihtenes / dugeþum, wāron // swīðe gesālige* (the MS. pointing in this case is clearly not 'metrical'); 2704 *þæt Sarra mīn / sweostor wāre*. It is possible that *frēcne* 870 stands for *frācne* (Gen. 2262 *frācne*), for which see Förster, E. St. XXXIX 321.

9. Christ and Satan 479. *þæt hē āfyrhte eft*. Accepting the explanation of *eft* as a blundering repetition of *eft* in l. 478 and the correction of *āfyrhte* to *āfyrde*, I propose the following reading: (*and wintra feola wunian mōston, / eorlas on ēðle, oð ðæt eft gelamp,*) *þæt hē āfyrde [foldbüendum] / fēond*

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Liebermann's *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, p. 220: *forewarde* (pl.), interchanging with *forword* (both nouns meaning "Vertrag").

<sup>8</sup> G. Walter, *Der Wortschatz des Altfriesischen* (Münchener Beiträge z. rom. & engl. Phil., no. 53), p. 31 cites Frisian *forword* 'contract' among the legal terms designated as "friesisch-niederdeutsch-niederländisch."

<sup>9</sup> Only slight support can be derived from *Heliand* 976, 4350 C *forwerdes (forwardes)*, M *forwardes*.

in *firenum* 'that he, the enemy, removed it (= *ēðel*) from men.' See Phoen. 5 (*foldan scēat*) *āfyrred is / þurh Meotudes meahht mānfremmendum*.

10. Phoenix 407 f. *wurdon tēonlice tōþas idge / āgāæld*<sup>10</sup> (MS. *ageald*) *after gylte*. I venture to ask the question whether there may not be a connection between the still unexplained *idge* and the equally mysterious *icge* (*gold*) Beow. 1107 and *incge* (*lāfe*) Beow. 2577. A definite answer is far from easy.

11. Judith 287 ff. The various attempts to restore the proper reading of these lines (see Cook's latest edition, pp. 14, 25; Foster, p. 47 f.) have fallen so far short of a successful solution that Cook thought l. 287 to be "desperately corrupt". It is true the insertion of *nū* has all the appearance of a conjectural stopgap, and the current emendation of l. 288 *þe [wē life] sculon losian samod* is not only doubtful on metrical grounds but clearly incompatible with the meaning and construction of *losian*. But a hopeful step in the right direction was surely taken by Kluge (in his *Lesebuch*, 1888), who printed l. 287 f. (as far as *losian*) as one expanded line,<sup>11</sup> inserting however *nū* after *sculon*. Now if we substitute *nȳde* for *nū* (bearing in mind the frequency of the combination *nȳde sculan*), we arrive, I think, at a satisfactory text: *þæt þære tīde ys // mid niðum nēah geðrunge, / þe wē sculon nȳde losian, / somod æt sæcce forweorðan*.<sup>12</sup> It should be added that *niðum* is, after all, probably meant for *niððum*, as seen already by Rieger and Grein (*Sprachsch.* II, 292). The spellings *niðas*, *niða*, *niðum* (sometimes presumably due to scribal confusion with the plural of the better known *nið*) are quite common, and the phrase *mid nið[ð]um*, exactly parallel to *mid yldum*, *mid mannum* should not be objected to, though it may seem to us devoid of meaning (see M. Ph. III 447), cf. also Judith 33 *oð þæt fira bearnum / nēa[l]āhte niht sēo þȳstre*.

<sup>10</sup> This emendation has been anticipated by Trautmann (see Schlotterose's edition).

<sup>11</sup> So also Kaluza, E. St. XXI 383.

<sup>12</sup> Ælfric's *Judith*, ed. Assmann (Grein, Bibl. d. ags. Pr. III 104), 61 *bonne hī swyllende samod forwurdon*.

12. It is saying nothing new to remark that the second part of *The Wanderer* (l. 58 ff.), which contains general reflections together with bits of ripe counsel and proverb wisdom, is a reservoir of current motives and, to some extent, of conventional phrases. But it will not be amiss to mention—without discussion—a homiletic passage or two showing a very close agreement with portions of the poem.

The lines in commendation of the golden mean, 65 ff., *wita sceal gepylðig, / ne sceal nō tō hātheort nē tō hrædwyrde, / nē tō wāc wiga nē tō wanhȳdig, / nē tō forht nē tō fægen nē tō niðfulle nē tō flitgeorne nē tō felawyrde nē ealles tō hlagole* are found to recur with some variations in the preacher's address, Wulfst. 40. 16ff.: *ne bēon gē ofermōde nē tō wēamōde nē tō niðfulle nē tō flitgeorne nē tō felawyrde nē ealles tō hlagole nē eft tō āsolcene nē tō unrōte; nē bēon gē tō rance nē tō gylpgeorne nē fāringa tō fægene nē eft tō ormōde*. The same form of admonition: Wulfst. 253. 4ff. *ne sȳn wē tō gīfre nē tō frece nē tō fīrenlustgeorne nē tō æfestige, etc.*

Again, the enumeration of the different ways in which the bodies of the departed chiefs and retainers may happen to be disposed of, Wand. 80 ff.: *sume wīg fornōm, / ferede in forðwege; sumne fugel opbær / ofer hēanne holm; sumne se hāra wulf / dēaþe gedælde, sumne drēorighlēor / in eorðscræfe eorl gehȳdde* presents an unmistakable resemblance to passages like Blickl. Hom. 95. 14 ff.: *āwecceap ealle pā lichoman of dēaþe, pēah þe hīe ār eorþe bewrigen hæfde, opþe on wætere ādruncan, opþe wildēor ābiton, opþe fuglas tōbāron, opþe fīxas tōslitan*; Wulfst. 183. 12 ff. *swā hwæt manncynnes swā eorðe ār forswēalh, oððe fȳr forbærnde, and sē besencte, and wilde dēor fræton, and fugelas tōbāron, eall þȳ dæge āriseð*. A number of other parallels have been instanced in my paper 'Aeneis und Beowulf', Arch. f. d. Stud. d. n. Spr. CXXVI 359. (But see also Grimm, *R. A.* 40 ff.)

The classical *ubi sunt* formula fitted, it is true, to a content suggestive of Germanic heroic life, Wand. 92 f. *hwær cwōm mearg? hwær cwōm mago? hwær cwōm mappumgyfa? / hwær cwōm symbla gesetu? hwær sindon seledrēamas?* (cf. e. g., Blickl. Hom. 99. 23 ff., Wulfst. 263. 21 ff.; Kluge, *E. St.*

VIII 472 f.; B.-T., Suppl., sub *cuman*<sup>13</sup>) need no longer be dwelt upon; see Bright, M L N. VIII 94.

A distinctly interesting parallel of another kind connects our poem (not in any direct way, of course) with the *Hávamál*. Wand. 108 f. *hēr bið feoh lāne, hēr bið frēond lāne, / hēr bið mon lāne, hēr bið mæg lāne*; Háv. 75, 76 *deyr fé, / deyia frændr, / deyr siálfr it sama*. To this analogue, which seems to have been first noticed by R. M. Meyer,<sup>14</sup> other passages occurring among the admonitions of the famous Eddic poem could be added. Hav. 14 (15): *pagalt ok hugalt / skyli piópans barn / ok uigdiarft uera*; 6 *At hyggiandi sinni / skylit maþr hrásinn uera, / heldr gátinn at geþi. / þá er horskr ok þoggull, etc.*, cf. 28 (29); Wand. 69 ff.: *...nē [sceal] nāfre gielpes tō georn, ær hē geare cunne. / Beorn sceal gebidan, þonne hē bēot spriceð, / oþ þat collenferð cunne gearwe / hwider hrepra gehygd hweorfan wille*, cf. 112 ff., also 12 ff.

13. I hope I shall be pardoned for pointing out another very curious coincidence. The account of Attila's death, Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum*, ch. 49 cannot fail (in spite of the obvious differences) to call to the reader's mind the circumstances attending Holofernes's death and its discovery, Judith, ch. XIII f., O. E. Jud. 61 ff. As the story of Judith need not be quoted *in extenso*, the first part of Jordanes ch. 49 only is herewith subjoined. Qui, ut Priscus historicus refert, exitii sui tempore puellam Ildico nomine, decoram ualde, sibi in matrimonio post innumerabiles uxores, ut mos erat gentis illius, socians eiusque in nuptiis hilaritate nimia resolutus, vino somnoque gravatus resupinus iaceret [cf. Judith XIII 1 Holofernes iacebat in lecto, nimia ebrietate solutus, O. E. Jud. 67 *gefēol ðā wīne swā druncen / se rica on his reste middan, swā hē nyste rāda nāenne / on gewitlocan*], redundans sanguis, qui ei solite de naribus effluebat, dum consuetis meatibus impeditur, itinere ferali faucibus elapsus

<sup>13</sup> The same phraseological use occurs in Greek, e. g. Jl. 13, 219 f. ποῦ τοι ἀπειλά / οἴχονται;—Par. Ps. 78.10 *hwær cōm ēower hālig God? ubi est deus eorum?*

<sup>14</sup> *Die altgermanische Poesie nach ihren formelhaften Elementen beschrieben*, p. 321 f. In Detter-Heinzel's edition of the Edda, II, p. 111 there is besides a reference to Eccles. III 19: *idcirco unus interitus est hominis et iumentorum*.

eum extinxit. Ita glorioso per bella regi temulentia pudendos exitus dedit. [O. E. Jud. 63 *pār hē sceolde his blād forlēosan / ædre binnan ānre nihte*]. Sequenti vero luce, cum magna pars diei fuisset exempta, ministri regii triste aliquid suspicantes *post clamores maximos* fores effringunt [Judith XIV 9 hi, qui in tabernaculo erant, venientes, et ante ingressum cubiculi perstreptentes, excitandi gratia, inquietudinem arte moliebantur, ut . . . Holofernes evigilaret; O. E. Jud. 269 *hi ðā somod ealle / ongunnon cohhetan, cirman hlūde . . . . hogedon . . . āweccan hira winedryhten*], inveniuntque Attilae sine ullo vulnere necem sanguinis effusione peractam . . . Tunc, ut gentis illius mos est, *crinium parte truncata* informes facies cavis turbavere vulneribus. . . . [Judith XIV 14 vidensque cadaver absque capite Holofernus in suo sanguine tabefactum iacere super terram, exclamavit voce magne cum fletu, et scidit vestimenta sua, cf. XIV 17; O. E. Jud. 280 *hē pā lungre gefēoll / frēorig tō foldan, ongan his feax teran, / hrēoh on mōde, and his hrægl somod*]. It is of interest to note, by the way, that the tearing of the hair is original with the O. E. author, whereas the Latin source furnished the tearing of the garments (thus, e. g., also Gen. XLIV 13 *scissis vestibus*, IV. Reg. XVIII 37; Ful. 595 *ongon his hrægl teran* = scidit vestimenta).<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Job I 20 tunc surrexit Job, et scidit vestimenta sua, et tonso capite corruens in terram, adoravit.

## ENGLISH *FEMMES SAVANTES* AT THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Those whose interest in questions relating to the equality of the sexes carries them backward as well as forward, have heretofore placed little emphasis on English thought at the end of the Seventeenth Century. They are usually content to associate that period with the activities of Mary Astell; and are much inclined, on the uncertain statement of her original biographer Ballard,<sup>1</sup> to accept as her significant work in this connection *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex*, first printed in 1696. The significance of the *Essay* is indeed beyond dispute. But this becomes fully apparent upon consideration of the tract, not as an almost unique utterance, but in relation to the more accredited writings of Mrs. Astell, and to the mass of kindred literature then appearing in England.<sup>2</sup> As such a study proceeds, the probability of Mrs. Astell's connection with the book in question decreases, and she and the unknown author come to represent parallel developments in a large and well-defined movement, an early "liberation-war" of the sex.

There were ample reasons for such a wide-spread movement at this time. Since the Stuart Restoration, society about

<sup>1</sup> George Ballard, *Memoirs of British Ladies*, London, 1752; 2nd ed. 1775. On p. 309 (ed. 1775) he mentions "a witty piece, commonly ascribed to her, intitled, *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex*." The *Biographia Britannica*, Vol. VI (1763) follows Ballard closely in all other details, but ascribes this book to her without question (p. 3713); as does also the *New Biographical Dictionary*, 1798. Nichols, in his *Literary Anecdotes*, 1812 (Vol. IV, p. 261), ventures a correction on Ballard's list of her works, but makes no mention of the *Essay*. Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica* includes the book among her works. More recently, the *Dictionary of National Biography* has omitted mention of it: but it is accepted as Mrs. Astell's in the *British Museum Catalogue*; by Mrs. Mc. Ilquham, in an article, "Mary Astell," in *Westminster Review*, CXLIX, 440 ff. (April, 1898); and by Prof. Trent, in the *Cyclopedia of Education*, 1911 (s. "Mary Astell").

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Mc. Ilquham's "Mary Astell," just cited, despite numerous inaccuracies and a somewhat militant tone, is of value in so far as it recognizes the existence of this larger movement.



the English court had imitated and enlarged upon the most dissolute indulgences of French court-life, and established for woman a status that found constant expression in popular comedy and current satire—that of a shrewd, designing, deceptive and inconstant creature, parading her physical attractions, and bartering them in gratification of the lowest passions.<sup>3</sup> This assumption, accepted so generally that women themselves, like Mrs. Behn and Mrs. Centlivre, lent their talents to the celebration of it, necessarily aroused numerous righteous protests, and set the serious-minded of both sexes to studying and advocating the positive virtues of noble women of the past. France, fortunately, afforded contemporary examples of good as well as of evil, although her refining influence had been appearing only in disconnected instances or those where there was open compromise with vices. The Duchess of Newcastle had on rare occasions brought her prudery and learned affectations out of the country, to gratify London curiosity.<sup>4</sup> The Matchless Orinda had perished in her prime, and no one in

<sup>3</sup> *e. g.*—(1) "Our reputation! Lord, why should you not think that we women make use of our reputation, as you men of yours, only to deceive the world with less suspicion? Our virtue is like the statesman's religion, the quaker's word, the gamester's oath, and the great man's honour; but to cheat those that trust us."—Wycherley, *The Country Wife*, Act V, sc. 4.

(2) "A virtuous Mistress! Death, what a thing thou hast found out for me! why what the Devil should I do with a virtuous Woman?—a sort of ill-natured Creatures, that take a Pride to torment a Lover. *Virtue* is but an infirmity in Women, a Disease that renders even the handsom ungrateful; whilst the ill-favour'd for want of Sollicitations and Address, only fancy themselves so."—Mrs. Behn, *The Rover*, Act IV, sc. 1.

(3) "Things are so inverted, that ladies who were honest all their youth to be like their mothers, turn lewd in their old age to be like their daughters. There never was such an open and general war made on virtue: young ones of thirteen will pickeere at it, and by that time they are twenty, they are risen to be strumpets-general, and march in public with their baggage, with miss and mass, and nurse and maid, and a whole train of reformed sinners, expecting the next cully that falls."—Crowne, *Sir Courtly Nice*, Act I.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Samuel Pepys, *Diary*, April 11, 26; May 1, 10, 30, 1667; John Evelyn, *Memoirs*, April 18, 27; May 30, 1667; and his letter to Mr. Bohun on occasion of the same visit, *Diary and Correspondence*, Bohn ed., IV, 8-9.

Wales or Ireland ventured to assume the responsibilities of her coteries. Mme. Mazarin, who came to England in 1675, and gathered English wits and French expatriates into her new establishment in London, had refinement and *esprit*, but was overfond of gayety and the gaming-table.<sup>5</sup> This same disparity of interests apparently characterized all the fashionable *ruelles* maintained by English ladies.<sup>6</sup> Mrs. Behn, after all, seems to have had the most success with the role of *précieuse*, seriously interpreted. She wrote fiction, as did Mlle. de Scudéry, and wove herself into the story and colored the facts of her life with romance, after the approved manner. She professed to be in touch with affairs of state, indulged her fancy in affected correspondence,<sup>7</sup> and—under the name of Astrea—had indeed her coterie or “cabal”,<sup>8</sup> whose experiences are celebrated in her *Poems*, 1684. She died just as the Revolution of 1688 gave the cause of women fresh dignity and emphasis. With Mary on the throne, and the Princess Anne soon recalled to court, the advocates of larger privilege and deeper respect for the sex were free to go campaigning at will.

The extent of their activities is indicated by the fact that a search by no means exhaustive, and based in great part on the *Term Catalogues*, reveals more than fifty related titles in the last thirty years of the century, increasing in number and importance as the period proceeds. In most cases these titles are so explicit that even where the books are inaccessible, they may be assigned their proper place in a rough system of classification, which aims chiefly to get several types of work properly subordinated to the important treatises.

Comparatively few of the documents are religious in their purpose, the most important being *The Ladies' Calling*, first

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Saint-Evremond, *Œuvres Choiesies*, ed. Gidel, pp. 384ff.

<sup>6</sup> The prevalence of these *ruelles* by 1697 is attested by the statement in Dryden's *Dedication of the Æneis, Essays*, ed. Ker, II, 161.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *The History of the Life and Memoirs of Mrs. Aphra Behn*, “written by one of the Fair Sex” and prefixed to her collected works in 1735.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. her poem with this title, and the list of assumed names it contains (*Poems*, p. 33). An analysis of the volume is given by P. Siegel, in *Anglia*, XXV, 109ff.

published as early as 1673; *The Excellent Woman described by her true characters and their opposites*, by the Rev. Theophilus Dorrington (1692); and *The Female's Legacy*, in 1699, described as "written by Mrs. Amey Hayward, of Lemington in Hampshire." The first of these, whose authorship is still under discussion,<sup>9</sup> was popular enough to justify seven editions by 1700. Both the others were promptly reprinted. The list might be much extended by printed sermons addressed primarily to women, and by a number of volumes of Meditations, Moral Essays, and the like, chiefly unpublished, described by Ballard in his *Memoirs of British Ladies*.<sup>10</sup> While the whole group follows conventional lines, there is significance in the fact that certain of the writers—for example, Lady Gethin, Lady Halket, Elizabeth Bury, and Lady Pakington, if she may be included—were themselves women of broad culture, to whom piety was no longer the harmless pastime of ignorance the divines had been inclined to make it.<sup>11</sup>

A second, more comprehensive group offers also much that is conventional, but is full of suggestion. This includes the compendia of various sorts, made up to attract a none-too-discriminating public, and usually thrown together by publishers' hacks. Hand-books of social procedure are much in evidence, some of them translations and revisions from a much earlier time. Thus Walter Montagu's *The Accomplished Woman*, translated from the French in 1656, was reprinted in 1671; and there were various editions of *The Ladies' Behaviour, or the Arts of Affectation*, described as "written originally in Italian, above an hundred and fifty years ago."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> This is one of the series of books each described as "By the Author of *The Whole Duty of Man*"—itself anonymous. They have been variously ascribed to Lady Pakington, Archbishop Sterne, Richard Allestree, *et al.* Cf. Ballard, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-232; Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, II, 597-604; C. E. Doble, articles in *The Academy*, Nov., 1882; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, s. "Lady Dorothy Pakington."

<sup>10</sup> *e. g.*, pp. 242, 254, 258-262, 272, 295.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the sentiments expressed by the Parson, in Lady Chudleigh's *The Ladies Defence*, 1701.

<sup>12</sup> Noted in *Term Catalogues*, Mich., 1692, and Trin., 1693. Cf. Etheredge, *The Man of Mode*, 1676, where Medley is commenting on new books (Act II, sc. 1):—"Then there is *The Art of Affectation*, writ-

About 1683 came a marked revival of historical catalogues of distinguished women, usually accompanied by a "vindication" of the sex—the medieval tradition transmitted to modern times by Cornelius Agrippa, and written down to the level of a one-shilling purchaser. Two parallel titles from 1683 may be illuminating:<sup>13</sup>

*Hæc et Hic*, or The Feminine Gender more worthy than the Masculine. Being a Vindication of that ingenious and innocent Sex from the biting Sarcasms, bitter Satyrs, and opprobrious Calumnies, wherewith they are daily, though undeservedly, aspersed by the virulent Tongues and Pens of malevolent Men; with many Examples of the rare Virtues of that Noble Sex, in which they have not only equalled, but excelled most of the other Sex. [*Term Cat.*, Trin., 1683].

The Accomplished Lady, or Deserving Gentlewoman; being a vindication of innocent and harmless Females from the aspersions of malicious men. Wherein are contained many eminent examples of the Constancy, Chastity, Prudence, Policy, Valour, Learning, etc., wherein they have not only equalled, but excelled, many of the contrary Sex. [*Term Cat.*, Mich., 1683].

In *Female Excellency, or the Ladies Glory*, 1688 and 1690, the illustrious examples are reduced to a list of "nine worthies"—Deborah, Judith, Esther, Susanna, Lucretia, Boadicea, Mariamne, Clotilda, and Andegona<sup>13a</sup>—while the *Ladies' Dic-*

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ten by a late beauty of quality, teaching you how to draw up your breasts, stretch up your neck, to thrust out your breech, to play with your head, to toss up your nose, to bite your lips, to turn up your eyes, to speak in a silly soft tone of a voice, and use all the foolish French words that will infallibly make your person and conversation charming, with a short apology at the latter end, in the behalf of young ladies who notoriously wash and paint, though they have naturally good complexions." By 1682 there were three editions of Hannah Wolley's *The Gentlewoman's Companion, or a Guide to the Female Sex: containing directions of behaviour in all places, companies, relations, and conditions, from their childhood down to old age*.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. also *The Wonders of the Female World, or A general History of Women*, 1683 and 1684; *The Illustrious History of Women, or A Compendium of them*, by J. Shirley, 1686 and 1702; and J. Innes's translation, in 1681, of M. de Scudéry's *Les Femmes illustres, ou les Harangues héroïques*.

<sup>13a</sup> Prof. Carleton Brown has called my attention to an essentially different list in Robert Chester's *Love's Martyr*, 1601. This follows the

*tionary*, 1694, opens its pages to "women of all descriptions, from Cleopatra to Godiva." Moreover, the virtues of these heroines promptly intruded upon the earlier hand-books of courtesy, a combination so clearly meant for respectable housewives that the thoughtful publisher added some details still more practical, with results like this: <sup>14</sup>

The whole Duty of a Woman, or A Guide to the Female Sex, from the Age of 16 to 60; being directions how Women of all Conditions ought to behave themselves for Obtaining present and future Happiness. Directions to obtain the Virtues of Piety, Meekness, Modesty, Chastity, Humility, Compassion, Temperance, and Affability; and how to avoid opposite vices. 2. The duty of Virgins, directing what they ought to do and to avoid, for gaining all the Accomplishments of the Sex; with the whole Art of Love etc. The whole duty of a Wife. The whole duty of a Widow, etc. Also Receipts in Physick and Surgery; with the Art of Cookery, Presarving, Candying, Beautifying, etc. Written by a Lady. [The Second Edition, *Term Cat.*, Trin., 1697].

Still more closely related to the movement is a group of satires and rejoinders; the former much in the spirit of the comedies, the latter prompt and spirited, but in most cases content to turn the indictments back upon the authors of them. The object of attack is usually the woman of society in her various aspects. Most frequently she is berated for her traditional faults of pride, lust, and inconstancy,<sup>15</sup> as in Robert Gould's *Love Given Over*, which kept apologists busy for more

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conventional grouping of the male worthies—three Pagans, three Jews, and three Christians—and includes the following: Minerva, Semiramis, Tomyris, Jahel, Deborah, Judith, Maud of Anjou, Elizabeth of Aragon, Joanna of Naples. (ed. Grosart, Pub. New Shaks. Soc., VIII, 2, pp. 37-40).

"Equally heterogeneous are the contents of *The Accomplished Female Instructor*, first issued in 1704.

\* *The Arraignment of lewd, idle, froward, and inconstant Women: or the Vanity of them*, a tract dating from 1615, was reprinted in 1682. Substantially the same vices are mildly satirized in *Several Discourses and Characters Addressed to the Ladies of the Age*, 1689. This document, by "a Person of Honour," has the added interest of being "Written at the Request of a Lady."

than twenty years.<sup>16</sup> At times the ridicule is extended to the refinements of her arts: to her little hypocrisies, as in the dialogue *Naked Truth*, where one of the speakers is "a precious Saint-like Sister called Terpole;"<sup>17</sup> to intimate details of dress and language, as in John—or rather, Mary—Evelyn's *Mundus Muliebris*, with its accompanying *Fop's Dictionary*;<sup>18</sup> to her ever-recurring ambition for power, represented in the various "Parliaments of Women" begun as early as 1646.<sup>19</sup> On a lower social level are such commonplaces as

"This satire appeared anonymously in 1680 and was frequently reprinted. In 1703 it was published with Gould's *Satire against Wooing*, with his name on the title-page; nevertheless it has been often assigned to Tom Brown. Cf. from the *Brit. Mus. Cat.*—"A Satyr against Wooing: with a view of the ill consequences that attend it...Written by the author of the *Satyr against Woman* [T. Brown]. pp. 23, London, 1698. 4°. The dedication is signed R. G." Replies to this satire include the following:

*The Female Advocate, or An answer to a late Satyr against the Pride, Lust, and Inconstancy, etc., of Women. Really written by a Lady in Vindication of her Sex.* Two eds. in 1686.

*Sylvia's Revenge, or a Satyr against Man: in answer to the 'Satyr against Woman,'* 1688.

*The lost Maidenhead, or Sylvia's Farewell to Love. A New Satyr against Man,* 1691.

*The Folly of Love, or An Essay upon the Satyr against Woman,* 1691.

*The pleasures of Love and Marriage. A Poem in praise of the Fair Sex: in requital for 'The Folly of Love,' and some other late Satyrs on Women.* 1691.

"*Naked Truth, or A plain discovery of the Intrigues of Amorous Fops and Humours of several other whimsical persons, in a pleasant and profitable Dialogue between a precious Saint-like Sister called Terpole, and Mimologus, a Scoffing Buffoon.* (*Term Cat.*, Easter, 1673 Cf. also Mich., 1704).

"Cf. Evelyn, *Diary*, March 10, 1685. This also produced a prompt reply in kind:—*Mundus Foppensis, or the Fop displayed: being the Ladies vindication: in answer to 'Mundus Muliebris, etc.; in Burlesque.'* With a Supplement to the '*Fop Dictionary*,' for the use of the Town Beaus. (*Term Cat.*, Mich. 1690).

"Cf. Lowndes, *Bibliographer's Manual*, Bohn ed., p. 1286; and Cambridge *History of Literature*, VII, 572. *Term Cat.*, Mich., 1684, notes: *The Parliament of Women, or A compleat History of the Proceedings and Debates of a perticular Juncto of Ladies and Gentlewomen, with a design to alter the Government of the World: by way of Satyr.* The appearance of D'Urfey's play *A Commonwealth of Women* in 1685 is to be noted.

*The Women's Fegaries, showing the great endeavours they have used for obtaining of the breeches, 1675, and Ned. Ward's Female Policy Detected (1695), dedicated to the Apprentices of London.*<sup>20</sup>

There still remains an imposing list of more significant works, as follows:

- 1670. Female pre-eminence, or the Dignity and Excellency of that Sex. Written originally in Latin by Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, and now Englished [by H. C.]
- 1673. An Essay to revive the Ancient Education of Gentlewomen in Religion, Manners, Arts and Tongues. By Mrs. Bathsua Makin.
- 1674. A friendly Apology in behalf of the Woman's excellency; together with some examples of Women Worthies. Written in Verse by J. Golborne, sometime fellow of Trinity College.
- 1677. The Woman as good as the Man: or the Equality of both Sexes. Written in French [by F. Poulain de la Barre] and translated . . . by A. L.
- 1678. Advice to the Women and Maidens of London . . . to apply themselves to the right understanding and practice of keeping Books of Accounts. By one of that sex.
- 1685. A Commonwealth of Women. A Play, by T. D'Urfey.
- 1691. A Dialogue concerning Women, being a defence of the Sex, addressed to Eugenia. By William Walsh [Preface by Dryden].
- 1692. A Present for the Ladies: being an Historical Vindication of the Female Sex. To which is added, The Character of an Accomplished Virgin, Wife, and Widow. By Nahum Tate. 2nd ed. 1693.
- 1693. The Female Virtuoso. A Comedy, by T. Wright.
- 1694. A Serious Proposal to the Ladies, for the advancement of their true and greatest interest. By a Lover of her Sex [Mary Astell].
- 1695. Letters concerning the Love of God, between the Author of the Proposal to the Ladies and J. Norris. 2nd ed. 1705.

<sup>20</sup> Apparently of the same stratum is *The great Advocate and Orator for Women, or the Arraignment, Tryal, and Conviction of such wicked Husbands (or Monsters) who hold it lawful to beat their Wives, or to demean themselves severely and tyrannically towards them.* (Term Cat., Mich., 1682).

1696. An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex. In which are inserted the Characters of a Pedant, a Squire, a Beau, etc. Written by a Lady. 3rd ed. 1697.
1697. A Serious Proposal to the Ladies, Part Second; wherein a Method is offered for the Improvement of their Minds. 4th ed. of the two parts, 1701.
1697. An Essay upon Projects. By Daniel Defoe.
1697. The Female Wits: or, The Triumvirate of Poets at Rehearsal. A Comedy.
1698. The Education of Young Gentlemen. Written originally in French. Translated . . . and improved, by a Lady of Quality.<sup>20a</sup>
1700. Some Reflections upon Marriage. By Mary Astell. 2nd ed. 1703, 3rd 1706.
1701. The Ladies Defence: or, The Bride-Woman's Counsellor Answer'd. Written by a Lady [Lady Mary Chudleigh].
1705. A Legacy for the Ladies, or Characters of the Women of the Age. By Tom Brown.

The first two documents in this list, both of them in their way revivals, afford a basis for interpretation of the entire activity. One is at least the third English rendering of a work common in French versions, and originally composed in Latin early in the 16th Century—the rhetorical *tour de force* of a scholar who would compliment a learned royal patroness.<sup>21</sup> With much parade of authorities, the author argues that there is no sex-distinction in souls; nor in the powers of reason and imagination. In certain respects, indeed, women are distinctly superior: in native modesty, in facility of expression, and in the seductiveness of their beauty. To support this theorizing, appears—as already noted—a long muster-roll of illustrious women of antiquity, eminent in social and governmental affairs. The other document is a modest pam-

<sup>20a</sup> This rather vague title is not easily identified. Several possibilities suggest themselves, notably F. P. de la Barre's *De l'Education des dames*, 1679, and Fénelon's *De l'Education des filles*, 1687. The first, however, appears not to have been turned into English; and the second not till 1707. It may indeed be a revival of some earlier English treatise, such as the very practical *Education of Young Ladies and Gentlemen*, noted in *Term Cat.*, Mich., 1680.

<sup>21</sup> Margaret of Austria. Cf. M. A. Prost, *Corneille Agrippa*, Paris, 1881, I, 161 ff.



phlet deploring the spread of accomplished ignorance among women, and pleading not for female pre-eminence in general,<sup>22</sup> but for a revival of the severe old-time education in arts and tongues and in the principles of religion. The Postscript announces the opportunity for such instruction in Mrs. Makin's own boarding-school.<sup>23</sup> The contrast is as obvious as it is conventional. One tract exalts the woman of society, for whom extended and perhaps superficial learning may combine with clever utterance and physical charm to win a high place of worldly influence. The other emphasizes learning for its own sake, or as a handmaid to religion.

French *préciosité* had just set up much the same opposing standards, in the *précieuses galantes* and *précieuses pédantes*,<sup>24</sup> distinguished with so much care by "a friend of the author" in his Preface to Somaize's *Grand Dictionnaire des Précieuses*, in 1661:

(1) "celles qui, ayant ou un peu plus de bien ou un peu plus de beauté que les autres, taschent de se tirer hors du commun; et pour cet effect elles lisent tous les romans et tous les ouvrages de galanterie qui se font. Toutes sortes de personnes sont bien venues chez elles; elles reçoivent des vers de tous ceux qui leur en envoient, et elles se meslent bien souvent d'en juger, bien qu'elles n'en fassent pas, s'imaginant qu'elles les connoissent parfaitement parce qu'elles en lisent beaucoup . . . ."

(2) "celles qui, ayant de tout temps cultivé l'esprit que la nature leur a donné, et qui, s'estans adonnées à toutes sortes de sciences, sont devenues aussi sçavantes que les plus grands auteurs de leur siecle et ont appris à parler plusieurs belles langues aussi bien qu' à faire des vers et de la prose."<sup>25</sup>

Most of the living *précieuses* were only approximations to one or both of these hypothetical types, the great Scudéry herself professing equal scorn for pedantry and for romantic gallantries.<sup>26</sup> Outside the coteries, too, and hence uncele-

<sup>22</sup> "To ask too much, is the way to be denied all," is the author's comment.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. the list of these studies quoted by Dr. Doran, *A Lady of the Last Century*, pp. 9-11.

<sup>24</sup> *Le Dictionnaire des Précieuses*, ed. Livet, Paris, 1856, I, xvi.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*, I, 8-9.

<sup>26</sup> V. Cousin, *La Société française au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après Le Grand Cyrus de Mlle. de Scudéry*, Chapter on "Mlle. de Scudéry", *passim*.

brated in contemporary gossip, we must recognize a very considerable group of extreme *savantes*, averse to society and content with a life of scholarly and perhaps religious seclusion.

All these stages of French culture, theoretical and practical, were before the eyes of English women. Eagerly reading memoirs and romances, they accepted them as accurate portrayals of society. French comedy, equally accessible, offered the satirical point of view. A much-idealized Mlle. de Scudéry became celebrated among them;<sup>27</sup> and various other ladies, eminent in literature—as Mme. de Lafayette; in classical scholarship—as Mme. Dacier; or in Cartesian philosophy—as Mme. de Sablé, were well known and admired in England. Even without such acquaintance, there were similar conditions in the two countries to produce parallel developments. It is to be expected, then, that the English documents already listed should be disposed of by adjusting them to these two standards, of social activity and scholarly retirement.

Golborne's *Friendly Apology*, a serious effort to vitalize conventional material, maintains a purified social ideal, as indicated by the "Character of a virtuous and accomplished Woman" appended. De la Barre's treatise is another *tour de force*, the French original being followed in two years by an argument in rebuttal by the same author. The work before us is concerned chiefly with authorities pro and con. General equality is its theme; and education is made to serve the end of larger usefulness, in "the principal conditions and occurrences of life." Again there is insistence on woman's advantage in facility of expression, especially in letter-writing. Tate, to refute the stock charges of current satire, accumulates a mass of examples of the whole range of virtues, drawing his method from Montaigne's Essay on "Three Illustrious Examples of Female Virtue." Eminence in learning is duly considered, Mlle. de Scudéry and Orinda serving as prominent representatives. Three character-portraits are added.

Walsh's *Dialogue*, for all its pretensions, was regarded by

<sup>27</sup> Cf. the testimony of Ferrand Spence, in the dedication and preface of his translation of her *Conversations sur divers sujets*, 1683; also Tate's treatise, noted above.

<sup>28</sup> *De l'Excellence des Hommes contre l'Égalité des Sexes*, 1675 and 1692.

the women as a betrayal of their cause. The author of the *Defence of the Female Sex* disposes of the matter thus:

"But how much soever his Eugenia may be oblig'd to him, I am of Opinion the rest of her Sex are but little beholding to him. For as you rightly observ'd, Madam, he has taken more care to give an Edge to his Satyr, than force to his Apology; he has play'd a sham Prize, and receives more thrusts than he makes; and like a false Renegade fights under our Colours only for a fairer Opportunity of betraying us.

*An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex* belongs unmistakably in this same worldly class. It is presented as the author's "firstborn,"<sup>29</sup> suggested in a social conversation, and approved by ladies and gentlemen of culture. One of these, Dr. Drake, in some commendatory verses, greets the author as the natural successor of Orinda and Astrea, and recognizes her beauty as her most convincing argument.<sup>30</sup> Throughout, it is the social or "conversational" ideal that is emphasized. Mere scholarship is derided as pedantry, and foreign literatures—except perhaps French—are to be acquired by translations. Contemporary comedy and "the facetious dialogue of Mr. Brown" come in for praise, with only the slightest moral reservation. Once more accusing satirists are attacked with their own weapons, the method in this case being a series of character-portraits, ridiculing the faults of men. The contents, indeed, were of so popular a character as to call forth at least one prompt imitation.<sup>30a</sup>

\* At least two books by Mary Astell, the first part of *A Serious Proposal* and the *Letters concerning the Love of God*, appeared before 1696, but anonymously.

"Long have we sung the Fam'd Orinda's praise,  
And own'd Astrea's Title to the Bayes,  
We to their Wit have paid the Tribute due,  
But shou'd be Bankrupt, before just to you.

.....

If any yet so stupid shou'd appear,  
As still to doubt, what she has made so clear,  
Her Beautie's Arguments they would allow,  
And to Her Eyes their full Conversion owe."

\*\* Advertised in *The Post Boy*, no. 214 (Sept., 1696), following a notice of *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex*....Second Impression:—"There is now published A farther Essay of the Female Sex. Containing Six Characters and Six Perfections. With a Description of

... is conspicuous in quite a different ... in England for the class of ... fill the pages of Ballard's ... described, affording no un- ... The two parts of her *Serious* ... celebrated "Protestant ... for those who desire ... an institution and previous dis- ... in it." Appropriately ... divided between the practice ... studies in philosophy and ... the chief aim of Mrs. Astell, ... Platonism they both af- ... from the worldly interpreta- ... in the *Reflec-* ... the ignored inertia that tol- ... Like the *Serious Pro-* ... for which she ... not turned over ancient or mod- ... depend on equal men- ... of equal education. In all these ... seems very remote; so ... evidence is forth- ... to attribute the ... the same author."<sup>11</sup> ... nearly catches ... for the education of ... walled and moated, ... and its serious ... with social

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Self-Love. To which is added A Character of a Compleat Debauch." For this reference I am indebted to Miss Florence M. Smith of Columbia University, who is now at work on a study of Mary Astell.

<sup>11</sup> In practice Mrs. Astell was probably not so uncompromising in her standards, to judge by her rather wide circle of devoted friends. In many respects, indeed—such as learning, purity of morals, amity, and attitude toward marriage—she suggests Mme. de Scudéry; but the latter was pre-eminently a woman of the coteries. Only a comparative recluse would have received such treatment as is accorded Mrs. Astell ("Madonella") in *Tatler*, nos. 32 and 63.

gayety as was the "nunnery" which he pronounced doomed to failure.

Some compromise of ideals is indeed indicated in the last two documents cited. Lady Chudleigh, while following closely Mary Astell's theories on marriage and discussing equality with no little venom, is in general much more tolerant of polite society and its lighter literature, in both of which she bore a conspicuous part. Her *Defence* is a clever dramatic sketch, indicating acquaintance with Lucianic models and current satire. Tom Brown is disinterested but illuminating, directing his satire at the sex from every possible angle.<sup>22</sup>

The dramatic pieces listed suggest some valuable lines of contributory evidence. *The Female Wits*, directed at three women—Mary Pix, Catherine Trotter and Mrs. Manley—who had become conspicuous as playwrights the previous year, expresses the hostile attitude of the time toward the encroachment of women upon man's traditional literary province. *A Commonwealth of Women* is a revision of Fletcher's *Sea Voyage* (licensed 1622), with its incidental and mildly satirical employment of the Amazon tradition. As the title indicates, the new play enlarges this feature considerably. The reminiscences of classic origin are all lost; the emancipated citizens of the commonwealth vote by show of hands, and wrangle over the succession; and their ruler delivers a fourteen-line address on the question of sex-equality, involving all the familiar arguments.<sup>23</sup> Besides, three comedy courtiers of the earlier play

<sup>22</sup> "A Wanton Woman"; "The Modest Woman"; "A pretended Godly Woman"; "The Religious Woman"; "The Witty Woman"; "The prudent Woman".

<sup>23</sup> "They that say Women are not fit to Govern,  
Betray their weakness, and their want of knowledge:  
For what Perfection is there in the Male,  
That is not in the Female: Grant, their Composure stronger,  
Their Bodies Courser, and more fit for wars,  
Which some of us, do haply contradict:  
I cannot yet Conceive, why this should bind us  
To be their Slaves; our Souls are Male as theirs;  
And that we have hitherto forborn t'assume,  
And manage Thrones: I say, altho' we have not  
Challeng'd a Sovereignty in Arts and Arms;  
And writ our selves Imperial, hath bin  
Men's Tyranny, and our Modesty—not defects,  
Or want of Judgment." (Act III, sc. 2).

become citizens of London, who go sea-faring to escape their wives, and are brought at last to appreciate the comforts of home. Finally, Wright's version of the *Femmes Savantes* is the closest of a series of English imitations of Molière, localizing the affectations of the "*savantes*" themselves with so much detail that there must have been no little reality to justify the satire. Most prominent are Crowne's *Country Wit*, Shadwell's *Bury Fair*, Congreve's *Old Bachelor* and *Double Dealer*, and Steele's *Tender Husband*. These plays, aided by certain occasional prose and verse of the period,<sup>34</sup> go far to corroborate what the more specific documents have already put beyond question: the existence in the last years of the 17th Century of a widely-extended movement to restore women to an equality of privilege, in learning and literature rather than affairs; a movement in practically all respects paralleling, and in part derived from the French activity of the period.

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<sup>34</sup> e. g. in Gildon's *Miscellaneous Letters and Essays*, 1694: Cloe to Urania, against Womens being Learn'd (p. 55), and An Answer to the foregoing Letter in Defence of Womens being Learn'd (p. 57).

### CHAUCER'S USE OF THE OCTOSYLLABIC VERSE IN THE BOOK OF THE DUCHESS AND THE HOUSE OF FAME

Chaucer's predecessors had used a four-beat line that was the result of the combination of the French octosyllabic verse with the native English verse. This native form of verse was a non-syllabic one of four accents with a feminine rime most frequently, though a line of four accents with a masculine rime often occurs, and less frequently one of three accents with a masculine rime. The French form was an exact syllabic verse of eight syllables with either the masculine or feminine rime and with only one fixed accent which fell at the end of the verse. The combination which was evolved by Chaucer's predecessors was an iambic verse of four beats with either a masculine or feminine rime, but with less exactness than the French verse in the matter of syllables. Though Chaucer can not be credited with being the first to use this metre in English poetry, as is the case with the heroic measure, yet he has shown originality in the management of it. And a comparison of his metrical skill in the *Book of the Duchess* and the *House of Fame* will show, I think, beyond question that he improved his technical powers until he was able to make his verse obey implicitly the guidance of his genius. A comparison of the *House of Fame* with the *Confessio Amantis* of Chaucer's contemporary, Gower, will show that Chaucer, even in his mature work, allowed himself licenses in this metre which Gower did not. But such a comparison will also show, I believe, that Chaucer used his licenses with artistic effects which were beyond the scope of Gower's more pedantic powers.

These licenses of Chaucer are classified by Schipper in his *Metrik* under four heads: (1) lack of first syllable or anacrusis, (2) double anacrusis and syllable slurring, (3) transposition of accent, (4) lack of syllable in the middle of the verse.<sup>1</sup> This classification includes most of the points to be considered in a study of the verse structure of the *Duchess*

<sup>1</sup> See Schipper, *Englische Metrik*, 1881, Vol. I, pages 281-2.

and the *Fame*, but I shall take them up under more detailed headings. There are also some roughnesses of style which must be discussed.

But in discussing the irregularities of these two poems there is one very great difficulty, that of getting a correct text. We must admit at the outset that our manuscripts are so poor in this part of Chaucer's work that our conclusions must be only tentative. The *Book of the Duchess* and the *House of Fame* are preserved in the same group of MSS. These MSS. have a common ancestor, designated as the "Oxford" and dated presumably about 1415. The "Oxford" was a composite, containing Lydgate and Hoccleve as well as Chaucer. "It had some manifest errors, such as the displacement of stanzas in the *Letter of Cupid*, the lost leaf in the *Book of the Duchess* and some faults in the *Parlement of Foules*." Of the *Book of the Duchess* we have three MSS., the Fairfax, dated 1450, the Bodley and the Tanner, and one edition, Thynne's printed in 1532, all descended from the "Oxford." The immediate source of the Fairfax and the Bodley is designated as FB. The Tanner MS. is from another source, but it is "careless and unscrupulous." Thynne's edition is from still another source. Of the *House of Fame* we have three MSS., Fairfax, Bodley and Pepys, and two editions, Caxton's and Thynne's, all again going back to the "Oxford" as the ultimate source. The Fairfax and Bodley again are from the same immediate source. The Pepys, an incomplete MS., and Caxton's edition have a common source. Thynne's is a later edition which follows Caxton's.<sup>2</sup> As the Fairfax and Bodley MSS. have the *House of Fame* and some other poems which the Tanner has not, it is possible, that their source FB had access to some other source besides the "Oxford." Such close kinship of the MSS. precludes much feeling of security in any comparison of them, but still I believe the observations to be gained from such texts as we have are worthy of consideration. I have found it convenient to follow the text of the Globe Edition of the *Duchess* and the

<sup>2</sup> As authority for the foregoing statements, see Miss Hammond, *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual*, 1908, pp. 333-9; *Globe Chaucer*, London, 1906, Introduction, p. xxxiii and p. xlv.



*Fame* with some changes where the variations in reading involve questions of metrical structure. These changes will appear as we proceed.

The first irregularity that demands our attention is the seven-syllable line, caused by the omission of the first syllable of the line or the anacrusis. There are in the *Duchess* 136 seven-syllable lines <sup>a</sup> in a total of 1333 lines, making a percentage of 10.2. A few examples will show beyond question that Chaucer intended the stress to fall upon the first foot of such a line:

- |  |               |
|--|---------------|
| I have so many an ydel thought<br>Pürelly for defaute of slepe   | Du. 4-5       |
| Al is y-liche good to me<br>Jóye or sorwe, wherso hit be   | Du. 9-10      |
| And who-so wiste al, bi my trouthe,<br>My sorwe, but he hadde routhē<br>And pite of my sorwes smerte,<br>Thát man hath a feendly herte.  | Du. 590-593   |
| 'I not how ye mighte have do bet.'<br>'Bét? ne noght so wel!' quod he.   | Du. 1043-4    |
| 'Now, by my trouthe, sir,' quod I,<br>Me thynketh ye have such a chaunce,<br>As shrift withoute repentaunce.'<br>'"Répentaunce!" nay fy!' quod he,<br>'Shúlde I now repente me<br>To love? nay certes, than were I wel<br>Wérs than was Achitofel, | Du. 1111-1117 |

In each of these examples the stress on the first syllable brings out the meaning emphatically and enlivens the rhythm. Though Skeat makes the statement that this line without

<sup>a</sup> Seven-syllable lines in the *Book of the Duchess*: 5, 10, 19, 20, 23, 45, 50, 61, 70, 74, 86, 97, 105, 112, 119, 133, 139, 144, 152, 159, 160, 164, 187, 225, 228, 229, 236, 241, 247, 258, 261, 262, 273, 286, 320, 340, 349, 357, 371, 374, 377, 380, 386, 405, 407, 444, 447, 448, 450, 464, 480, 482, 484, 488, 495, 498, 505, 509, 525, 528, 534, 538, 545, 562, 566, 587, 593, 632, 639, 652, 660, 690, 697, 699, 719, 728, 745, 752, 753, 758, 779, 783, 789, 791, 795, 817, 818, 835, 849, 855, 919, 930, 939, 943, 949, 955, 966, 971, 980, 985, 996, 1016, 1044, 1052, 1065, 1067, 1070, 1072, 1088, 1091, 1098, 1114, 1115, 1117, 1120, 1128, 1140, 1173, 1182, 1194, 1197, 1208, 1209, 1253, 1275, 1277, 1278, 1290, 1297, 1298, 1312, 1314, 1316, 1319, 1323, 1325.

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age of 13.6. The number of trochees at the beginning of the line, however, in the *House of Fame* is only 17,<sup>7</sup> a much smaller proportion than there is in the *Duchess*.

In the second foot also Chaucer sometimes substitutes a trochee for an iambus. Ten Brink suggests that the occurrence of this license follows a sort of caesura after the first foot.<sup>8</sup> There are five examples of this trochaic second foot in the *Duchess* as follows:

Than pláy   éither   at chess   or tables	Du. 51
Whyl mén   lóved   the law   of kinde	Du. 56
Cast úp,   áxed,   who clep eth there?	Du. 185
This hért   rúsed   and stal   away	Du. 381
That thou   nóldest   have tak en me.	Du. 481.

Line 51 admits so easily of emendation that editors have

Bk. II: 17, 30, 31, 64, 66, 106, 121, 122, 133, 134 (omit *well* with F and B), 155, 169, 171, 181, 184, 188, 195, 214, 218, 221, 223, 225, 226, 227, 238, 246, 257, 259, 260, 262, 270, 289, 291, 292, 300, 303, 321, 325, 326, 329, 333, 335, 336, 338, 343, 391, 393, 408, 410, 412, 418, 422, 426, 431, 433, 444, 446, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 470, 485, 488, 495, 496, 498, 505, 517, 520, 521, 522, 523, 526, 546, 548, 550, 551, 558, 561, 570, 574;  
Bk. III: 16, 27, 36, 49, 51, 62, 71, 72, 82, 84, 86, 94, 99, 104, 106, 109, 113, 115, 116, 118, 120, 128, 131, 140, 144, 148, 151, 162, 163, 164, 172, 176, 189, 191, 205, 211, 240, 241, 245, 280, 286, 311, 319, 320, 321, 323, 330, 331, 339, 342, 344, 348, 353, 357, 358, 365, 388, 390, 393, 416, 442, 451, 453, 462, 464, 465, 474, 476, 489, 497, 498, 503, 519, 557, 561, 571, 606, 616, 622, 623, 628, 633, 648, 663, 666, 671, 678, 685, 688, 696, 697, 714, 715, 734, 740, 746, 757, 761, 783, 791, 793, 803, 805, 808, 815, 841, 863, 867, 873, 894, 910, 919, 937, 946, 952, 959, 968, 975, 976, 979, 980, 981, 989, 991, 995, 1012, 1017, 1025, 1028, 1029, 1034, 1038, 1048, 1052, 1060, 1065, 1066, 1067.

Line 255, Bk. I, is according to the Globe text a line without anacrusis, but the editor has omitted *was* given by F and B which would make the line regular. Likewise, in l. 347, Bk. I, the editor has omitted *al* given by F and B which would make the line regular. Line 473, Bk. III, "Telle us what your cause may be" is in F MS. "Telle us what may your cause be."

<sup>7</sup> Lines in the *Fame* having a trochaic first foot:

Bk. I: 4, 155, 327.

Bk. II: 13, 532.

Bk. III: 146, 247, 315, 552, 828, 888, 896, 938, 977, 982, 1023, 1050.

<sup>8</sup> Ten Brink, *The Language and Metre of Chaucer*, translated by M. Bentinck Smith, 1901, § 301.

not refrained from it. Ten Brink has put *playen* for *play* and makes the line run:

Than playen either at chess or tables.\*

This makes the line regular with the exception of the permissible slurring of *er* before a vowel. Skeat and Heath, the Globe editor, have both adopted this easy emendation, but the Fairfax MS. has *play*. The other two MSS. do not contain lines 31-96, and even the Fairfax has them in a later hand. This only goes to show how careful we must be in drawing absolute conclusions. If this were the only case of the trochaic second foot, or if the other instances were as easily emended, I should be less inclined to believe that Chaucer intended to use a trochee in this place. But I see no reason to depart from the MS. evidence here, even though poor, when we must account for the phenomenon elsewhere. Three of these other examples from the *Duchess* are preterites in *ed*,<sup>10</sup> which was generally a stable inflectional syllable, as was also *est*, in *noIdest*, the other example.<sup>11</sup> If these syllables are slurred the lines will have to be read as seven-syllable lines. Line 56 especially lends itself to such a reading, but it hardly seems justifiable to slur the *ed* in one case and not in the others.

The trochaic second foot in the *House of Fame* is slightly less numerous, occurring only three times, but these instances furnish indisputable evidence of the presence of the foot in this metre. They are:

As if   fólkes   complex iouns.	H. F. 21 (Bk. I)
And nów   hílles   and now   mountaines.	H. F. 898 (Bk. II, 390)
That thóu   súffrest   debon airly.	H. F. 2013 (Bk. III, 923)

These cases are not easily emended, and furthermore a careful reading of these passages will show, I believe, that Chaucer gains an excellent effect from this variation. Particularly does the passage in Book II in which line 898 occurs sustain this view:

\* Ten Brink, § 301.

<sup>10</sup> See Kittredge, *Observations on the Language of Chaucer's Troilus*, Chaucer Society, 1891, § 136 (d); ten Brink, § 259 (e).

<sup>11</sup> Kittredge, § 136 (b).

And I adoun gan loken tho,  
And beheld felde and plaines,  
And now hilles, and now mountaines,  
Now valeys, and now forestes  
And now, unethes, grete bestes;

H. F. 896-900

(Bk. II, 388-392).

The poet breaks the monotony of the description in this subtle way, and as his eye would dwell a little longer on one object than on another, so this effect is caught by the use of the trochee, *hilles*.

Another interesting license of Chaucer's use in the *Duchess* as compared with the *Fame* is the short foot after the caesura. In the *Duchess* there are according to the MSS. six cases. In most of these cases emendation has been resorted to by the editors, and to be sure it is remarkably easy.

In the lines 158-159,

Ne tree | ne nought | that | ought was,  
Beste | ne man | ne | nought elles,

ten Brink has suggested that *nought* ought to be *nothing*, and the Globe editor and Skeat have followed this suggestion.

In line 547,

But cer|tes sir | if | that ye,

the Globe editor adds an *e* to *sir*, and Skeat inserts *good* before *sir*.

In line 733,

Was fals;— | which | a foole | she was,

Skeat inserts *A* before *which*.

In line 1089,

I was | right yong | soth | to say,

Skeat inserts *the* before *soth*. Though the MSS. read *yonge* instead of *yong*, the editors omit the final *e* because the word is not grammatically entitled to it.

In line 1138,

What los | is that? | quod | I tho,

Skeat inserts *sir* after *that*. These are all very excellent emendations which commend themselves to our judgment of what the poet might have said, but have we the right to throw away entirely the evidence of the MSS.?

That this kind of license did not commend itself to Chaucer,

however, is evident from its absence in the *House of Fame*. The only apparent instances of it are in lines 2048 and 2049 (Bk. III, 958-959):

That is bitid, late or now?  
'No,' quod he, 'tel me what.'

Line 2048 is so confused in the MSS. and editions that it furnishes no reliable evidence. Upon consulting the MSS. on line 2049 we find that the Fairfax reads *telle* instead of *tel*, and so it can be classed as a trochaic foot. If we adopt this reading of the Fairfax, which is really the best MS., we find that, though the *Duchess* has six cases of the short foot after the caesura, the *House of Fame* has none at all. On this point ten Brink says: "The assertion that there is invariably an arsis between two stresses will seem untenable to an over-credulous reader of the 'Death of Blaunche' or the 'House of Fame' in their present form. But the extant versions of these poems in particular are corrupt to a degree such as, in the absence of more reliable and independent evidence, justifies a more radical criticism than the general condition of Chaucer's poems requires or warrants. Many passages call for incisive treatment, but even when dealing tentatively with others a memory of the prevailing characteristics of the poet will save the commentators from imputing to the author the sins of ignorant copyists."<sup>12</sup> But the fact that the occurrences of this phenomenon are to be found only in the earlier work would seem to indicate that they bear some relation to the development of the poet and are not to be set aside as mere mistakes of the copyists.

Closely connected with this short foot after the caesura is the trochee in the third foot. In this license the statistics show a different attitude of the poet. In the *Duchess* there are three cases of the trochee in the third foot as follows:

She longed s6   áfter   the king.	Du. 83
Right as   hit wás   w6ned   to do.	Du. 150

In this Skeat substitutes *wont* for *woned*, and then the line must be scanned as a seven-syllable line.

That it   was shádwe   óver   all under.	Du. 426
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In the *House of Fame* there are the following cases:

<sup>12</sup> Ten Brink, p. 208, § 299, note.

Any why   th' efféct   fólweth   of somme.	H. F. 5 (Bk. I, 5)
Ech   aboúte   óther   goinge.	H. F. 799 (Bk. II, 291)
Caus ed óf   óthres   steringe.	H. F. 800 (Bk. II, 292)
And with   this wórd   úpper   to sore.	H. F. 884 (Bk. II, 376)
And   behéld   féldes   and plaines.	H. F. 897 (Bk. II, 389)
And on   hir féet   wéxen   saw I.	H. F. 1391 (Bk. III, 301)
That dwell   in érthe   únder   the mone.	H. F. 1531 (Bk. III, 441)
That through   the wórd   wénte   the soun.	H. F. 1724 (Bk. III, 634)
'No,'   quod hé,'   télle   me what.	H. F. 2049 (Bk. III, 959)

We have then of the trochee in the third foot three instances in the *Duchess* and nine in the *House of Fame*.

There are four lines, one line in the *Duchees* and three in the *House of Fame*, which scan perfectly as three-beat lines:

Gan homward for to ryde.	Du. 1314
And fair Venus also.	H. F. 618 (Bk. II, 110)
A good persuasioun.	H. F. 872 (Bk. II, 364)
Me list nat do hit now.	H. F. 1821 (Bk. III, 731)

All the MSS. give these readings, but the small number of instances scarcely justifies the assumption that Chaucer allowed an occasional three-beat line in his four-beat verse. It may be that these are merely defective lines.

It seems that unquestionably in this metre, even if he did not in the heroic metre, Chaucer allowed an extra syllable before the caesura. I found 27 examples in the *Duchess*. Some of these may be explained away, but ingenuity, I believe, can not manage them all. I will give first those which for various reasons have been emended:

To do   hir erande    and he   come nere.	Du. 134
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Ten Brink says *erande* can be slurred into a monosyllable,

because there was another Middle English form of this word, *ernde*.<sup>13</sup>

'Go bet,' | quod Juno || to Mor|pheus. Du. 136.

This ten Brink explains as the result of a gloss, and he would substitute *she* for *Juno*.

As did | the goddesse || quene Al|cyone. Du. 264

Skeat omits *quene*.

And saw noght, || 'Allas!' | quod she | for sorwe. Du. 213

Ten Brink<sup>14</sup> and Skeat substitute *A!* for *Allas!*

And I | herde going || bothe up | and down. Du. 348.

Skeat omits *bothe*.

For there | nis planete || in fir|mament. Du. 692

Skeat omits *for* at the beginning.

Had Dydo || the queene | eek of | Cartage. Du. 731

Skeat omits *the* before *queene*.

No man|er counseyl || but at | hir look. Du. 839

Skeat substitutes *reed* for *counseyl*.

And if | he tell hir || to say | right soth. Du. 1188

Skeat omits *right*.

But these emendations remove only nine cases. We still have left eighteen. Of these, nine of the extra syllables occur before vowels, but they are not cases where Chaucer usually allows a slurring.<sup>15</sup> The following are the eighteen lines in which no attempt at emendation has been made:

For sorwful || ymag|ynac|ioun. Du. 14

That certes, || I trowe | that ev|er-more. Du. 852

So whan | this lady || coude heere | no word. Du. 101

And slep|e whyles || the day|es laste. Du. 177

Or som | wight elles | I ne rogh|te who. Du. 244

And hadde | y-gret hym || as I | best coude. Du. 516

My wit | is foly, || my day | is night. Du. 609

That thou | shalt hooly || with al | thy wit. Du. 750

I shal | right blythly || so God | me save. Du. 754

For hit | is redy || to cacche | and take. Du. 780

<sup>13</sup> Ten Brink, § 263.

<sup>14</sup> For ten Brink's explanation of these lines, see *The Language and Metre of Chaucer*, § 300.

<sup>15</sup> See Kittredge, §§ 130-143.



For why   I took hit    of so   yong age.	Du. 792
Of stature,    and of   wel set   gladnesse.	Du. 827
That certes,    I trowe   that ev er-more.	Du. 852
In skil ful places    that ber e charge.	Du. 893
The sol eyn fenix    of Ar abye.	Du. 981
Go hoodles    in-to   the dry e se.	Du. 1027
Of al   day after,    til hit   were eve.	Du. 1104
To love!   nay, certes,    than were   I wel.	Du. 1116

In the *House of Fame* on the other hand there are only three examples of the extra syllables before the caesura:

Why this   a fantom    why these   oracles	H. F. 11
	(Bk. I)

This ten Brink says has an extra *why* caught from the first half of the line by the scribe.<sup>16</sup>

I noot   but whoso    of these   miracles.	H. F. 12
	(Bk. I)

If it is permissible to slur the *o* of *whoso* before the *of*, the line is smoother and is removed from this classification. Perhaps this is the best way to take it.

That ther   come entryng    into   the halle.	H. F. 1527
	(Bk. III, 437)

Skeat changes *into*, the reading of all the MSS., to *in*.

This evidence of Chaucer's tending to give up the extra syllable in his octosyllabic verse may add some weight to the argument that he did not permit it at all in his heroic verse. I have not counted as extra syllables cases of *ed* in the preterite and past participle, for Chaucer seems sometimes to allow these to be slurred even before a consonant.<sup>17</sup> Nor have I taken into account the final *e*, for the discussion of that question seemed beyond the scope of this paper.

Though an extra syllable sometimes occurs elsewhere in the verse than before the caesura, it can be explained as a slurring, even if in some cases it is a slur which is unusual. In making up my statistics on this point I have, of course, left out of consideration such slurs as are usually expected, as *many a*, etc. Most of the other cases are the occurrences of *ever* and *never* before consonants. Of these there are 22 ex-

<sup>16</sup> See ten Brink, § 300, Note.

<sup>17</sup> See Kittredge, § 136 (d).

amples in the *Duchess*. But *ever* and *never* sometimes count for a single syllable even in so late a work as the *Troilus*.<sup>18</sup> The other examples in the *Duchess* are the following:

And yet   me list    right <i>evel</i>   to playe.	Du. 239
Of <i>Paris</i> ,   Eleyne    and of   Lavyne.	Du. 331
Long e tyme;    and so   at <i>the</i> laste.	Du. 380

Skeat omits *so* in this line, the Globe editor omits *and*. But these emendations seem purely arbitrary to avoid the slurring.

But hit   may never    the <i>rather</i>   be do.	Du. 561
And <i>Phyllis</i>   also    for Dem ophon.	Du. 727
But <i>whether</i>   she knew    or knew   it nocht.	Du. 885

Line 659,

And mate *in the* mid point of *the* chekkere,

is a line which requires double slurring to make it scan at all, and it is probable that it is too corrupt for us to do anything with it.

There are then six cases of the extra syllable which necessitate unprecedented slurring, but they are all easily managed in that way and are not essential syllables as are most of the extra syllables before the caesura.

That Chaucer had learned to master this difficulty of slurring, so productive of roughness in the *Duchess*, by the time he wrote the *House of Fame* is evident from his avoidance of it there. In the *House of Fame* all slurring is much less frequent. There are only three cases of *ever* or *never* slurred before consonants: *nevertheless*, line 620 (Bk. II, 112); *never so*, line 740 (Bk. II, 232); *never so*, line 2103 (Bk. III, 1013). There are besides these, three cases of unprecedented slurring:

<i>Of estats</i>   and eek   of re giouns.	H. F. 1970
	(Bk. III, 880)

Skeat says, "the *e* in *estats* is very light, hence modern English *state*."<sup>19</sup>

<i>Wyth the non es</i>    that   thou wolt    do so.	H. F. 2099
	(Bk. III, 1009)

For al   mot out    <i>other</i> late   or rathe.	H. F. 2139
	(Bk. III, 1049)

The occurrence of hiatus where elision would regularly

<sup>18</sup> See Kittredge, § 90.

<sup>19</sup> Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, Vol. 3, p. 285, note on line 1970.

take place is a roughness that needs to be considered. Elision of weak *e* regularly takes place before a vowel and often before *h*,<sup>20</sup> except in the case of the definite article. Also we expect close *e* in *me*, *he*, *she*, *ne* (neque) to elide before a vowel except when the word which follows is a monosyllable.<sup>21</sup> Of this hiatus where elision would be expected I have found in the *Duchess* 25 examples,<sup>22</sup> making its occurrence in proportion to the number of lines 1.8 per cent. In the *House of Fame* I found 28 examples,<sup>23</sup> making 1.2 per cent. Though there is little difference in the percentage of hiatus in the two poems, the roughness in the lines where it occurs in the *Duchess* is more apparent than in the *House of Fame*.

In considering the two poems then we have deduced these facts. First, we have a much greater percentage of seven-syllable lines in the *House of Fame*. As to Chaucer's use of the trochee we have found that he allows it in both poems in any of the first three feet of the verse. Though in the *Fame* the trochaic third foot is of slightly more frequent occurrence than it is in the *Duchess*, the trochee when considered generally is more frequent in the *Duchess*. Of the extra syllables before the caesura there are only one-sixth as many in the *Fame* as there are in the *Duchess*. The violent slurrings are also greatly reduced in the *Fame* and unexpected hiatus is less common. Thus there is a noticeable decrease in the later work of all the irregularities we have considered except the seven-syllable lines. The great increase of the seven-syllable lines in the *Fame* makes it evident that Chaucer did not consider them a blemish upon his verse. Indeed, his own humorous

<sup>20</sup> Ten Brink, § 270; Kittredge, §§ 125-128.

<sup>21</sup> See Kittredge, § 129, I, and Note 2.

<sup>22</sup> Hiatus where elision would regularly be expected occurs in the following lines in the *Duchess*: 36, 41, 65, 73, 92, 99, 130, 272, 366, 396, 502, 547, 639, 739, 823, 836, 858 (?), 862, (either hiatus or trochee in first foot), 972, 1075, 1095, 1123, 1213, 1247, 1296.

<sup>23</sup> Hiatus where elision would regularly be expected occurs in the following lines in the *House of Fame*:

Bk. I: 49, 225, 381, 382, 410;

Bk. II: 8, 40, 56, 80, 396, 541;

Bk. III: 78, 324, 354, 459, 621, 651, 652, 686, 701, 795, 802, 807, 811, 814, 951, 966, 1016 (double hiatus).

words spoken in the full confidence of his poetic skill, may refer to this point:

Nat that I wilne, for maistrye  
 Here art poetical be shewed;  
 But, for the rym is light and lewed,  
 Yit, make hit sumwhat agreeable,  
 Thogh som vers faile in a sillable;  
 And that I do no diligence,  
 To shewe craft, but o sentence.

H. F. 1094-1100

(Bk. III, 4-10)

He knew now there was no conflict between the form and the substance. In the conscious mastery of this form of verse he could speak humorously of being interested only in the substance it conveyed. The seven-syllable line, therefore, is not due to immaturity or crudeness on Chaucer's part. If there seems harshness in the *Duchess*, it is due to the roughnesses which have been mentioned and to his unskilful management of the pauses.

The pauses are managed with much better effect in the *House of Fame*, as the following passage shows:

And I adoun gan loken tho,  
 And beheld feldes and plaines,  
 And now hilles, and now mountaines,  
 Now valeys, and now forestes,  
 And now unethes grete bestes;  
 Now ryveres, now citees,  
 Now tounes, and now grete trees,  
 Now shippes seylynge in the see.

H. F. 896-903

(Bk. II, 388-395)

This is a very effective passage illustrative of several of Chaucer's licenses—the lack of anacrusis in lines 897, 899 and 901, the trochee in the third foot in line 897, and the trochee in the second foot in line 898. The smoothness of the passage in spite of this variety in the metre is due to the harmonious distribution of the pauses and the sentence stress.

The distribution of the pauses and the sentence-stress is especially important in run-on lines<sup>24</sup>—lines where a clause beginning in one line runs over into the next. In the *Duchess* the run-on lines are more abrupt than in the *House of Fame*. It often happens that a line is broken by a decided pause, and

<sup>24</sup> For a full discussion of run-on lines, see ten Brink, §§ 317-320.

the latter half of the line is closely connected with the next line. This practice is productive of much roughness in the *Duchess*; for example:

And I ne may, no night ne morwe  
Slepe; and this melancholye, etc.

Du. 22-23

We have here too close connection between the two lines, for there is rather heavy stress upon the last word of the first line and the first word of the second. In addition to this there is a decided pause after the first foot, *slepe*, of the second line. Another instance of this putting two heavy stresses close together may be found in the *Duchess*, lines 34-5:

My selven can not telle why  
The sothe; but trewely, as I gesse, etc.

Lines 78 and 79 of the *Duchess* show the same heavy stress at the end of one line and at the beginning of the next and a considerable break immediately after the stress in the last line:

Hath wonder that the king ne come  
Hoom, for it was a longe terme.

In the *House of Fame* Chaucer succeeds in avoiding such complete pauses in the interior of a line and manages the stress in such a way that it is carried over farther into the second line, as in the following:

And gan him tellen, anoon right,  
The same that to him was told.

H. F. 2062-3  
(Bk. III, 972-3)

And somtyme saw I ther, at ones,  
A lesyng and a sad soth-sawe.

H. F. 2088-89  
(Bk. III, 998-9)

Idiomatic dialogue which is exceedingly difficult to handle in verse, Chaucer managed rather awkwardly in the *Duchess* as compared with his great skill in the *House of Fame*. In the *Duchess* we have such unmelodious lines as these:

This god of slepe, with his own ýe  
Cast up, axed, 'who clepeth there?'  
'Hit am I,' quod this messagere.

Du. 184-6

With that hir eyen up she casteth  
And saw noght. 'Allas!' quod she for sorwe.

Du. 212-13

Compare with these such lines as the following in the *House of Fame*:

And with this word upper to sore  
 He gan, and seyde, 'By Seynt Jame!  
 Now will we spoken al of game.  
 How farest thou?' quod he to me.  
 'Wel,' quod I. 'Now, see,' quod he,  
 'By thy trouthe, yond adoun,  
 Where that thou knowest any toun, etc. H. F. 884-890

(Bk. II, 376-382)

Especially well done is the extended dialogue between Chaucer and the eagle toward the end of Book II.<sup>28</sup>

From the foregoing evidence we must admit, I think, that Chaucer was a much more skilful metricist when he wrote the *House of Fame* than when he wrote the *Duchess*. But the question may naturally arise, does he use the octosyllabic verse with as much skill even in the *House of Fame* as that form of metre will admit. We can best answer this question by making a comparison of Chaucer's work with the work of some other Middle English poet in the same metre. For this comparison I have selected the *Confessio Amantis* of Chaucer's contemporary and friend, John Gower. Gower had previously written his *Speculum Meditantis* and his *Vox Clamantis*, the one in French, the other in Latin, both exact syllabic verse-forms. So when he came to write English verse he naturally paid close attention to the syllables, making them conform carefully to the regular requirements of the verse. If regularity be the aim in this verse, then Gower has nearly reached perfection, for he is remarkable for his freedom from almost all the licenses of which Chaucer availed himself. It is too much to say, however, that Gower allowed himself no licenses. In order to determine this matter I have made a study of 3500 lines of the *Confessio Amantis*, about the same number of lines as are found in the *Duchess* and the *House of Fame* combined. I have used Mr. G. C. Macaulay's edition of Gower as a basis for this study, and I have made the same classifications that I used for Chaucer's licenses.

Of the 3500 lines there are three apparent seven-syllable lines, as follows:

This   new sect   of Lol lardie.	Prol. 349
Goth   into   France   for pleigne.	Prol. 747

<sup>28</sup> *House of Fame*, 991-1088.

Ther | wist non | what o|ther mente.

Prol. 1024

Of these three cases two can be remedied by the addition of a final *e* where it is grammatically needed. In line 349 *new* is entitled to a final *e* and the line may read :

This new|e sect | of Lol|lardie

In line 1024 *wist* is a weak preterite and entitled to the final *e* :

Ther wis|te non | what o|ther mente.

As line 747 stands, it not only lacks the anacrusis but has a trochee in the third foot. In view of Gower's almost invariable smoothness of metre, it seems reasonable to assume that this rough line is the result of a scribal omission of *to* before the infinitive *pleigne*, and that the line should read :

Goth in|to Franc|e for | to pleigne.

Of the trochaic first foot in the 3500 lines there are twenty-one examples, confined to *after*, occurring thirteen times; *under*, seven times; and *over*, once. Of the trochee in the second foot, the examples are confined to *after* and *under*, each occurring twice, so four in all. Of the short foot after the caesura I found no example. Of the trochee in the third foot I found the usage confined to *after* and *under*, four examples of each, eight in all. It may be that Gower meant to shift the accent on these prepositions. Of the extra syllable before the caesura I found none. Of the unusual slurs there were none, all were perfectly legitimate. Of hiatus where, according to Chaucer's practice in the *Troilus*, we should expect elision, I found only one example.

From these statistics it will be noticed that Gower almost never uses the seven-syllable line; that though he allows an occasional trochee in any of the first three feet, it is confined to three prepositions; that he never uses an extra syllable before the caesura, nor a short foot after it; that he has no violent slurrings and almost no cases of unexpected hiatus. Upon a lazy or an idle reader Gower's smoothness and regularity may have a pleasing effect, but upon a reader who comes to his author for mental stimulation, Gower will soon pall. As one reads the *Confessio Amantis* page after page, Gower's virtue becomes a vice. It makes one long for the freedom and variety which Chaucer allows himself, and by means of which he

keeps his reader always alert. There is fine art in Chaucer's octosyllabic verse, there is a variety and charm, a vivacity and energy which are unknown to Gower. Gower is simply a skilful metricist, Chaucer is an artist in verse. Gower is a man of talent, Chaucer is after all a man of genius.

So in this triple comparison we have in the *Duchess* on the one hand the young poet of genius, crude in his technique. In the *Confessio Amantis* of Gower we have the mediocre poet of facile workmanship. In the *House of Fame* we have the mature poet of genius showing his power not only in the thought but also in his technique.

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## THE GERMAN VENUSBERG

In his article in the last number of the *Journal* Mr. Remy does me the honor of finding my views as to the origin of the Venusberg so great an obstacle in the way of his own theory concerning the nature of this famous abode of the amorous queen, that he devotes a long foot-note to them. In fact, by a process of elimination which constitutes the main body of his discussion he disposes of all the various theories heretofore advanced and arrives at last at his own, which is briefly this. The *Venusberg* is a fusion of a Germanic dwarf-hill and a Celtic amorous queen. I fear that the evidence which Mr. Remy adduces in support of this theory does not suffice.

The whole difficulty arises from the narrow view-point which Mr. Remy has taken of the *Venusberg* question. The *Venusberg* myth did not come directly from some ancient prototype: there were intervening stages of development, differing forms in which this fundamental Germanic idea appeared all through the centuries until at last a more enlightened civilization no longer gave it credence. The form preceding that which we now know by the name of *Venusberg* was the Grail. The fundamental idea is that conception of the other-world or the beyond peculiar to Germanic lore,—the hollow-mountain abode of the departed.

From the frequent presence of dwarfs in *Venusberg* accounts Mr. Remy argues that the hollow-mountain feature of the place goes back to a dwarf-hill idea, which, as he says, shows no traces of the love element. But dwarfs are by no means always mentioned in descriptions of the *Venusberg*. True as it may be, furthermore, that dwarfs were supposed to live for the most part in hollow-mountains, yet not every hollow-mountain abode was conceived as a dwarf realm. The hollow hill was also the home of the departed, a heathen paradise. Proceeding from this assumption of his Mr. Remy cites from the *Tanhäuserlied* the line:

nembt Urlaub von den Greysen.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Grässe. *Der Tannhäuser und Ewige Jude*, p. 55.

or as it reads in another version :

nemt urlob von *dem* greisen!<sup>2</sup>

*Greisen* he understands to mean *dwarfs*, and notes as of special significance the plural used in three out of the four *Tanhäuser* songs where the line occurs. I cannot agree. *Urlaub nehmen* in the folk song plainly means *get permission to leave*. *Tanhäuser* begs Venus for it when he says :

nun gebt mir urlob, frewlin zart<sup>3</sup>

After she sees at last that there is no keeping him, Venus exclaims :

Danhauser, is sölt urlaub han...

nemt urlob von dem greisen!<sup>4</sup>

By which she means the authority is not with her, but resides with another. Who may the dwarfs be to whom Mr. Remy would have us believe *greisen* refers? Elsewhere are the lines :

ewer selend dienen mine zwerg...

ich han so vil der edlen zwerg

helt die müssen dienen dir.<sup>5</sup>

The dwarfs within the mountain are *servants*, and only as such do they appear in the accounts of this hollow-mountain paradise. They are here because the nature of the place has suggested them, not because every idea of a hollow-mountain abode goes back to a dwarf hill. Their position is however subordinate, as to higher beings. Such was the relationship between dwarfs and gods in early Germanic times. We should hardly expect *Tanhäuser* to be bidden go to the servants for permission to leave. Once indeed we find the line written *von dem Greisen*, and this I take to be the true sense; the plural is a mere senseless corruption. And the old man of the mountain means the ruler of this paradise. Wodan was known as *der Alte vom Berge*. His place was later taken by a number of heroes, among them Arthur. In the *Wartburg-krieg* Arthur is king of the Grail realm within the mountain and sends out heroes, who must, of course, get *Urlaub* from their chief. What we have in the *Tanhäuser* story is a work-

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 43.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. pp. 34, 33.

ing over of the old myth concerning a heathen paradisaical kingdom ruled by a god who from time to time sends out heroes and later receives them back to himself.

Grimm long since showed that the myths of *Kyffhäuser*, of *König Dan*, of Arthur in the hill, and of *Wodansberge* and *Venusberg* are all forms of the furious host myth or next of kin thereto. In this list we must include as well the mountain of the Grail about which Dietrich of Niem writes. The furious host is, as Grimm points out, the pagan other-world seen from the Christian point of view according to which the inhabitants of a former paradise now appear as a host of demons. This paradise, essentially unchanged, passed over into the Grail and *Venusberg*, and *der Greis* of the *Venusberg* is Arthur of the Grail.

The absence of an amorous queen in these versions which precede the Grail and *Venusberg* is not so serious a matter as to compel Mr. Remy to roam afield into Celtic literature. Whether she was or was not present in the old heathen paradise in the form of fair women matters not at all. In all probability she was. If not, the medieval mind with its riotously sensual thinking would have been sure to add this element in the reconstruction of the pagan paradise. I feel bound to say also that *The Voyage of Bran* to which Mr. Remy refers does not seem to me to be so certainly the product of a primitive people of the seventh century unassisted. The whole, including the account of a queen who forcibly attracts a hero to her island abode, savors too much of classical influence, and when we remember that Greek and Roman culture flourished in Ireland long before *The Voyage of Bran* was written, a purely Celtic origin seems even less certain.

There is really no need for leaving Germanic soil in search of the woman in this case. The Germanic paradise, like the paradise of all primitive peoples, was a place of sensual enjoyment. If the descriptions which we have of it seem to emphasize the pleasures of war and wine rather than those of love, this need not argue in favor of a foreign influence for the introduction of the amorous queen into the Grail and *Venusberg*. The effect of Christianity upon the pagan idea of paradise is plain enough. A ban fell upon the whole, and

it gradually assumed the character of a sort of limbo or abode of the damned. So much is well-known matter. This change must be regarded from a slightly different angle, however, in order to understand our *Venusberg*. Whatever had been attractive in the pagan paradise zealous Christianity stripped off clean, and it was a considerable time before these features could be restored even in part. The origin of legends of the *Kyffhäuser* type, representing as Mr. Remy says, "not abodes of joy, least of all love," is to be traced to this unsympathetic handling by the church or its influences. The church could not, however, extinguish entirely the reminiscences of former paradisaical pleasure. The fundamental idea was too deeply rooted, for it went back to the Germanic conception of the other-world. In the *Wartburgkrieg* account we can see evidences that the old idea is returning.\*

For the sake of the argument I will at present grant Mr. Remy that this is a *bona fide* description of a sacred spot. The place is concededly the abode of the departed,

Artûs hât kempfen ûz gesant,  
sît er von diser welte schiet...'

is the joyful realm of the Grail;

Feliciâ, Sibillen kint,  
und Jûnô, die mit Artûs in dem berge sint,  
die habent vleisch sam wir und ouch gebeine.

Die vrâgt ich wie der küninc lebe,  
Artûs, und wer der massenîe spîse gebe,  
wer ir dâ pflege mit dem tranke reine,

Harnasch, kleider unde ros? si lebent noch in vreche.  
die gotin bringe her vûr dich,  
daz si dich berihte sam si tete mich,  
daz dir iht höher meister kunst gebreche

Hôrt, wie die selben botschaft eine glocke  
Wol über tûsent raste warp,..

Hôrt, wie es umbe die glocke stât: Artûses klingesaere,  
die mousten lân ir künste schal,  
diu selbe glocke in allen durch ôren hal.  
des wart diu massenîe an freuden laere.

\* *Der Wartburgkrieg*. ed. Simrock. stanzas 83-87.

' Ibid. stanza 85.

Der Klinsör tuot uns niht bekant  
wer si der kempfe, den Artûs hete ûz gesant;  
ern saget ouch niender wer die glocke liutet.<sup>8</sup>

and is the seat of Arthur and his host;

Wie Artûs in dem berge lebe und sine helde maere,  
der si mir hundert hât genant,  
die er mit im vuorte von Britanien lant,  
die sint dekeinem vilân sagebaere.<sup>9</sup>

There is no doubt that the pleasures of this place are not of a purely spiritual nature, any more than that the Grail realm which even Wolfram pictures is far from a home for ascetics. Here are women, and plenty, and amusement, so much in fact that at the sound of the bell, which is the call to go forth in service of the Grail,

wart diu massenîe an freuden laere.<sup>10</sup>

A number of questions must present themselves to the careful student of these stanzas. Who supplies the aggregation with all the good things of mortal life? What sort of a place may this be of which we are told at one time that its occupants

habent vleisch sam wir und ouch gebeine,<sup>11</sup>

but in the next breath that Arthur has sent out warriors from thence

sît er von diser welte schiet...?<sup>12</sup>

How, too, do these pagan goddesses find a home here? As a matter of fact, the Grail nowhere appears quite in the light of a duly sanctified place. There is always an indefinable something in its descriptions, from Wolfram on, which puts it outside the pale of what the church regarded as good, and in the *Wartburgkrieg* we surely have nothing short of a heathen paradise. The poet could hardly have spoken what was in his mind more plainly. It is as though he had said, "the thing this Grail most reminds me of is the hollow-mountain paradise."

There is one other point of highest significance which

<sup>8</sup>Ibid. 83, 85, 86.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid. 84.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid. 85.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid. 83.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid. 85.

seems to have escaped Mr. Remy. The Grail realm is elsewhere *on* not *in* a mountain. Wolfram speaks of heroes who

4f Munsalvaesche riten <sup>13</sup>

and plainly has in mind a castle upon some elevation.<sup>14</sup> The poet of the *Wartburgkrieg* has regarded as synonymous Grail and hollow-mountain paradise, and has reestablished for us the lost elements of that old heathen heaven, if in truth these elements were ever really lost. He has made the place again an abode of joy. This too he may have done with no evil implication clearly defined in his mind. From which we can see how Germanic thought kept turning back to its original idea of paradise. If, however, the poet had in view a place quite free from any taint of wrong he chose a strange background. And I doubt whether the thin veneer of a saint and a ritualistic observance entirely unknown to the church of Rome suffices to give the needed sanctity. Mr. Remy makes much of the Holy Grail worship which appears in the *Lohengrin* poem, of which he assumes the *Wartburgkrieg* to have been an original part, and would take me to task for considering the stanzas to which I have especially referred apart from the entire work, accusing me of reaching thereby a forced and one-sided interpretation. I cannot see why we should so consider them. These stanzas go back, in idea at least, to something much older than the poem and independent of it, and the poet's intentions have no bearing upon that phase of the question. In addition to this it seems now generally conceded that the *Wartburgkrieg* is older than the *Lohengrin*, in event of which Mr. Remy's argument falls of its own weight.<sup>15</sup>

There is, too, a suspicious amount of attention given to

<sup>13</sup> Parzival. ed. Martin. XVI, 789, ll. 1-3.

<sup>14</sup> This idea was a commonplace in the middle ages: so often of Venus' home. cf. Johannis de Altavilla. *Architrenius*. Bk. I. (Rolls Series. v. 59, part 1).

Jamque fatigato Veneris domus aurea, rerum  
Flosculus, occurrit, monti superedita, qualem  
Cantat odorifero Philomena poetica versu.

<sup>15</sup> Paul. *Grundriß*. II, 215. Elster. *Paul und Braune Beiträge*, 10, 81 ff. Wilmanns. *Zfda*. 28, 206 ff.

the physical comfort and diversion of the troupe within this mountain, and such is directly traceable to the general background. Grimm saw it when he wrote, (*dem Venusberg*) *nah verwandt ist der berg in dem Felicia und Juno hausen*.<sup>16</sup> Meyer seems to be of the same opinion.<sup>17</sup> I am unable to see how Mr. Remy's point that Arthur is repeatedly called *wandels vri* proves much. The epithet is very probably one of those purely formal expressions of which writers of the middle ages made such abundant use. In Sachsenheim's *Mörin* the same term is applied, in a most senseless connection, to Venus herself.<sup>18</sup>

And Arthur in a mountain implies an evil conception of the hero. The church did not seem to look upon him as a *persona grata* and it may be that some such argument operated here as in the case of the Grail, with which Arthur was so intimately associated. Two late passages cited by Kaufmann show him in this evil light.<sup>19</sup>

Je te saluë mille fois, ô étoile plus resplendissante que la Lune.  
Je te conjure d'aller trouver Beelzebuth et lui dire, qu'il m'en-  
voye trois esprits Alpha, Rello, Jalderichel et le Bossu du Mont  
Gibel.

Cum autem Paternus in ecclesia Mauritania praefata post tantos labores quiesceret, deambulabat, quidam tyrannus regiones altrinsecus, nomine Arthurus: Qui quadam die veniens ad cellam sancti episcopi et ipsum alloquens, tunicam memoratam aspexit et zelo confossus invidiae petivit eam. Cui Sanctus: Non cullibet magno, sed clerico tantum Deo sacratio haec tunica condigna est. Ille autem indignans monasterium egressus iterumque regressus est, ut eam vi tolleret. Unus autem discipulorum videns illum in furore revertentem cucurrit ad S. Paternum et ait: Tyrannus, qui hinc antea exivit, insultando cum furore regreditur. Paternus ait: Imo absorbeat eum tellus! Quo dicto statim terra aperuit os suum et usque ad mentum Arthurem absorbuit. Qui illico agnos-

<sup>16</sup> Grimm. *Deutsche Mythologie*. 2, 780 note. cf. also Grässe. *Der Tannhäuser und Ewige Jude*, p. 17.

<sup>17</sup> Meyer. *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*. v. 21, no. 1, p. 23.

<sup>18</sup> Sachsenheim. *Die Mörin*. ed. Stutt. Lit. Ver. v. 137, l. 948.

<sup>19</sup> Kaufmann. *Caesarius von Heisterbach*, pp. 143, note; 146, note. The first passage K. cites from Liebrecht. *Gervasius von Tübury*, p. 220: the second, from *Vita Paterni*, 2. Act. SS. 15. April.

cens suum reatum, incipit deum et S. Paternum laudare, donec veniam humiliter petiens, terra illum sursum emitteret.

Of the same tenor are the accounts of Gervase of Tilbury and Caesarius von Heisterbach.<sup>20</sup> Arthur is here no benignant person, but a devil in a mountain which was regarded as the entrance to hell.<sup>21</sup> Mr. Remy's statement concerning these latter sources is misleading. Heisterbach plainly says Arthur is *In monte Gyber*; nor can it be argued here that *in* means *on*; such would be a strained interpretation. Germans, and such was Heisterbach, show a tendency to regard these abodes *within* the mountain and the whole context gives this idea. A very interesting comparison may at this point be drawn between Tilbury and Heisterbach. These two contemporaries, the one an Englishman, the other a German, regard Arthur's home *on* and *in* mount Gibel respectively. No more striking example could be adduced of the peculiarly Germanic conception of a hollow mountain realm. Tilbury flourished about 1211; Heisterbach died between 1240 and 1250. The *Wartburgkrieg* was written about 1250. These then are all documents of almost the same period. This does not signify any great holiness for the mountain in the *Wartburgkrieg* poem where Arthur dwells. If it is a holy place it is possessed of a different sort of holiness from that sanctioned by the church.

Nor does the presence of a saint prove much. We may well inquire what the good man is doing in company with Arthur and these pagan goddesses. An embarrassing situation for him surely! In his learned theological discussion of the *Tanhäuser* story, among other things, Mr. Remy has this to say, 'In the Christian mind fairie was associated with hell; the knight who entered the enchanted realm was guilty of apostasy in its gravest form.' St. Brandan is in just such a place; from which I infer the author of the poem had not that deep conviction of his saintliness which Mr. Remy seems to hold. The mountain of the *Wartburgkrieg* is after all the first mile-stone on this road in the development of the *Venusberg* idea from a remote past to the fifteenth century.

<sup>20</sup> Liebrecht. *Gervasius von Tilbury*. pp. 12, 13. *Caesarius von Heisterbach*, ed. Strange. XII, XII.

<sup>21</sup> cf. also Kaufmann, p. 144 on Ludolf von Suchen etc.



Another way-mark is Dietrich a Niem's mountain called the Grail. Here the narrowness of Mr. Remy's view-point again shows itself when he says Niem does not call the place *Venusberg*. Why should he and how could he? The name did not come in until the middle of the century.<sup>22</sup> We are dealing not with a name but an idea. The point which is significant is that he is describing a hollow-mountain paradise where the amorous queen is very much in evidence, and that to this place he applies the name *Grail*. The idea which earlier generations called *gral*, those following named *Venusberg*. The two are in a direct line of succession.

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<sup>22</sup> Mr. Remy calls attention to the fact that in *Margareta von Limborch* there is no *Venusberg* and I stand corrected. The book was not accessible to me at the time I wrote. I had, however, noted my mistake before Mr. Remy called attention to it, and I may perhaps be pardoned for following no less an authority than the great Jacob Grimm and others after him. Grimm says the name no doubt is there—this before the poem had appeared in print. (Grimm. *Deutsche Mythologie*, 2, 780 note). Grässe, following Grimm apparently, makes the statement that the name is there. A peculiar piece of carelessness, for the poem was first printed in 1846. (Grässe. *Der Tannhäuser und Ewige Jude*, p. 17).

## REVIEWS AND NOTES

*Riesenfeld, Dr. Paul*, Heinrich von Ofterdingen in der deutschen Literatur, Berlin, 1912.

*Schönemann, Friedrich*. L. Achim von Arnims geistige Entwicklung an seinem Drama "Halle und Jerusalem" erläutert, Leipzig, 1912.

In der Einleitung zu dem erstgenannten Buche sucht der Verfasser zu erklären, warum sich die Erzeugnisse der schönen Literatur so gern mit der Darstellung des einen oder anderen Dichters befassen. Dichter sind Ausnahmemenschen und haben fast immer gewisse Idyosinkrasien aufzuweisen, die geeigneten Anlass zu allerlei Gerüchten geben. Das Lebensbild des Dichters steht also nicht fest, es bietet der Phantasie weiten Spielraum und reizt dadurch zur dichterischen Behandlung. Auch die scharfen Konflikte, welche selten fehlen, sind ein dankbarer Vorwurf, wozu noch die Wahlverwandtschaft zwischen dem Darsteller und dem zu schildernden Kunstgenossen kommt.

Der von den Romantikern entdeckte und von den damaligen Germanisten ausgiebig behandelte Heinrich von Ofterdingen erfreut sich besonderer Beliebtheit, und zwar deshalb, weil seine Gestalt auf dem Grenzgebiete von Mythos, Sage und Geschichte entstanden ist. Der "Wartburgkrieg" ist die älteste, allen anderen Darstellungen zu Grunde liegende Quelle. Wichtig für die Ofterdingenforschung ist nur der räumlich erste, zeitlich wahrscheinlich spätere Teil, das Fürstenlob, welches um 1260 anzusetzen ist, während die "ältesten historischen Nachrichten dem Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts angehören. Die Stelle im "Lohengrin," welche sich auf Ofterdingen bezieht, ist direkt aus dem "Wartburgkrieg" abgeschrieben, also ohne Beweiskraft soweit Ofterdingen in Betracht kommt. Auch das Zeugnis des "Kolmarer Meistersangbuches" beweist nichts, als die im Interesse der romantischen Ueberlieferung von den Sammlern geübte Willkür. Die letzte Ueberarbeitung und Fortsetzung des "Wartburgkriegs" dürfte zu der von Frauenlob gegründeten Schule in Beziehung stehen.

Wie der Meistersang aus dem Minnesang hervorgegangen ist, so erscheint auch Ofterdingens Name erst als einer der zwölf Grossmeister des Gesanges, nachdem ihm ein Minnesinger, Hermann Damen, ein literarisches Denkmal gesetzt hat. Uebrigens ist Ofterdingen nicht überall in dieser Gruppe vertreten. Wiederholt werden ihm gewisse Weisen und Töne

zugeschrieben, was ihn jedoch durchaus nicht als schaffenden Dichter bezeugt. Es ist ebenfalls ein Zeugnis der Meistersänger, das wohl dem zweiten Viertel des 17. Jahrhunderts angehören dürfte, welches Ofterdingen zum erstenmal Oesterreich als Heimat beilegt. Verschiedene Dichtungen geringeren Umfanges werden Ofterdingen zugeschrieben, doch alle derartigen Ausführungen erscheinen im Lichte der wissenschaftlichen Forschung als unhaltbar. Die Schlussverse einer um 1300 entstandenen Spielmannsdichtung, nämlich die des "Laurin" nennen Ofterdingen zwar unzweideutig als Verfasser, doch hat man es hier mit dem Zusatz eines weit späteren Kopisten zu tun. Mit dem Heldenbuch, dessen letzter Teil der "Laurin" ist, wurde dann fälschlich die "Ambraser Liederhandschrift" in Verbindung gebracht und zum Teil gleichfalls Ofterdingen zugeschrieben. Alle Fäden führen zu guter Letzt zum "Wartburgkrieg" zurück, dies gilt auch von der ältesten deutschen Elisabethdichtung, die in der Hauptsache auf der *Vita S. Elisabethae* des Predigermönches Dietrich von Apolda fusst, aus dem "Wartburgkrieg" aber die Namen der streitenden Sänger, also auch den Ofterdingens, entnommen hat. Viel ausführlicher behandelt eine zweite Elisabethdichtung das Thema des Sängerkrieges. Diese wird dem thüringer Vikar Johannes Rothe zugeschrieben, der auch der Verfasser einer später noch zu erwähnenden thüringischen Chronik ist. Unter den Chroniken, die den Namen Ofterdingens verherrlicht haben, ist die *Vita Ludovici*, des Gemahls der heiligen Elisabeth, die älteste. Diese ist uns in den *Annales Reinhardbrunnenses* überliefert und enthält die Episode vom "Wartburgkrieg." Die *Annales* wurden später stückweise in die Chronik der Magdeburger Erzbischöfe hineingeschrieben; der ziemlich umfangreiche Abschnitt vom Sängerkampfe war mit einbegriffen und fand früh weite Verbreitung. Die Verbindung zwischen dem religiösen und dem weltlichen Stoff wurde bewerkstelligt, indem man dem Dichter Klingsohr eine Prophetie über die Geburt und eheliche Bestimmung der heiligen Elisabeth in den Mund legte. Dietrich von Apoldas *Vita Elisabethae* beruht grossenteils auf der *Vita Ludovici* und enthält gleichfalls den Abschnitt vom Sängerkrieg, allerdings in stark abgekürzter Form. Aus den Reinhardbrunner Jahrbüchern ist dann im 15. Jahrhundert eine umfangreiche thüringer Chronik hervorgegangen, die *Historia de Landgraviis Thuringiae editione Pistoriana*. Selbstredend fehlt der Sängerkampf auch hier nicht, ja wir stossen hier sogar zum erstenmal auf wichtige Einzelheiten: Ofterdingen (Aftarding) und Biterolf (Bitterolfus) werden als *cives*, die anderen vier Sänger als *militares* bezeichnet. Ofterdingen wird noch genauer und zwar als Eisenacher Bürger beschrieben. Sonst

sind die Abweichungen von der Quelle nur gering. Die schon erwähnte Thüringische Chronik Johannes Rothes stammt aus derselben Zeit. Das zuletztgenannte Werk hat jedenfalls als Quelle gedient, weshalb Roth's Chronik, die nur nebensächliche Zusätze enthält, keinerlei selbständige Beweiskraft besitzt. Es ist sogar wahrscheinlich, dass beide Chroniken aus der Feder desselben Verfassers geflossen sind und dass Rothe das lateinische Kompendium als Vorarbeit zu seiner deutschen Schrift zusammenstellte. Wie im "Wartburgkrieg" tritt in der letzteren die Landgräfin als Schirmerin des bedrängten Sängers auf, während er sich in den lateinischen Quellen unter den Schutz des Landgrafen stellt.

Der gesamte Stoff ging aus der Thüringischen Chronik und aus dem Leben Ludwigs in andere Bücher ähnlicher Art wörtlich oder mit geringen Abweichungen über. Einzelne Zusätze beruhen auf falschem Verständnis der Quelle, so wird z. B. aus der bildlich gemeinten Klage Ofterdingens: "*daz man im lege in duringe lant ungeliche wörfel vuor*," bei mehreren Chronisten ein betrügerisches Würfelspiel um schnödes Geld. Anderes wieder verdanken wir der Lust zum Fabulieren, welche die Nachschreiber nicht immer beherrschen konnten. Es ist einerseits durchaus unwahrscheinlich, dass eine Ofterdingen-Sage vor dem Gedicht vom "Wartburgkrieg" existiert hat; andererseits sind alle sogenannten historischen Zeugnisse auf die ursprüngliche Quelle, d. h. das Gedicht selbst zurückzuführen. Seit dem 16. Jahrhundert—Riesenfeld ist hier etwas unbestimmt—wird der Ofterdingenstoff nur noch äusserst selten um seiner selbst willen, oder in Verbindung mit dem Leben der heiligen Elisabeth behandelt. Am häufigsten tritt Ofterdingen nun in literarhistorischen Abhandlungen, und zwar als einer der vielen Minnesinger auf, besonders in Schriften, die sich mit den Meistersingern befassen. Gelegentlich fällt dabei ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis von Ofterdingens Persönlichkeit ab, nur schade, dass solche Erwerbungen bei Lichte betrachtet ohne Ausnahme in eitel Dunst zerfliessen. In seinem Werke "Von der Musica und den Meistersängern" bezeichnet Cyprianus Spangenberg (1528-1604) Heinrich von Ofterdingen als den Verfasser oder Kompilator des "Heldenbuches," eine unhaltbare Behauptung, die dann von anderen immer wieder aufgestellt wurde. Philipp Harsdörfer reiht Ofterdingen in die Schar der dem Adel dienenden Spiel- und Gedichtschreiber, der Sänger und Deklamatoren von Beruf ein. Spangenberg's Ausführungen fanden ziemlich weite Verbreitung durch Hanmanns "schöne Anmerkungen an die Teutsche Prosodie," die Opitzens Buch von der deutschen Poeterei beigelegt wurden. Am bekanntesten ward indes Joh. Christoph Wagenseils Auszug aus

den Werken Spangenberg's, der als Anhang zu Wagenseil's Buch "*de civitate Noribergensi*" erschien. Aus Wagenseil schöpften E. T. A. Hoffmann für die Novelle "Kampf der Sänger" und Richard Wagner für die "Meistersinger von Nürnberg." In Joh. Mich. Koch's "historischer Erzählung u. s. w." (1710) werden die Teilnehmer am Sängerkrieg zu landgräfl. Thüringischen Hofmusikern und der Kampf zum blossen Spiel; ein Professor Philippi führt sogar eine "gantze Capelle berühmter Virtuosen" ein, wird aber von J. H. v. Falkenstein dahin belehrt, dass die in Frage kommenden Personen "Meister-Sänger," d. h. "gemeine Handwerks Leute" waren, deren Gesang nichts als ein elendes Geschrei gewesen sei. Drei Programme des Dresdener Gymnasialdirektors Chr. G. Grabner (1743-4) enthalten genaue Quellennachweise mit verbindendem lateinischen Text. Hier beginnt eigentlich die kritische Forschung. Bodmer und Breitingen streiften das Ofterdingen-Thema wiederholt und gaben 1758-9 die Manessesche Liederhandschrift heraus. Die Jenaische Liederhandschrift war schon 1754 von Professor J. B. Wiedeburg ausführlich beschrieben worden. Sowohl Gottsched als auch Lessing äusserten sich zu der Ofterdingen-Frage, jedoch ohne Wesentliches zur Lösung beizutragen.

Es kann kaum wunder nehmen, dass Ofterdingen darüber zur literarhistorischen Person geworden war und in den einschlägigen Werken jener Zeit so ausführlich wie möglich behandelt wurde. Allgemein galt er für den Verfasser des "Heldenbuches," oder wenigstens eines Teils davon, bis F. Docen (1804) nachwies, dass das "Heldenbuch" in seiner jetzigen Gestalt fast dreihundert Jahre später anzusetzen sei als Ofterdingen. Seine Teilname am "Wartburgkrieg" und dessen Beziehungen zu der Geburt der heiligen Elisabeth verweisen Ofterdingen definitiv in den Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts, während das "Heldenbuch" aus sprachlichen Gründen mit Sicherheit dem Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts zuzuweisen ist. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen waren nunmehr auch durch das Bekanntwerden der ursprünglichen Quelle möglich geworden. Novalis' Roman "Ofterdingen," der 1802 erschien, vermehrte das Interesse an dem Titelhelden ausserordentlich. Das erste Heft der "Biographien österreichischer Dichter," welches in demselben Jahre herauskam, stempelte Ofterdingen zum geborenen Oesterreicher. Im dritten Bande des "Lexikons deutscher Dichter und Prosaisten" (1808) wird er indessen für Schwaben in Anspruch genommen. Drei Jahre später warf Jakob Grimm seine gewichtige Stimme für die österreichische Abstammung in die Schale. Uhland nennt Ofterdingen in seiner symbolischen Ballade "Märchen," jedoch ohne die Heimatsfrage zu berühren. In zwei Aufsätzen

vom Jahre 1812 entwickelt A. W. Schlegel sehr geschickt die Hypothesen, dass das Nibelungenlied zur Zeit des "Wartburgkriegs" bereits bekannt war, dass Wolfram von Eschenbach und seine Gesinnungsgenossen als Vertreter fremder Stoffkreise dem Dichter der Nibelungen feind waren,—deshalb die Feindschaft zwischen Wolfram und Heinrich v. Ofterdingen—dass die Dichtung von einem genauen Kenner Oesterreichs herrühren müsse. In demselben Jahre äussert sich von der Hagen "Ueber den Verfasser des Nibelungenliedes." Er sieht nur zwei Möglichkeiten: Eschenbach und seinen Gegner Ofterdingen. Ersterer äussert sich in den von ihm herrührenden Dichtungen geringschätzig über die Nibelungen, im Nibelungenliede werden andererseits die Bayern in ungünstigem Lichte geschildert. Eschenbach war ein Bayer, er kann also die Nibelungen nicht geschrieben haben, *ergo* bleibt nur Ofterdingen. Auch F. Schlegel stellte sich auf die Seite seines Bruders und von der Hagens. Alle drei kränken leider in ihrem Urteil an Voreingenommenheit.

Jakob Grimm griff in seinem Aufsatz "Ueber die Nibelungen" (1815) diese Hypothesen stark an und Karl Lachmann warf mit schonungsloser Hand das ganze Gebäude über den Haufen, durch die Parteinahme Aug. Kobersteins, oder richtiger, durch die kombinierende Methode obiger Kritiker dazu gereizt. Doch Lachmann verneinte einfach, ohne sich die Mühe einer wissenschaftlichen Beweisführung zu geben, und ohne etwas Neues an die Stelle des Verworfenen zu setzen. Erst viele Jahre später stellte er den Satz auf, dass die Nibelungen überhaupt nicht von nur einem Dichter herrühren, worin ihm Uhlund beistimmte. Von der Hagen änderte später seine Meinung in Bezug auf die Verfasserschaft des Nibelungenliedes, hielt aber an dem Gegensatz zwischen welscher und deutscher Art in den grossen mittelhochdeutschen Epen fest. Wilh. Grimm und Ludwig Ettmüller sprechen Ofterdingen auch den "Laurin" entschieden ab.

Riesenfeld sieht in Ludwig Bechsteins "Thüringer Sagen" die ersten Fäden zwischen Ofterdingen und Tannhäuser geknüpft, die Lucas dann weiter ausspannt. Dabei gelangte letzterer zu dem nicht gerade überzeugenden Schluss, dass Ofterdingen und Tannhäuser eine Person sind. Wichtig ist, dass Richard Wagner, durch Lucas beeinflusst, die beiden Gestalten identifizierte.

Ofterdingen behauptete sich trotz aller Anfeindungen als historische Persönlichkeit und die Frage nach seiner Heimat wurde zu wiederholten Malen erörtert. Mainz, Eisenach, Schwaben und Oesterreich wurden als die Heimat Ofterdingens nachgewiesen, und zwar in mehreren Fällen auf Grund der im Nibelungenliede "unverkennbaren" Ortskenntnis. Of-

terdingens Verfasserschaft wurde dabei einfach als erwiesen angenommen. Schliesslich nahm ihn der katholische Pfarrer H. J. Hermes in einem 1879 erschienen Büchlein für die Neuerburg an der Wied in Anspruch. Schon 1842 erschien J. C. F. Rimes Aufsatz: "Es hat keinen Sängerkrieg auf Wartburg gegeben." Herm. v. Ploetz suchte 1851 den Gegenbeweis zu erbringen, auch fand Ofterdingen auf Treu und Glauben Einlass in die Literaturgeschichten, Encyklopädien und Lexica. Doch die neueren Forscher, wie z. B. Golther, Erich Schmidt und Ernst Elster haben ihn schonungslos zu einem blossen Schattendasein verdammt. Ofterdingen ist eine blossе Phantasiеgestalt, ein literarhistorisches Gespenst.

Dies sind in kurzen Zügen die Ergebnisse des ersten wissenschaftlich wertvollsten Teils der vorliegenden Monographie. Der Verfasser hat das ziemlich umfangreiche Material sorgfältig durchgearbeitet und die Ansichten kritisch gesichtet, wobei er allerdings zu einem negativen Resultat gelangt ist. Doch geschieht dem Werte der Arbeit dadurch kein Abbruch. In Verbindung mit dem Ofterdingen-Thema werden viele andre literarische Fragen wie z. B. die Frage nach dem Verfasser der Nibelungen, teils nur gestreift, teils ziemlich eingehend erörtert. Im zweiten Teil seines Buches behandelt Riesenfeld alle Werke der deutschen Literatur, in denen Ofterdingen, selbst wenn auch nur in einer Nebenrolle, auftritt. Es wird gezeigt, wie der Ofterdingen der betreffenden Dichtung sich zu dem Urbilde verhält, Motivierung, zeitliche Verschiebungen u. s. w. werden behandelt. In einzelnen Fällen, besonders was Fouques Dichterspiel, "Der Sängerkrieg auf der Wartburg" anbetrifft, steht die ausführliche Analyse in einem argen Missverhältnis zu dem Werte der besprochenen Dichtung. Dabei treten wegen der Breite der Ausführung die Abweichungen vom Urbilde im Charakter Ofterdingens nicht klar zutage. Doch es war augenscheinlich nicht die Absicht Riesenfelds, nur diese eine Gestalt herauszumeisseln. Die betreffenden Kapitel sind vielmehr etwas allgemeinere Bewertungen der verschiedenen Dichtungen, wenn auch das Interesse an Ofterdingen immer im Vordergrund steht. Die grösste Bedeutung von allen diesen Werken besitzt Wagners "Tannhäuser;" nicht etwa, weil hier Ofterdingen mit Tannhäuser identifiziert wird, sondern weil an Stelle des alten Gegensatzes von welsch und deutsch der viel mächtigere und psychologisch wertvollere benutzt wird, in dem die heidnisch-sinnliche Weltanschauung zu der christlich-sittlichen steht. Sehr interessant ist die Wechselwirkung zwischen Literatur und Germanistik. Die letztere wird nun zur Gebenden, die Dichter versuchen die Ergebnisse der Forschung zu verwenden, die äusseren Umstände ihres Helden den angeblichen Tat-

sachen anzupassen. Das Unglaubliche hat in dieser Beziehung Julius Wolf in seinem Epos "Tannhäuser" geleistet, denn hier finden wir fast alles vereinigt, was je über Ofterdingen und Tannhäuser gesagt, geschrieben, oder gemutmasst worden ist. Der Anhang über Ofterdingen in der bildenden Kunst ist zur Sache gehörig, denn die wenigen Darstellungen sind einmal die Verkörperung des Ofterdingens der Dichtung, zum andern sind sie ihrerseits die Veranlassung zu poetischem Schaffen geworden. Für das gebildete Publikum im allgemeinen ist vielleicht der zweite Teil der geniessbare, für den Philologen hat der erste ungleich höheren Wert. Im ganzen hält die Arbeit, was der Titel verspricht: sie bietet uns ein ziemlich vollständiges Bild Heinrich von Ofterdingens in der deutschen Literatur.

Dasselbe lässt sich kaum sagen von Schönmemanns "L. Achim v. Arnims geistige Entwicklung." Die Arbeit gibt uns ein umfassendes Bild der geistigen Persönlichkeit Arnims, doch eine Entwicklung im eigentlichen Sinne ist nicht recht erkennbar, wenn wir nicht etwa das immer schärfer werdende Hervortreten eines von Hause aus vorhandenen Elementes, des Wirklichkeitsinns unseres Dichters, dafür ansehen wollen. Dafür ist aber nachgewiesen, welche Einflüsse auf Arnims Anschauungen von aussen einwirkten.

Ungenügende Aufschlüsse über Arnims Jugend und sein verschlossenes Wesen erschweren die Aufgabe. Der frühreife Jüngling hatte die Liebe zum Schönen und eine lebhaftere Einbildungskraft mit den übrigen Romantikern gemein. Seine Phantasie war aber nicht so sehr erfinderisch, als reproduktiv-kombinierend und führte bei der literarischen Ueberbildung des Dichters und der Regellosigkeit seines Schaffens zur Ueberladung und Zerstückelung. Im ganzen herrscht Mangel an Ursprünglichkeit und Anschaulichkeit. Auch Arnim machte Pläne über Pläne, von denen nur wenige zur Ausführung gelangten. Seine Vorliebe für alles Volkstümliche war der Grund seines löblichen Sammeleifers, verführte ihn aber zu einer sehr unreifen Kunstauffassung, für welche der Ausspruch: "Ein denkender Künstler ist ein Narr," sehr bezeichnend ist. Aus seinem subjektiven, impressionistischen Verfahren erklärt sich der bei ihm überall herrschende Mangel an Synthese. Arnim war trotz seines Scharfblicks für Einzelheiten nichts weniger als ein kühler Beurteiler des Lebens. In ihm war zwar die romantische Sehnsucht mit einem kalten Verstande gepart, aber leider kam der letztere gewöhnlich nur an unrechter Stelle zu Worte und zerstörte die poetische Illusion. Aeusserst geringe Gestaltungskraft und die überall unangenehm auftretende Tendenz sind weitere Gründe des Misslingens. Arnim war mehr eine poetische Natur als wirk-



licher Poet. In seinen Schriften vermissen wir Vollkommenheit und vor allen Dingen Einheit, ausser der, die ihnen als Ausdruck einer eigenartigen Persönlichkeit zukommt. Schönmann erklärt mit Recht, dass Arnim als Dichter unter den Romantikern nur eine untergeordnete Stellung einnimmt.

Unter seinen Werken, die vor "Halle und Jerusalem" erscheinen, sind nur "Mistris Lee" aus dem "Wintergarten" und "Gräfin Dolores" hervorzuheben. Erstere ist eine zweite Lucinde, nur nüchterner und verständiger, weshalb sie auch die ganze Phantasterei durchschaut. Die Composition der "Gräfin Dolores" durchkreuzte die Arbeit an "Halle und Jerusalem"; beide Werke stehen in engen Beziehungen zu einander. Es führt eine grade Linie von der sentimental-sinnlichen, ausschweifenden Mistris Lee, über die Büsserin Dolores zu der Magdalenengestalt Celindens in dem Drama "Halle und Jerusalem," und diese Linie bezeichnet die Entwicklung des Dichters. In jedem der drei Fälle dient die Religion als Deckmantel aller Herzensnöte, Fehler und Irrungen. In der Produktion des letztgenannten Werkes ging Arnim nicht von einem Erlebnisse aus, sondern von der Umarbeitung des Dramas "Cardenio und Celinde" von Gryphius. Nachdem sich der Dichter über sechs Jahre mit der Absicht der Neugestaltung getragen, schritt er endlich zur Ausführung. Er stand damals mitten in einem durch Jung-Stilling veranlassten Frömmigkeitsrausche und der Stoff kam ihm nun sehr gelegen als Mittel, den Sieg der Religion des Kreuzes zu zeigen. Arnim verfolgte bei seiner Schriftstellerei immer den Zweck, irgend etwas ins rechte Licht zu stellen.

Er übernahm von Gryphius, wie immer, nur Stimmungen und Stichworte und behandelte sonst den Stoff ganz nach Belieben. Zu beachten wäre, dass er Viren, der als echt romantischer Held am Leben scheitert, mehr in den Vordergrund stellt, während Celinde nebensächlicher wird. In sämtlichen Aenderungen verrät sich Arnims dramatisches Unvermögen. Die realistisch gehaltenen Schilderungen des Studentenlebens in Halle, die wir im ersten Teil finden, sind nicht so sehr Selbstbekenntnis als Satire auf die damaligen Zustände. Manche Uebertreibung erklärt sich aus Arnims ablehnender Haltung gegen das studentische Treiben. Selbstempfundenes dürfte in den Ansichten über die sittlichen Gefahren des Studentenlebens, die für den gefühlvollen, mit reichen Mitteln ausgerüsteten Jüngling nicht gering waren, und in der unbedingten Verurteilung des damals blühenden Ordenswesens und der gesamten Geheimbündelei zu finden sein. Der studentische Ton, den Arnim noch lange nach seiner Universitätszeit beibehielt, ist gut getroffen. Wichtig ist die vielfache Berührung mit dem Sturm und Drang. Cardenio ist ganz

zum Kraft- und Universal-Genie geworden, und die andern sind nur dazu da, ihn ins rechte Licht zu stellen und seine Schatten zu verschärfen. Körperlich von der Natur bevorzugt, in allem, was er unternimmt mit Erfolg gekrönt, steht er rücksichtslos und furchtlos seiner Umgebung gegenüber, die er beherrschen und umbilden möchte. Er kennt kein Müssen und fordert absolute Wahrhaftigkeit auch im Schlechten. Seine ganze Natur wurzelt in der Grossmannssucht''; natürlich sind seine Genossen unfähig sein innerstes Wesen zu verstehen, auf die Menge schaut er mit Verachtung herab. Ausser Gott, als dessen Werkzeug er sich ausgeben möchte, erkennt er keinen Richter über sich. Er will Gerechtigkeit auf die Erde bringen, handelt aber ganz ziel- und planlos und in seinem eigenen Interesse. Beim ersten Misslingen hadert er mit der Welt und Gott. Zu Beginn des Stücks gehört er geradezu zum Byronischen Heldentypus. Doch kommt ihm schliesslich die unvermeidliche Selbsterkenntnis und damit der Zusammenbruch und der Salto mortale in den Gnadensbrunnen der Religion, was sehr bezeichnend für Arnim ist.

Charakteristisch für das Drama ist die absichtliche Steigerung aller Gefühle und Leidenschaften mittelst der Phantasie, so dass sie fast zum Wahnsinn ausarten. Celindens Ausbrüche erinnern an die Liebesraserei der Penthesilea. Cardenio selbst ist rein; als er in seiner ersten Liebe nur Bitternis findet, will er zwar "geniessen," doch es fehlt ihm an Kraft und Mut dazu. Er kommt überhaupt nicht zum eigentlichen, zielbewussten Handeln, obschon dies das erklärte Ideal des Dichters ist. Aeussere Handlung ist genug in dem Drama, sogar ein regelrechter englisch-französischer Krieg. Sollte hier nicht das Beispiel Klingers eingewirkt haben, der dasselbe Motiv, allerdings mit viel grösserem Geschick, in seinem Drama "Sturm und Drang" benutzte? Wir finden in "Halle und Jerusalem" unverkennbar Seelenstimmungen, Charaktereigenschaften, Gestalten und Motive der Genie-Periode, die Arnim verschiedenen Dichtern jener Epoche entlehnt, doch selten mit Geschick gebraucht hat. Auch die Vorläuferin des Sturm und Drangs, die Empfindsamkeit, hat zahlreiche Spuren hinterlassen. Hier tritt der Lebenswille hinter der Gefühlsschwelgerei zurück. Cardenio fragt: "Wozu kann ich mein Elend brauchen, als selber mich damit zu rühren. . . . ich will mich rühren und betrüben über mich, dass alle Steine Wasser schwitzen." Sowohl bei den Stürmern und Drängern als auch bei den Empfindsamen war die Fähigkeit sich dem Leben hinzugeben weit grösser, als die Kraft der Hinnahme und des Geniessens. Arnim erkennt die Gefahr eines solchen Verhaltens dem Leben gegenüber und warnt vor ihr. In seiner Stellung zur Musik war aber auch er



ganz Romantiker; die Musik wurde auch für ihn zur romantischen Metaphysik. Von Goethes Werken haben vor allem "Werther," die "Wahlverwandtschaften" und "Wilhelm Meister" einen starken Einfluss ausgeübt, daneben auch "Stella" und "Claudine von Ville Bella." Kleists Kätchen, Ottilie aus den "Wahlverwandtschaften" und Celinde sind alle drei Vertreterinnen der dienenden und duldenden Liebe. Letztere hat aber daneben die leichtfertige Moral Philinens. Bezeichnend ist für Arnim, dass sein Held, trotz alles Weltendrangs, nicht im Dienste der Gesamtheit, sondern im Kultus der eigenen Persönlichkeit aufgeht. Arnims Ahasverus setzt sich ohne Zweifel aus der Gestalt des ewigen Juden in den von Görres herausgegebenen "Teutschen Volksbüchern" und dem Harfner aus "Wilhelm Meister" zusammen. Wie letzterer ist er auch mehr unglücklich als schuldig. Dazu kommt das Wiederfinden mit ihren Verwandten. Schönemann drückt sich aber mindestens ungenau aus (S. 98), wenn er von dem Motiv der Blutschuld spricht, welches beiden gemeinsam sei. Erstens hat er sich durch Arnims freien Gebrauch des Wortes (Halle, III, 7) dazu verleiten lassen, "Blutschuld" ohne weiteres in dem Sinne von "Blutschande" anzuwenden,—die Bedeutung wird zwar aus dem Zusammenhange wenigstens dem klar, der mit den betreffenden Charakteren vertraut ist—zweitens ist Arnims Ahasverus zwar der Vergewaltigung, jedoch nicht des Incests schuldig. In Cardenios und Olympiens gegenseitiger Liebe ist zwar die Möglichkeit der Blutschande vorhanden, beunruhigt aber bei der späteren Entdeckung ihrer Verwandtschaft den Leser nicht allzusehr. Hingegen hat Schönemann vollkommen recht, wenn er R. M. Meyers Behauptung zurückweist, dass Arnims Stück ganz unter dem Einflusse von Goethes "Faust" stehe. Anklänge sind zwar vorhanden, doch wegen Arnims gewohnheitsmässiger Vermischung der Motive lässt sich unmittelbar Einfluss schwer nachweisen und abgrenzen. Ich kann Schönemann nicht einmal zustimmen, dass die Stelle: "du wirst zu einem nassen Bruder, wie nasses Heu brennst du gleich lichterloh von selbst in dir." (Halle, I, 2) mit Sicherheit auf "Faust" (2075) zurückzuführen ist. Der Nachsatz, um den es sich hier allein handelt, dient zur Erklärung des "nassen Bruders" und besagt: du regst dich ganz ohne Grund auf. Als märkischer Junker war Arnim jedenfalls mit der Tatsache vertraut, dass sich nasses Heu, wenn aufgeschichtet, von selbst entzündet. Nun erklärt aber Schönemann selbst und sehr richtig: (S. 237), "Der Urgrund aller seiner Vorstellungen ist das Landleben, so spiegeln sich in Metaphern: Vorgänge der Natur, die sentimental-romantisch, am wirkungsvollsten aber derb-realistisch gefasst ist." Sollte hier nicht ein ausgeführter Vergleich die-

ser Art vorliegen? Arnims eigne Bewertung Goethes findet unzweideutigen Ausdruck in Stürmers begeisterter Schilderung des Altmeisters (Halle, III, 2).

Obwohl Romantiker, beteiligte sich Arnim doch nicht an der allgemeinen Suche nach der verloren gegangenen Lebenseinheit. Auch war ihm die romantische Ironie fremd, wo er anscheinend sich derselben bedienen will, schlägt sie ihm zur tragischen um. Die vielen von den Romantikern ausgehenden Anregungen sind willkürlich und ohne Zusammenhang verwertet. Cardenio ist wie Julius ("Lucinde") Dilettant des Lebens und der Liebe, andererseits hat er vieles von Tiecks Golo. Die Fäden kreuzen sich mannigfach. So berührt sich Celinde nicht nur mit Philene ("Wilhelm Meister"), sondern auch mit Lisette ("Lucinde") und Cordelia ("Godwi"). Auf den zweiten Teil von Arnims Stück hat Calderons "Andacht zum Kreuze" stark eingewirkt. Die von Tieck entlehnten Gestalten dienen vor allem der Satire. Die damals herrschende Reisesewut wird verspottet, doch ist Arnim dem Einflusse berühmter Reisebeschreibungen keineswegs entgegen. Romantisch ist die Verherrlichung der Kreuzzüge, die Arnim besonders in Tieck und Z. Werner vorgebildet fand. Mit letzterem stimmt Arnim in der Forderung nach der Kreuzigung des eignen Ich, in der Betonung des Glaubens als Allheilmittel und in der Auffassung der Pflichten gegen die Gemeinschaft überein. Ich möchte bezweifeln, dass die Stelle: "als ich noch kleine Säbelchen und Helme, Trommeln und Trompeten von der Messe brachte, da hiess ich guter Vater." (Halle, III, 4) auf Entlehnung beruht. Die schnöde Behandlung, die Cardenio dem um sein Heil bemühten Ahasverus angedeihen lässt, entlockt diesem den Vorwurf. Brentanos Einfluss ist verschwindend gering. In "Halle," III, 2 kommen durch Stürmer (Arnim) und Kümmernmann (Brentano) die gegenteiligen Ansichten der beiden Freunde zum Ausdruck. Arnim vertrat die Meinung, dass sich der Mensch nicht über seine Zeit erheben kann, dass er sich nicht von ihr abkehren, sondern um ihr Verständnis bemühen soll. Brentanos Uebersinnlichkeit wird scharf abgewiesen. In der Stellung Olympiens zu ihrem Bruder Viren und in der nach ihrer Heirat mit Lysander erkaltenden Freundschaft der beiden Männer sind die Beziehungen zwischen Brentano, Bettina und Arnim zum Ausdruck gekommen. Mit Görres war Armin verbunden durch seine Vorliebe für alles Volkstümliche, durch seine Ablehnung der Antike und durch seine Bewertung Englands, dessen Konservativismus der märkische Edelmann zu schätzen wusste, während der Romantiker in ihm den Materialismus verurteilt, was auch in der abstossenden Schilderung des Juden Nathan zutage tritt.

Wie Kleist schwebt Arnim noch zwischen der Wirklichkeit der Dinge und seiner philosophischen, d. h. seiner Kunststimmung. Arnims Welträtsel ist das der Romantik. Es ist die Frage, ob die äussere Welt oder unser Innenleben die echte, eigentliche Wirklichkeit sei. Auch für ihn ward die Phantasie zum welterschöpfenden Prinzip, doch hing er zu sehr an der allgemeinen Wirklichkeit, um je volle und dauernde Befriedigung in seiner selbstgeschaffenen Welt zu finden. Er schwankte sein Leben lang zwischen Weltmann und Dichter. So gehen naturwissenschaftliche Studien, in denen er ein scharfes Auge für Einzelheiten und Praktisches zeigt und, teils volkstümlicher, teils mystisch-religiöser Aberglaube in seiner Jugend nebeneinander her. Dieser Dualismus war die Hauptursache seines Unvermögens, ein einheitliches Kunstwerk zu schaffen. Der Trost einer willkürlich geschaffenen Einsamkeit blieb Arnim auf die Dauer versagt, da ihm die Menschen mehr als alles andre waren. Auf die grosse Frage der Romantiker nach der Willensfreiheit des Menschen antworteten die Stürmer und Dränger mit einem entschiedenen Ja. Arnim konnte sich nicht auf ihre Seite stellen. Er kennt ein Geschick, in dem Vererbung eine Rolle spielt. Das Schicksal des Einzelnen kann zu dem allgemeinen Weltenschicksal im Gegensatz, aber auch damit im Einklang stehen. Es wird zum sittlichen Gebot, andererseits tritt es als Naturnotwendigkeit auf. Im Schicksal ist Gott, und "der gute Christ hat keinen Stern, sein Leben geht ihm in der Gnade auf und unter." Arnims Anschauungen laufen auf einen optimistischen, religiösen Fatalismus hinaus, in dem alle Tragik zugrunde gehen muss.

Die Liebe in "Halle und Jerusalem" ist echt romantisch. Das kleinste Zeichen wird mit volkstümlicher Sentimentalität zum Symbol erhoben. Die Liebenden empfinden ihre Leidenschaft als einen fremden Zwang, als ein übermächtiges Schicksal, doch wird ihnen die Liebe der Schlüssel zum Weltall. Charakteristisch ist das Schweben zwischen hoher und niedriger Minne. Lysanders Beziehungen zur Herrin und zur Dienerin erinnern stark an Grabbes Don Juan, doch ist Einfluss hier unmöglich. Arnim hatte anfänglich die freie, doch nicht die feile Liebe verteidigt, kehrte aber bald auf den eigenen strengeren Standpunkt zurück. Die verschiedenen Abarten der niedren Minne werden in "Halle und Jerusalem" zumeist in abschreckender Gestalt gezeigt. Das Bewusste in der Liebesleidenschaft ist romantisch, ebenso die Frage nach der Sittlichkeit ungesetzlicher und mehrfacher Beziehungen und das schonende Urteil über die schöne Sünderin Celinde. Durch Entsagung und Busse kann sie sogar ihre Unschuld wiedergewinnen. Arnims Darstellung der Liebe ist durch-

aus nicht lebenswahr und aller Aesthetik zuwider. Vielleicht findet sein eigens Schwanken zwischen zwei Frauen Ausdruck, sicher aber seine hohe Schätzung von der Heiligkeit der Ehe, als der gesellschaftlich grundlegenden aber auch alle andere Gemeinschaft überdauernden Verbindung.

Trotz eines starken metaphysischen Bedürfnisses lehnte Arnim alle Philosophie und besonders alle Systeme ab. Dies erklärt sich durch den Ueberschwang des Gefühls und den Mangel an analytischem Denkvermögen, unter dem Arnim litt. "Das Denken ist ein Tanzen auf dem Seile, das zwischen Gott und Menschenleben gespannt ist." Meines Ermessens ist Arnims geringschätzigte Ablehnung aller Kritik seines Schaffens, wie auch die verächtliche Beurteilung der Philosophie und der pädagogischen Bestrebungen seiner Zeit, teilweise auf sein selbstherrliches, selbstgenügsames, märkisches Junkertum zurückzuführen. Auch alle pädagogischen Systeme wurden von Arnim verworfen, der aber eifrig für Volks-erziehung in deutsch-christlichem Sinne eintrat und sein eigenes Schaffen in ihren Dienst zu stellen suchte.

Sache des ganzen Volkes, nicht des Einzelnen, ist die Religion. Hier zeigt sich Arnim als Gegner des Fanatismus, zieht Aberglauben dem Unglauben vor, da für ihn der Glaube und nicht die Phantasie der Schlüssel zu den grossen Fragen des Lebens ist, verrät aber eine sehr starke Neigung zum Vulgär-Katholizismus. An den Protestanten tadelt er Hohlheit, Heuchelei, das Missionsunwesen und die Bekehrungswut. Er kennt Busse zur Vergebung der Sünden, heisst die Entsagung gut, trotz einiger Einwände gegen den Klostertod, und lässt schliesslich Cardenio und Celinde eine Art Märtyrertod sterben. Dem Judentum steht er feindselig gegenüber. Beiläufig sei erwähnt, dass sich Arnim, der Mensch und Dichter, vor Napoleon beugte. Schönemann findet gelegentlich der ästhetischen Würdigung von "Halle und Jerusalem" einen gewissen Rhythmus der Komposition, eine symetrische Zweiheit. Diese sind zwar vorhanden, tragen aber zu dem Werte des Dramas wenig bei, da sie sich nicht unmittelbar, sondern nur dem abwägenden Verstande erschliessen. Es würde der vorliegenden Arbeit sehr zustatten gekommen sein, wenn der Verfasser die nicht unbedeutenden Ergebnisse am Schluss klar und gedrängt zusammen gefasst hätte. Bei der Vielseitigkeit Arnims und der auf ihn wirkenden Einflüsse und der Zwiespältigkeit seines Wesens empfiehlt sich das an sich. Ausserdem erschweren allgemeine Erörterungen, die zwar ganz angebracht sind, den Ueberblick etwas. In seiner Beweisführung hat sich Schönemann selbstrebend nicht auf das Drama "Halle und Jerusalem" beschränkt, doch ist die Gruppierung des Stoffes um dieses Werk gerechtfertigt, da in dem-

selben mehr Fäden zusammenlaufen, als in irgend einem andern. Von den Ergebnissen ist besonders der Nachweis der engen Beziehungen Arnims zum Sturm und Drang, seiner Gegensätze zur Romantik und die klare Fassung des Lebensproblems dieses Dichters hervorzuheben.

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*Probleme der Grimmelshausenforschung* von J. H. Scholte.

I. Groningen: J. B. Wolters 1912. Roy. 8 vo., 256 pp. (w. facsimile). Cloth 5 flor.

The 'problems' investigated in this valuable monograph are all connected with the first collective edition (3 vols., Nürnberg 1683-84) of Grimmelshausen's works. Indeed, the author might have divided his book into four chapters, and inscribed them thus:

I. The first collective edition of Grimmelshausen's works from a bibliographical point of view (pp. 1-78).

II. The editor of the first collective edition and his knowledge of Grimmelshausen's personality (pp. 79-117).

III. The question of authorship concerning the works contained in the first collective edition (pp. 117-221).

IV. Works by Grimmelshausen not contained in the first collective edition.

For the sake of convenience I shall here observe this assumed division into four parts. The 'first part,' therefore, gives a detailed descriptive reproduction (not in facsimile, but in type) of the title pages of the three volumes on pp. 1-2, 13, and 25-26. While Keller and Kurz believed that this edition existed in two different prints, portions of which had not been recovered, the author shows, conclusively, that this opinion is erroneous. The relation between this collective edition and both the former editions of single works and the later collective and separate editions is carefully discussed so as to gain a solid foundation for the bibliographical and textual history of Grimmelshausen's works.

The 'second part' is chiefly concerned with the attitude taken by the editor of the first collective edition towards Grimmelshausen, and with the personality of Grimmelshausen himself. As Mr. Scholte shows, the editor was the first one to identify Grimmelshausen with his hero Simplicissimus, and in this way he has become responsible for the current opinion according to which the story of Simplicissimus is to be regarded as a quasi-biography of Grimmelshausen. Mr. Scholte maintains that this identification is not well founded. He contrasts the supposed Simplicissimus-Grimmelshausen with

the actual Grimmelshausen, as he appears in documents written by his own hand and brought to light—most of them quite recently—in various libraries and archives. These materials and others, yet unpublished, to which Mr. Scholte has had access, open the prospect towards a Grimmelshausen philology, based not upon pre-conceived theory and on mere conjectures, but upon historical facts. Grimmelshausen's personality begins to assume definite features, quite distinct from those of the soldier whom he depicted so vividly in his historical novels.

The 'third part' is given to the 'higher criticism' of the first collective edition by raising the question of how far the writings collected in this edition may be regarded as genuine works from Grimmelshausen's pen. All turn out to be genuine, with the exception of two, viz. 'Simplicii Angeregte Uhrsachen. Warumb er nicht Catholisch werden könne. Gedruckt im Jahr 1684' and the rather insignificant treatise 'Vom Bart-Krieg.' As regards the former, Mr. Scholte proves conclusively that it was written by the well known theologian Johann Scheffler, the author of the 'Cherubinischer Wandersmann,' who in 1653, when he joined the Catholic Church, assumed the name of Angelus Silesius.

The 'fourth' and last part extends the 'higher criticism' beyond the limits of the first collective edition to those works of Grimmelshausen which by the editor were not incorporated in this collection. There are especially two works of this kind which must be ascribed to Grimmelshausen, viz. 'Des Abenteuerlichen Simplicissimi Ewig-währender Calender' (Nürnberg, 1670) and the three continuations of the Abenteuerlicher Simplicissimus (Nürnberg 1669-1671).

Mr. Scholte has proceeded in his investigation so cautiously and systematically, and with such complete mastery of his subject that his results can be safely accepted. His book is sure to be welcomed by every student of seventeenth century German Literature.

Baltimore.

KLARA HECHTENBERG COLLITZ.

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*A Brief Swedish Grammar.* Edw. J. Vickner, Ph.D. Rock Island, Ill., 1912. Augustana Book Concern. Pp. vii + 296.

Swedish grammars written in English have been very unsatisfactory books. Vickner's grammar is, perhaps in every respect, a great improvement over its predecessors. The book is more practical, more modern, more complete; it has more live exercises and gives more attention to the spoken language.



The appearance of this book is an event of great interest to the students of Swedish in this country.

In the preface we read: "The author feels confident that the book will lend itself to conversational practice." However, to teach conversational Swedish one must do more than talk in the exercises on topics relating to every-day life. The grammar should have had as foundation a good phonology and a thorough treatment of the conversational idiom. But the author's phonology contains very many errors of a serious nature, and practically nothing is said as to the distribution of the acute accent; on conversational Swedish we find only here and there a remark. The author cannot plead lack of space; the things omitted are far more important than the account of the use of prepositions, conjunctions, adverbs and interjections (pp. 200-246), which neither teacher nor student is likely to have the patience or courage to wade through. What would not 47 pages devoted to pronunciation and conversational idiom have meant for the student who wants to learn to speak Swedish? Would the author leave all this to the teacher to supplement? But most of these things are very inaccessible. Moreover, many of our teachers have not had the advantage. Zu beachten wäre, dass as Viren, der als echt romantischen advantages of a suitable preparation. To these the author has shifted a heavy burden indeed.

However, the teacher will not only have to supplement the book, but will have to emend as well. And this is a more serious fault. The grammar contains numerous errors of a serious nature, so serious and so many, that the book cannot be used without a teacher, who will have to exercise great caution. Only a limited number of the mistakes, inconsistencies and omissions can be mentioned in the present review.

§2. No mention is made of final accented vowels, which are always long. The terms "long" and "short" consonant sound will puzzle the student; and needlessly, since the author in defining them really reverts to the usual and more practical manner of expression, namely that a vowel before two or more consonants is short, etc.

§3. "The long (consonant) sound is indicated by two or more consonants, especially a double consonant." The author should have said: "The long consonant sound is indicated by a double consonant except when another consonant sound follows; then in the case of most consonants it is indicated by a single consonant."

Page 3, Remark. "No vowel is silent or slurred with the single exception of *e* in unaccented endings such as *-en*, *-el*, *-er*, *-et*, *-e*." Is *e* silent or slurred in these endings?

§5 (1). No mention is made of the sound of *ē* in the prefix *er-* and in *det*.—5 (2). *Herr*, not *herre*, means "Mister."

§18. The sound of short *a* is qualitatively the same as that of long *a*. The difference in quality is very marked.

§19. *T* is obdurate in second with German *t*. Norren. *Väst. Språk*, I, p. 449 calls attention to the difference between these sounds.

§22. The author says that *t* in *satt* is slightly open, that of *t* in *tatt* is open and that of *t* in *tatt* still more open. However, the *t* is obdurate in quality in *satt* and *tatt*, though in some parts of Sweden it is obdurate in *katt* and *dött*. See Norren. *Väst. Språk*, I, 511 and Ljungbom-Wulff, *Svenska Språket*, I, 111, 112, 113.

Page 4, 2. In the discussion of the consonants not a word is said of the difference in sound between the Swedish and the English dentals, which is particularly noticeable in the case of *t* and *n*. Nor is any mention made of the peculiar sound developed from the combination of point *r* with a dental, the so-called supradentals, which sound something like our dentals when preceded by the American cerebral *r*; but in Swedish the *r* is not heard. Side by side with such important omissions we find the statement, §18, 2, that in the Swedish *j* as in *j*, the tongue is closer to the palate than in the corresponding sound in English (as in *yes*).

§15. The author fails to mention the principal use of the letter *c*, and indeed, its only use in words not of foreign origin, namely that double *k* is written *ck*. Note also *ck* in *ack*, and. Nor is anything said of the sound of *ck* in such words as *choklad*, *chikan*, *charmant* (with this omission, cf. § 22, note).

§18, note. In speaking of "the old orthography" here, the author is referring to an orthography older than that mentioned in § 16, note, and § 17, note.

Page 7. The sound of *l* is not mentioned at all, which, according to a note on page 6, means that it has the same sound as in English, which is not the case. No account is taken of the supradental *l* (see my remark to p. 6), nor is mention made of the silent *l* in initial *lj*.

§23, note 2. "If *g* and *n* occurring together belong to the same radical syllable, they are pronounced with an *n* before." This is an unusual way of saying that *g* before *n* has the sound of *ŋ*.—The pronunciation of initial *gn*- is mentioned under *n*, while that of *kn*- is treated under *k*.

§24. The silent *r* before supradentals is not mentioned.

§27. That *sk* is pronounced as spelled also before consonants is not mentioned.

Pages 10, ff. The author goes into some detail about the difference between the grave and acute accent. He says nothing, however, as to when the acute accent is used, except that

it occurs in dissyllabic words which were formerly monosyllabic, but which have become dissyllabic, especially by the addition of the postpositive article. But how shall the student know which other words and forms were originally monosyllabic? These the author could have arranged into four or five distinct categories, leaving comparatively few exceptions to be accounted for individually.

Page 12, Remark. "Since the proper use of the grave accent cannot be learned without a teacher, the acute accent only will be used in this book to indicate the syllable to be stressed." The use of "acute" here in a sense different from that in which it has been used in the preceding pages, is confusing.

§42. In explaining the acute accent of *getter*, the author says: "The word is originally monosyllabic, *get*, goat." However, *getter* has the acute accent because this (plural) form originally was monosyllabic. Note the grave accent of *stolar*, in spite of the monosyllabic *stol*.

§56, f. "Masculine are generally names of living beings, especially persons of the male sex." "Feminine are generally names of living beings, especially persons of the female sex." These sentences speak for themselves.

§64. "The indefinite article corresponds in the main with that of English." The author means "the use of the indefinite article."

§65 ff. In the paradigm we find: "*du har*, thou hast (you have)". And yet we learn (§67) that *du* is used "in very familiar address, to relatives, to intimate friends, and to children." By the way, it is incorrect to say that *du* is used (only) in very familiar address and to intimate friends. It is customary for acquaintances to agree to use *du* even after a very slight acquaintance, frequently at the first meeting.—The pronoun *I* is not archaic. It is found frequently in all but the easier styles of literature, and is regularly employed in the elevated style.—The statement in §67 (b) is misleading; the author would better have said that there is no distinction between familiar and polite address in the plural. And why call *ni* the pronoun of polite address, when most people consider its use impolite, the title being used instead?

Exercise I. In sentences 2 and 5, the student would not as yet know the neuter form of adjectives.—In the note preceding the vocabulary to Lesson I, the author says: "Only the indefinite gender form of the adjective is given in the first few lessons." The term "indefinite gender form of adjectives" means nothing to the student at this point.

§69. "The article is always used when the noun is in the

definite form." In other words: "The def. form of the noun is always used when the noun is in the def. form."

§71. The def. ending *-en* is also used with some nouns of common gender. Mention of this fact is also omitted in §119, although two of these words occur in §120 (*män*, from *man*; *gäss*, from *gås*).

§72. The author says that *-en*, *-et* are used as def. article with nouns ending in an accented vowel. The spoken language, however, hardly ever uses *-en*, *-et* in this case, while the written language has *-en* with all monosyllabic common-gender nouns ending in a vowel. Indeed, I find nowhere in the grammar any mention of the def. form of such very common words as *sko*, *ko*, *sjö*, *d*, *tå*.

§73, 4. When *fröken* means "Miss," the indef. form would be used; cf. *herr Melin*, *fru Andersson*.—*Det datum, som han talar om* is an unhappy illustration, as the postpositive def. article is not used in the literary language when a restrictive relative clause follows.

§73, 5. Is "masculine" here used in the sense of §56 or of §61?

Page 31, Vocabulary. "*En gång*, *-er*, one time, once."

§108. It should have been stated that the def. form *hjärtana* is not of frequent occurrence.

§111, 3 (misprint for 2). "Adjectives ending in *-d* preceded by a vowel change *d* to the neuter *t*." Here *d* (twice) is a misprint for *n*. There is also a serious error. In adjectives *t* is substituted for *n* only after *e*, and, further, only after unaccented *e*; not, as the author's rule would imply, in *ren*, *grön*, *allmän*, etc. The author's rule does hold good for most pronouns; as, *den*, *annan*, *någon*.

§111, 4. "If the final *d* is preceded by a consonant it is eliminated." No mention is made of the same substitution when *d* is preceded by a vowel in unaccented syllables, although two such cases occur in this very lesson, *älskad* in a paradigm, and *illuminerad* in the vocabulary, n. *älskat*, *illuminerat*.

§111, 7. "Adjectives ending in *-e* (especially present participles) do not change in the neuter." Nor do they change in the plural, being indeclinable.

§113. "The adjective is declined in the Indefinite Declension when used attributively with a noun in the indef. form." The author repeatedly confuses "form" with "meaning." Note *min stora bok*, *detta gamla hus*, *käre vän*.

§125. The ending *-al* (*gammal*) is omitted.

§126. This paragraph could easily be misinterpreted.

§130 (d). No mention is made of the gen. *Jesu*, which is no less important than *Kristi*.

§133 (b). This use of the genitive is not confined to *hos*.

§139. In the paradigms parentheses are used with two different meanings, without explanation.

§142. Very incomplete. Before nouns the indef. form must be used in the case of some titles.

§143. It is incorrect to put the colloquial *ska* in the paradigm of the future perfect, which is not used in the spoken language.

§168. The student will not be able to recall the words from which *skilja*, *spörja* and *dölja*, not to mention others, are derived by means of the suffix *-ja*. Several other questions will perplex the thoughtful student.

§173. That *dess* is the genitive also in the common gender is not mentioned.

§179 "Compound verb" is used instead of "compound tenses of the verb."

§181. Speaking of the Swedish passive, the author says: "This *-s* is the remnant of the reflexive pronoun *sig* (older form *sik*). Nothing is here gained by giving the older form of *sig*, especially as in Swedish the passive ending goes back to the dative, and not to the accusative of this pronoun.

§195. I find no mention of the fact that *dens* is used only when a restrictive relative clause follows.

§290. The author has overlooked the use of the present to denote future time in the case of aoristic verbs, even when there is nothing in the context to make the time clear. See Noreen's review of Brate's *Svensk Språklära, Pedagogisk Tidskrift*, 1898, comment to p. 123.

§305. Here the author speaks of strong vowels; otherwise he calls them hard.

§314. *Dess* is not here mentioned in connection with *desto*.

Appendix. The summaries omit several important points treated in the grammar, as the use of the def. form of nouns, where we in English use a possessive pronoun.—In 2 (b) *denne* should be mentioned as taking the noun in the indefinite form as well as *samme*.—In the list of nouns that modify the vowel in the plural, *bonde* is not mentioned.—In 10 (d), it is inaccurate to say that *äro* is pronounced *ä*.—In 10 (c), we are told that *g* is dropped in the neuter of *trolig*, pronounced *trolitt*. According to the author's rule in §3, the phonetic spelling should have been *trolit*. No mention is made of the fact that *g* is also omitted in the common-gender form.—In 10 (e), the pronunciation of *av* as *å* could well have been mentioned in connection with the similar pronunciation of *att* and *och*.—In 10 (g), the dropping of *-t* in *mycket* and *litet* is not confined to certain parts of Sweden, as we would infer from

the author's words. Mention might well have been made also of the omission of *-t* in the def. form of neuters, which occurs in large parts of Sweden.—In 10 (h), *ge* and *be* should have been mentioned as well as the other shortened verb-forms.—10 (i). The pronunciation of *talade* as *tala* is limited to certain parts of Sweden just as much as that of *tagit* as *tagi* (10, g).—10 (k). The pronunciation of *-or* as *-er* is by most authorities considered dialectical; others say that it is restricted to certain parts of the country.—11 (b). Also the common gender words of the Fifth Declension that have *-en* in the def. plur. add *-a* to this in the spoken language.

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### NEUE PHILOSOPHISCHE LITERATUR

Von wenigen beachtet ist am 19. Mai des vergangenen Jahres die 150jährige Wiederkehr des Geburtstages Johann Gottlieb Fichtes vorübergegangen. Dennoch gehört Fichte zu den Gestalten die eine wichtige Rolle spielen in der Neugeburt nicht nur der deutschen Philosophie, sondern des gesamten Geistes der gegenwärtigen deutschen Jugend. Noch vor einem Jahrzehnt konnte man Fichtes Namen mit dem Ausdruck völligen Unverständnisses nennen hören. Heute ist er vielleicht derjenige Philosoph der alten 'Romantik,' welcher der 'Neuromantik' am meisten zu geben hat.

Mitten aus der neuen Bewegung hervorgegangen, hatte der Fritz Eckardtsche Verlag es unternommen, eine Neuausgabe der Klassiker der deutschen Philosophie im frühen neunzehnten Jahrhundert: Schelling, Schleiermacher, Hegel und Fichte zu veranstalten. Diese schönen vornehmen Ausgaben sind jetzt zusammen mit der ehemals Kirchmannschen 'Philosophischen Bibliothek' von dem jungen tatkräftigen Verlag von Felix Meiner übernommen, und die Fichteaussgabe just zur hundertundfünfzigjährigen Wiederkehr des Geburtstages Fichtes vollendet.\*

Die einzige bisher vorhandene alte Fichteaussgabe, herausgegeben von Fichte's Sohn, I. H. Fichte, ist selten geworden und zudem voll von Ungenauigkeiten und Druckfehlern. Unter diesen Umständen wird die neue Ausgabe mit ihrem peinlich sorgfältigen Text, dessen unbedingte Zuverlässigkeit durch die wissenschaftliche Persönlichkeit von Fritz Medicus verbürgt ist, bald als völlig unentbehrlich gelten. Freilich ist die neue Ausgabe nicht durchaus vollständig. Einige weniger wichtige Schriften, vorzüglich solche biographischer Natur,

\* *J. G. Fichtes Werke* in sechs Bänden. Mit drei Bildnissen Fichtes, herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Professor Dr. Fritz Medicus.

sind ausgelassen. Alle mit aufgenommenen Schriften erscheinen jedoch *unverkürzt* gemäss ihrer zeitlichen Abfolge. Dazu sind die Seitenzahlen der früheren Ausgabe in die neue mit aufgenommen, sodass bei der wissenschaftlichen Arbeit Anführungen, die sich auf die alte Ausgabe beziehen, auch in der neuen aufgesucht werden können. Endlich bilden die sorgfältigen Schlussverzeichnisse und die sehr gründliche und lehrreiche Einleitung von Fritz Medicus, einem unserer besten Fichtekenner, eine unverächtliche Beigabe.

Wer je über Schopenhauer wissenschaftlich gearbeitet hat, wird es mit grosser Freude begrüessen, dass uns endlich eine Ausgabe geboten wird, die allen Anforderungen der Forschung genügt.<sup>1</sup> Endlich: denn die bisherigen Ausgaben genügten diesen Anforderungen keineswegs. Weder die Frauenstädt'sche, deren Unzulänglichkeit seit Grisebach berichtigt ist, noch die Grisebach'sche, deren völlige Unzulänglichkeit neuerdings von Gustav Friedrich Wagner überraschend aufgedeckt wurde;<sup>2</sup> ganz zu schweigen von den anderen Schopenhauer Ausgaben.

Wie die Dinge liegen, darf die neue Schopenhauer Ausgabe als *wissenschaftliche* im besten Sinne des Wortes begrüsst werden. Der Druck geht grundsätzlich auf die Ausgaben letzter Hand zurück, zieht aber durchgehends die Handschriften Schopenhauer's zu Rate und bringt gleichzeitig die Abweichungen der früheren Ausgaben, so dass jetzt endlich eine philologisch genaue Behandlung der Philosophie Schopenhauer's ermöglicht ist. Besonders wichtig wird diese neue Ausgabe durch die Verwertung der mit zahllosen Zusätzen versehenen Handexemplare Schopenhauers, durch die vollständige Veröffentlichung des Schopenhauerschen Nachlasses (ein dringendes Bedürfnis seit langer Zeit) und die Vereinigung sämtlicher Briefe.

Der mir vorliegende dritte Band enthält Schopenhauers Doktorarbeit über die 'vierfache Wurzel des Satzes vom Grunde,' den fruchtbaren Keim seiner Philosophie. Verständnisvoller Weise ist hier ausser der Ausgabe letzter Hand auch die ursprüngliche Ausgabe von 1813 vollständig abgedruckt. Dabei sind die handschriftlichen Zusätze Schopenhauers dort in den Text aufgenommen, hier in einen besonderen Anhang gebracht. Über die in den Text aufgenomme-

<sup>1</sup> *Arthur Schopenhauer's Sämmtliche Werke* in vierzehn Bänden, herausgegeben von Paul Deussen. München. (R. Piper & Co.)

Bd. 3. Der Satz vom Grunde. Über den Willen in der Natur. Ethik.

<sup>2</sup> Gustav Friedrich Wagners *Encyclopädisches Register zu Schopenhauers Werken*. Karlsruhe 1909. Ein für die neuere Schopenhauerforschung unentbehrliches, nicht hinreichend gekanntes Werk.

nen Zusätze und alle sonstigen Abweichungen berichtet ein zweiter Anhang. Der Band enthält ferner die Schrift über den 'Willen in der Natur' mit den Abweichungen der ersten Ausgabe und den Zusätzen von Schopenhauers Handexemplar, und endlich die beiden Preisschriften über die 'Grundprobleme der Ethik' in derselben Textbehandlung. Dabei ist für die Untersuchung über 'die Freiheit des Willens' zum ersten Mal die bisher so gut wie unbekannte Drontheimer Ausgabe vom Jahre 1840 mitbenutzt worden. Die von Schopenhauer selbst veranstaltete Ausgabe erschien erst 1841.

Die Gesamtausgabe ist auf vierzehn Bände berechnet, von denen bis jetzt die ersten drei erschienen sind. Die buchhändlerische Ausstattung ist geradezu mustergültig und der Preis sehr gering. Mit besonderer Spannung können die demnächst erscheinenden Bände 9 und 10 erwartet werden, die zum ersten Mal die von Schopenhauer sorgfältig ausgearbeiteten Berliner Vorlesungen bringen. Jedenfalls dürfen die Herausgeber auf die neue Ausgabe stolz und des Dankes aller Schopenhauerforscher gewiss sein: denn nach ihrer Vollendung wird die bisher unerträgliche Lage der Schopenhauerforschung in eine nach jeder Richtung bevorzugte verwandelt sein.

Es ist merkwürdig, dass ein Zeitalter, welches nach eigenem Bekenntnis ganz unter dem Zeichen Immanuel Kants stand, es doch zu keiner befriedigenden Kantausgabe, die im Bereich des Privatmanns stünde, gebracht hat. Denn die Ausgaben von Rosenkranz und Hartenstein sind abgesehen davon, dass sie unzulänglich sind, seit geraumer Zeit vergriffen, die Kirchmannsche Ausgabe ist, trotz ihrer anerkennenswerten Anstrengungen in letzter Zeit, sehr ungleich, die neue Akademieausgabe ist schier unerschwinglich und Reclam bietet nur Einzelausgaben.

Unter diesen Umständen ist es mit Freude zu begrüßen, dass sich eine Reihe der hervorragendsten deutschen Kantforscher zusammen getan hat, um eine neue, vornehme, auch für den Einzelnen erschwingliche Kantausgabe zu schaffen.<sup>1</sup> Sie ist auf zehn Bände berechnet und zwei Ergänzungsbände, von denen der erste eine Darstellung des Lebens und der Lehre Kants von Ernst Cassirer und der zweite eine Darstellung der Einwirkung Kants auf Wissenschaft und Kultur von Hermann Cohen bringen wird. Die Textbehandlung geht selbstverständlich auf die Kantischen Urausgaben zurück und zwar auf die jeweils letzte Ausgabe, an deren Herstellung Kant selbst

<sup>1</sup> *Immanuel Kants Werke Gesamtausgabe in zehn Bänden und zwei Erläuterungsbänden.* In Gemeinschaft mit Hermann Cohen, Arthur Buchenau, Otto Buek, Albert Görland, B. Hellermann herausgegeben von Ernst Cassirer. Verlag von Bruno Cassirer, Bd. I. Vorkritische Schriften, herausgegeben von Arthur Buchenau p. 541.



noch mitgewirkt hat. Die Handschriften sind, soweit sie zugänglich waren, zum Vergleich herangezogen. Nur bei offenbaren Schreib- und Druckversehen ist die Lesart verbessert, die Änderung aber jeweils vermerkt. Für die Rechtschreibung und leider auch für die Zeichensetzung ist die neue Form gewählt. Eine Veränderung der Sprachform ist aber nur da vorgenommen wo das Verständnis des Sinnes es schlechterdings erforderte. Die buchhändlerische Ausstattung ist trotz des mässigen Preises ganz hervorragend.

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Festschrift Wilhelm Viëtor zum 25. Dezember 1910 dargebracht. Marburg. Elwert. 1910. pp. iv, 334. (Die neueren Sprachen, 1910, Ergänzungsband).

At each succeeding Festschrift one will echo the classic adage: *Quot homines, tot sententiae*. Having myself been honored with a like volume of "Studies" which ranged from the Middle Irish version of Bede's History to Contemporary American Philosophy, I can fully estimate a reviewer's helplessness. The Festschrift has only one element of unity, the recipient's personality. That alone converts a motley press of self-seekers into a procession of pilgrims bound Canterburywards, "The holy blissful martir for to seke." For every professor, in Germany or elsewhere, is more or less a martyr, though some are lucky enough to win the crown before joining the great majority.

Let me essay to give an idea of the general nature and scope of the present volume.

In Phonetics there are three papers by Bülbring, Meyer, Passy respectively. By far the weightiest is that by Meyer (Stockholm) on Lautbildung, pp. 166-248. At p. 170 there are X-ray prints of the vowels *o* and *i* in the author's North German pronunciation, and scattered through the remaining pages are numerous drawings of other vowel and consonant formations in German, Dutch, English, French, Italian, Swedish, etc. Bülbring's paper is on the Kehlkopfverschluss im Wortinnern in deutschen Mundarten; the dialects are Westphalian and its neighbors. Paul Passy gives specimens of Old French, reconstructed pronunciation, in phonetic transcription. The specimens are from the Strassburg oaths, the Sainte Eulalie, Saint Leger, Saint Alexis, Chanson de Roland, etc. It is certainly interesting to articulate these venerable monuments under Passy's guidance.

Thumb, Beobachtung und Experiment in der Sprachphysiologie, emphasizes the need of studying speech, in especial

faulty speech (Verlesen, Verschreiben, Verhören), by means of tests prepared beforehand and applied to the subject, instead of merely collecting such phenomena as happen to attract the observer's attention. The principle seems to me correct; if we are ever to have an experimental psychology of language, it must surely rest upon experimentation such as that employed in studying taste, smell, etc. Yet, after Wundt and his disciples have completed their experiments and tabulated results, have we really got the *Geist* of speech, correct or incorrect? I doubt it.

Hoffmann's *Zur Inschrift von Tune* is the sole contribution to Scandinavian philology. Hoffmann interprets the third line, *witadahalaiba* as "Gesetzes-Schützer" = Jarl; *witada* = Gothic *witōda* 'law' and *hlaiba* is not the familiar word for bread, but is connected with Gothic *hleibjan*, Otfrid's *liban* 'take care of.'

Also the sole contribution to German is Stengel's *Zwei Briefe Jakob Grimms*, and even of these few pages the lion's share is taken by a letter from Grimm to Tieck upon the Elizabethan drama and more especially upon the old play of *Jeronimo*.

French philology is more fully treated. Stengel prints a new fragment of the *Chanson of Garin le Loherain*, Wechsler interprets *Die Handlung des Misanthrope*, and Schneegans discusses the *Fuerre de Gadres* interpolation in the French romance of *Eustache of Kent*. Even here the Scottish Alexander Buik and the South English Kyng Alisaunder occupy five or six pages. The whole is an interesting study in sources and borrowings.

From Van Herp's brief communication, *Die Reform des neusprachlichen Unterrichts in Belgien*, we learn of a high distinction conferred upon Viëtor. In 1901 the Belgian Ministry of Public Instruction recognized the Marburg school as *la plus profitable* and Viëtor as *le principal protagoniste de la methode directe en Allemagne*.

The remainder of the volume is wholly in the field of English. Holthausen offers a few notes upon *Beowulf*, *Exodus*, and the *Rime Song*. Siebs, in fourteen pages, lays bare the composite structure of *Widsið* and controverts Müllenhoff's estimate of its value for the *Heldensage*. Luick touches upon syllabic *r*, *l*, *m*, *n* in Old English, as a sample from his forthcoming grammar. Jespersen submits an analysis, with copious citations, of the construction: for + subject + infinitive. The treatment is fuller than that in his *Origin and Growth* and answers the criticism in Zeitlin's *Accusative with Infinitive*. Franz's two pages on *Prosarhythmus*, *Wortform und Syntax* may, and I hope will, evoke discussion, for which I

have neither time nor space. The effect of sentence-flow (this is a safer term than sentence-rhythm or sentence-stress) upon morphology and syntax is a tricky phenomenon. Few scholars pay sufficient heed to the difference between serious writing and easy conversation. Everything that any Englishman may happen to write or speak seems 'to go'; but the question is not *so leichten Kaufes*. Kluge, in his remarks upon Gothic *saian*, *waian*, O. E. *sáwan*, *wáwan*, argues for Germanic *sējan*, *wējan*, and against *sēan*, *wēan*; that is, the verbs have a present stem in -*jo*, like O. S. *biddian*, *sittian*. Varnhagen's specimens of a Latin-English vocabulary from Harl. Ms. 1002, are a useful contribution to Middle English lexicography, supplementing and correcting the Oxford dictionary at several points.

The other English papers are literary rather than linguistic. Brie discusses the position of Lupton's *Sivqila* in Elizabethan literature and Koeppel traces the relations of John Day's *Peregrinatio Scholastica* to Spenser, Chaucer, and the *Gesta Romanorum*. Day's trick of ridiculing the would-be learned by making them mangle their classic phraseology, e. g., *desemble* for *as(s)emble*, *convide* for *provide*, Koeppel parallels with Dogberry. Now Dogberry is excellent at murdering the Queen's English, but so also is Mistress Quickly, not to speak of Bottom; the prince of pompous assassins, however, is Rombus in Sidney's *Lady of May*. To follow Eichler in *Die Rolle König Arturs in der englischen Volksüberlieferung* would be pleasant but somewhat hazardous. In the matter of good King Arthur one never knows where one is going to land. The spelling, p. 118, *T'yeer-na-n-oge*, Land of the (ever) Young, is wrong; no Irishman ever wrote or pronounced *t'yeer*. The correct form is *tír na nóg*, *t'yeer* being a clumsy English attempt to reproduce the pure phonetic *ī* followed by the 'slender' *r*. The most interesting of Ritter's *Lesefrüchte* is the collection of specimens of the rhetorical figure named in Sanskrit *Yathā-samkhya*. The best known instance is in M. S. N. Dream, III, i, 113-4:

And neigh, and bark, and grunt, and roar, and burn,  
Like horse, hound, hog, bear, fire, at every turn.

Schipper's paper on Shirley's *The Triumph of Peace* is a fragment of the author's work on Shirley in general, which has since appeared in the *Wiener Beiträge*. To turn Shirley's verses into German must have been a pretty *undankbare Arbeit*, for Shirley was more rhetorician than poet and in places yields more sound than sense. The opening of Song 6:

They that were never happy Hours  
Till now, return to thank the powers  
That made them so,

an unblushing compliment to King and Queen, is even hazier in the German:

Den Göttern danken jetzt wir Horen,  
Die nie bisher zum Glück erkoren,  
Und dies erlebt.

Schröer's *Prolegomena zu einer Enzyklopädie und Methodologie der englischen Philologie* are not light reading. If the mere *Prolegomena* occupy full twenty-three pages, how many will the theory itself require? And, after all, is there a *Methodologie of English*? There is a method, of course, in studying *Laut- und Formenlehre* and there may be something like a method in confronting the infinite phenomena of literature. But when one has got beyond the beginnings, one's wisest course is to follow one's individual bent and, through copious reading, become permeated with the spirit of the past. At p. 328 Schröer contrasts the *heiligen Ernst* of the German philologist with the self-oblivion of the English devotee who may perhaps break out suddenly with the invention of new flies for angling or improved cuff-buttons. Can this be a thrust at Furnivall? At any rate the question is scarcely to be taken up here. Schröer's paper ends with the outburst of the dying Faust:

Und so verbringt, umrungen von Gefahr,  
Hier Kindheit, Mann und Greis sein tüchtig Jahr.

The quotation may be applicable to the ideal professor in his later years. But the younger Dozent would derive more profit from Goethe's earlier exhortation:

Greift nur hinein ins volle Menschenleben!  
Und wo ihr's packt, da ist's interessant.

In conclusion one thought obtrudes itself. Why, in a German Festschrift, such predominance of English study? I raise the question, without attempting an answer. Viëtor is an admirable Anglist, witness his studies in the runes and in Shakespeare. Yet his labors in French and German are no less admirable. One may observe a like Anglican tendency in various *Zeitschriften* and *Studien* and *Beiträge* of mixed character.

J. M. HART.

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Essentials of Poetry. By Professor William Allan Neilson, Harvard University. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912.

Few books on this difficult subject have within recent years been more cordially welcomed than Professor Neilson's. Not to do injustice to its positive merits, the cordial welcome is perhaps primarily due to negative qualities,—the absence of eccentricity, of crabbedness, of any desire to exploit a theory of

the writer's at the expense of all other theories, or to force a new terminology upon the student. Related to these negative merits is the positive one of an analytical method which is neither superficial nor over-complex, and which is at every point supported by specific illustration. So generous is the last mentioned element that the book should prove profitable to the student of poetry through its study of representative passages, even if all the theories set forth should be considered untenable. The writer is consistent, then, in regarding his main purpose as being not so much to contribute to "a theoretical construction of the universe" as to assist in "clearing our vision and sharpening our sensibilities with a view to a more intense enjoyment of art."

The main thesis of the book may be stated briefly, almost in the author's words. Taking a famous dictum of Bacon as starting-point, according to which the faculties of the soul are said to be three, Memory, Imagination, and Reason, we may find in poetry three corresponding elements, imagination (which here has naturally the first place), reason, and—with a change of phrasing—the "sense of fact." Three tendencies in the history of poetry correspond to these three elements: romanticism being the tendency characterized by the predominance of the imagination, classicism by the predominance of reason, realism by the predominance of the sense of fact. The major portion of the volume is devoted to the exposition and proof of these statements. A second portion is devoted to what Professor Neilson calls the quality of Intensity in poetry, and to an analysis of the significance for poetry of the contrasted qualities of Sentimentalism and Humor.

The space at our disposal does not admit of any thorough examination of Professor Neilson's principal thesis, with the interesting ramifications of the discussion as it is related to the vexed question of definitions of classicism and romanticism. The most dangerous aspects of this question he skillfully avoids. Romanticism, for example, is everywhere sanely treated as a tendency, present in every age and in almost every poet; not as a "Movement," with definite chronological and personal limits,—the very existence of which careful students are increasingly tending to doubt. It is evident from a sentence in the Preface that one object of the discussion is to free the term "Romanticism" from the inclusiveness of meaning which has made it possible "to charge this phase of art with the whole burden of modern artistic sins,"—an allusion, no doubt, to such discussions as that of Professor Irving Babbitt, whose *New Laocoön*, stimulating and wholesome as it is, involves sweeping generalizations which have made students of the history of English poetry stare and gasp. Tending per-

haps to the other extreme, Professor Neilson would confine the term "romantic" to processes in which the element of imagination clearly predominates; and in demonstrating the plausibility of this limitation he exhibits great ingenuity and persuasiveness. If a suspicion is sometimes stirred up that he is begging the question, such a suspicion is almost inevitable in a discussion of this character; for the problem of artistic analysis always tends to complete a logical circle, starting with the assumption that  $a$  is  $x$ , and then proceeding to show that if  $a$  is  $x$  all those things which are true of  $x$  are true of  $a$ . In other words, if romanticism means imaginationism, wherever we find imagination hard at work,—in reviving the enchantments of the Middle Age, in emphasizing subjectivity, in developing naturalism,—we shall feel sure that we are using the term with real significance. And that Professor Neilson's discussion of the imaginative aspect of these commonly-treated phases of "romanticism" does enhance their significance, few will be found to deny.

It remains to note a few queries which the discussion of the threefold thesis has raised in the mind of the present reviewer. The first of these is due to the definition of *reason* as the basis of classicism. For this purpose, we are told, reason "includes the power of calculating proportions, of perceiving the relevant and the fit, of preserving harmony, of adapting means to ends, of ordering and arranging and selecting detail." Is it not fairly obvious that this statement has been framed with reference to the proposed application of the definition to what is called "classical" in matters of art, rather than as an uncolored account of what would be understood by the reason in opposition to the imagination? It admirably expresses what everyone feels to be involved in the efforts and products of the great classical artists; but was their framing of their material according to relevancy, fitness, harmony, and order, necessarily unimaginative? Was the imagination yielding to reason when the concept of the Parthenon was born? Is the imagination never orderly, without being faithless to its inmost nature? Such questions in no way impair the actual contrasts in types which Professor Neilson discusses; but they awaken dissatisfaction with the use of some of the terms. He has, no doubt wisely, avoided the effort to define the imagination exhaustively; but we must at least know whether he implies that Wordsworth and Coleridge were wrong in conceiving it to be involved in the highest degree in the process of structural creation. In other words, must we return to the conception of Dryden's age, that imagination and reason are essentially opposed?

A second query concerns the third division of the prob-

lem,—the “sense of fact” which results in realism. Again one must admit and emphasize that Professor Neilson’s discussion of this neglected element of poetry is fresh and illuminating. But it is a question whether one can be satisfied to make it coördinate with the other two elements,—imagination and reason. To take the first one: if the imagination involves memory, as psychology commonly teaches, as well as creative fantasy, how can it be altogether in opposition to the sense of fact? (Memory, it will be recalled, is Bacon’s term for Neilson’s “sense of fact.”) The point is brought out more distinctly in a comment on one of Burns’s love songs: its “imaginative atmosphere is evident” in certain matters of style, but at the bottom it is factual,—that is, it expresses “a very definite and human expression of longing for a definite and human girl.” Is the power, then, to reproduce and communicate this very definite personal longing not an imaginative power? And have we been in the wrong in regarding the development of realism as one of the most important by-products of the romantic imagination? Or, again, what of the conspicuous reaction from the love of the *general* characteristic of the “neo-classical” era, in the direction of the specific, the concrete, in the “romantic” era;—the individual flower, “the single tree that I have looked upon”? The relation here between memory and creation, between sense of fact and imagination, may be variously stated; but whatever it be, it would not seem to be one of contrast. Once more, in the chapter on “intensity,” discussing the opening stanza of *The Eve of St. Agnes*, Professor Neilson speaks of Keats as making “his sense of fact subserve his imagination,” and of his “unsurpassed power of combining these two elements.” Many of us would not think of them as separable elements. Is it possible that, for such purposes of contrast, the author has restricted the term imagination to its more transcendental or metaphysical meaning?

In like manner it might be questioned whether the “sense of fact” is not sometimes an element of the rational process, as truly as of the imaginative. But sufficient has been said to make clear the nature of the objection,—not to the separate discussion of the element of realism, but to making it coördinate with the two other members of the scheme.

A third and final query will take us into the second portion of the volume, where the quality of poetic “intensity” is discussed. It should be explained that the formulation of this theme is undertaken by Professor Neilson in part as a substitute for the discussion of the more conventional subject of the emotional element in poetry. Emotion is admitted to be a general source of poetic vitality in all types of the art, but

"the quality aimed at by such writers as Milton and Wordsworth" (when they use the terms "passionate" or "passion") is believed to be more fitly termed *intensity*. This quality, we are told, is most characteristic of the imagination, but is also predicable of the reason and the sense of fact: in the case of the reason it may stand for a "degree of clarity," in the sense of fact for "the degree of force and precision and fullness with which the fact is perceived or remembered." Finally, we read that this quality is necessary everywhere in poetry "in order to produce the 'elevating excitement of the soul,' the ecstasy in which for an instant we see things *sub specie æternitatis*." Now this, like all the rest, is highly stimulating, and some of the applications of the term—such as the perception of insufficient intensity in Landor and Gray, and the allegation that it was this quality which Arnold really meant in speaking of "high seriousness"—lead one at first thought to expect that it may turn out to be a clue to many things. But the present reviewer must confess that, the longer he has pondered it, the more vague it has become. If it is not inseparable from emotion, one looks for some other psychological fact to which it may be attached. But intensity, as Professor Neilson himself admits, is to be found in *any* element of experience; if, then, it sometimes amounts to very great clearness, and again to very great precision or very great force in the statement of fact,—is it then mere *veryness*, so to say? the quality of being striking, or perhaps simply of being excellent, in whatever direction? In this case, how can it be an element in any way characteristic of poetry? Unless, after all, the term drives us back to emotional stimulus, which the great body of criticism has persisted in believing to be fundamental in this subject. It is true that the term "emotion" has tended to become unsatisfactory, partly because of its being confined to matters more properly described by "sentiment" or "sentimentalism;" but Professor Neilson's account of these matters shows how careful distinctions may be made here. And the fact of emotional stimulus seems after all to be unescapable.

Perhaps the search for a new term may have been due to the difficulty in distinguishing emotion on the part of the poet and on the part of the reader,—two things not commonly discriminated. One of the permanent problems of poetic analysis is the proper statement of the relations between the imaginative and the emotional elements of poetry, elements which are sometimes (but wrongly) treated as co-ordinate, and sometimes (again wrongly) as identical. A definition attempted elsewhere by the present writer undertook to meet this difficulty by the phrases "with chief refer-



ence to the emotions and by means of the imagination,"—basing the distinction, that is, on the difference between means and end. Now Professor Neilson points out justly that "intensity" is attained usually by an imaginative process, but less commonly by other processes. If, as seems likely, he really means by this quality a marked capacity for stirring the emotions, we can then understand its significance. Emotional excitement on the part of the poet, expressing itself in an imaginative flash, is the most common means of stirring up emotion in the reader; but the same result may be attained, on occasion, by other means,—the pulse may be quickened by the logical beauty of a syllogism, or the vivid, though unimaginative, statement of a significant fact. But if it is quickened, if there is anything at all suggestive of "elevating excitement" or "ecstasy," the main process would seem to be emotional. Otherwise, indeed, could the very word "intensity" have any meaning?

Such queries as these may suggest a question whether the more conspicuous aspects of Professor Neilson's book, its attractively symmetrical classification of qualities, tendencies, and the like, have the value which the reader is at first led to hope for. Or they may only suggest a need for restatement and the more guarded use of terms. But in any event, as has already appeared, the real value of the discussion is not dependent upon these matters. The two concluding chapters, on Sentimentalism and Humor in poetry, which do not profess to furnish new formulæ or definitions, are perhaps the most certainly useful of all, dealing, as they do, with qualities everywhere needing tasteful discrimination. On the relation of humor to poetry practically nothing has been written earlier, and there can be little question of the general soundness of Professor Neilson's analysis. Last of all, the book has a good index, fit to guide the student to the right use of the contents.

RAYMOND MACDONALD ALDEN.

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ENGLISH TRAGICOMEDY: ITS ORIGIN AND HISTORY, by Frank Humphrey Ristine, Ph. D. New York. The Columbia University Press. (The Macmillan Company.) 1910. Pp. 247. \$1.50.

This work, with its clear introductory description of many elements of tragicomedy, begins well. The magnitude of the ground which it thereupon attempts to cover may be suggested by the following list of its principal topics: the Renaissance debate whether tragicomedy was sanctioned by classical authority; the tragi-comic character of much of the

medieval drama; the neo-Latin tragicomedy of the fifteenth and sixteenth century humanists; the early developments, as to theory and practice, in Italy, Spain, and France ("Pastor Fido," the cloak and sword drama, Garnier and Hardy); the beginnings of English tragicomedy (Edwards, Gascoigne, Whetstone, Lyly, Greene, Shakspeare); some transitional developments (domestic drama, comedy with serious moments, pastoral plays); the hey-day of the type (Beaumont and Fletcher, Shakspeare, Heywood, Middleton, Massinger, Shirley, Killegrew); the scarcity of noteworthy tragicomedies, except those of Dryden, during the Restoration; and their final disappearance in the eighteenth century; together with recurrent discussions of similar types of drama, of contemporary definitions and criticisms, and of works (even non-dramatic) incorrectly called tragicomedies. So huge a field could be profitably surveyed, in a doctorate thesis of some two hundred pages, only if its boundaries were definite, and if its many subdivisions had severally been studied by previous explorers. In this case, neither of these conditions existed. Besides Dr. H. C. Lancaster's *French Tragi-Comedy* and Professor A. H. Thorndike's *Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakespeare*, there were few special studies directly bearing upon the author's work; and he had often to depend for guidance upon such general histories as those of Ward and of Schelling. The time was not ripe for a thorough synthesis; and the superficiality of this survey is the fault not of Dr. Ristine, who has striven to achieve the impossible, but rather of his advisers, who encouraged a premature undertaking.

Inasmuch as it was determined to traverse so extensive an historical period, it would have been prudent to confine the meaning of the term tragicomedy within as strict limits as possible. But Dr. Ristine's conception of the term is, nominally at least, very broad indeed. Among the characteristics of the type he mentions the mixing of tragic and comic elements; independence of dramatic rules; an unreal, romantic, and exciting action; personages of high rank; the impending of disaster but the absence of death in the case of characters with whom the audience is expected to sympathize; and the happy ending. Yet none of these, not even the last, he insists, is present in each and every tragicomedy. At times he seems to include within the class any drama that is not unquestionably a tragedy or a comedy. In fact, he associates with the type some plays that leave one at the end with the feeling that moral justice has been done (pp. 13, 126, 131.)—which, logically carried out, would compel us to consider some of the greatest tragedies, tragicomedies. So wide a definition of course greatly increases the number of plays he must men-

tion, and correspondingly inhibits thorough criticism of more than a few. It forces him in many an instance to use his space, not in describing what sort of tragicomedy the play is, but in discussing whether it is a tragicomedy at all.

The absence of an essential criterion leads to perplexing sentences like the following: "The borderline between tragicomedy and romantic comedy in Shaksperian drama is at best an arbitrary one" (p. 85). "To establish definite criteria of our own that will at once be comprehensive and satisfactory for the separation of the form from tragedy and comedy is certainly impossible" (p. 114). "To admit within the pale all plays in which characters are brought near death, . . . is obviously impracticable; for in many of the broadest comedies tragi-comic devices abound—wounds inflicted and lives momentarily imperilled" (p. 122). Some pastoral, realistic, and domestic dramas of the seventeenth century are considered "by-paths" of tragicomedy (p. 148); but the sentimental comedy of the eighteenth century is called "very different" (p. 194), and the romantic melodrama, which possesses elements that Dr. Ristine elsewhere finds typical, is summarily excluded (p. 206). He is to be commended for constantly struggling to justify his classifications by contemporary evidence; but the fact that the term has in past ages been ambiguously and inconsistently employed, is not a convincing reason for so using it in a systematic treatise to-day. We are left in the end with the bewildered feeling that we have journeyed through chaos but not reduced it to order.

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ERNEST BERNBAUM.

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#### ENGLISH ELEMENTS IN JONSON'S EARLY COMEDY.

By Charles Read Baskervill. University of Texas, Studies in English, No. 1, April 8, 1911.

The present study is written in correction of a one-sided view of Jonson's art. Classicism is commonly assumed to be the source of this dramatist's inspiration and dramatic power. This truth has been overstressed, being interpreted by current criticism as meaning that Jonson owes everything to classicism aside from what was original in his own genius. Professor Baskervill, while not denying the Latin influence, has set himself the task of showing a greater indebtedness on Jonson's part to purely English sources than scholarship has previously been aware of. In accordance with this plan he examines with close scrutiny the six earliest comedies, among which he places *A Tale of a Tub* and *The Case is Altered*, comparing them with the work of the poet's contemporaries

and predecessors. It is not the author's purpose merely to prove what has long been acknowledged, that Jonson reflected the English life of his time, but to show in addition that his debt to English literary models was great. He concludes that "Jonson actually studied English literature and used the work of his predecessors according to the Renaissance formulae for imitation somewhat as he imitated Latin literature but less closely of course." The indebtedness, however, is shown to be "less to specific works used as sources than to certain specific trends in English literature." An amazing array of source-material is accordingly presented, showing Jonson's dependence upon English critical canons, his conventional treatment of certain elements of comedy previously utilized in English drama, such as the court of love and the duello, the likeness of tone in his comedies to that of current English satire, and his adherence to English conventions in the utilization of comedy types. For this purpose the three comedies, *Every Man in his Humor*, *Every Man out of his Humor*, and *Cynthia's Revels*, are especially rich in material.

Professor Baskervill reaches the conclusion that Jonson is rarely altogether original in ideas. "One inevitably comes to regard him as almost absolutely dependent upon tradition and precedent, upon the conservative attitude of his fellows." His English prejudice is to be observed especially in "the moral symbolism that underlies his treatment of characters and even of incidents." "The unusual originality of the man considering his age lies in his creation of classic form to suit his ideas, in the fresh combination of all the details that he uses, and in the mastery of dramatic construction and rhetorical excellence. Herein consists the supreme power out of which grew his influence."

Professor Baskervill's study is in the main convincing and the results are of distinct value. One feels at times that a smaller amount of material might have sufficed and that a more careful analysis and interpretation would be desirable. The treatment of the character of Macilente in *Every Man out* will illustrate the method followed. Macilente is a combination of the allegorical character of Envy, of the dramatic intriguer, and of the "malcontent." The author accordingly traces his prototypes in English literature in each of these roles. As a personification of Envy he is related to similar figures in *Piers Plowman* and *The Fairy Queen*, as an intriguer to the Envy of Medwell's *Nature*, as a malcontent he is anticipated by characters in Nashe, Greene, Lyly, and others. Professor Baskervill might have added the correspondence in certain details to the figure of Envy in Ovid, *Met.*, Bk. 2,

Fable 13. In spite of all these similarities the essential originality in Jonson's combination of the various roles and the production of a highly original figure out of them seems to the present reviewer a fact of still greater importance. There is, for example, little real similarity between Langland's conventional and unsympathetic description of Envy and Jonson's treatment of his character, of whom Carlo remarks: "Could the pumice but hold up his eyes at other men's happiness, in any reasonable proportion, 'slid, the slave were to be loved next heaven, above honor,'" etc. Too great stress, it seems to me, ought not to be laid on the fact that Jonson's work is thoroughly English in spirit and tone and conforms in the main to prevailing currents of English literature as proof of lack of originality. Playwrights of the Elizabethan period had little sentiment against borrowing. Jonson, it seems, like the rest seized eagerly on whatever material was at hand. He not only found much that was congenial in the accumulated store, but he frequently found it possible to accept the contemporary prejudice or point of view. Nevertheless the product is original in the sense that it is a satisfactory reflection of the man Jonson, the vigorous and sincere expression of a positive and genuine personality.

Aside from the service rendered to criticism by affording us a better understanding of Jonson's mind and art, Professor Baskervill's book is valuable for its massing of material bearing directly upon Elizabethan life and literary art. Future editors of Elizabethan plays will find it helpful in furnishing a background for their study.

Any adequate criticism of Jonson's characterization necessarily involves a study of his theory and practice with regard to the so-called humor types. Professor Baskervill has treated this subject historically, and has presented the most exhaustive and scholarly discussion of the matter that we have had, although naturally his results are not absolute. The conception of a humor did not begin with Jonson nor end with him. Moreover his own use of the term is not perfectly consistent or definite. Primarily the term humor meant for Jonson something more or less permanent in character or temperament, a trait of the inner man, yet at times it is applied to a "whim, fancy, or momentary inclination of whimsical or unstable characters," a use of the term which he elsewhere satirizes. Professor Baskervill traces the growth of the conception from its medieval use in medical science and literature through the work of Fenton, Lyly, Harvey and Nashe to that of Jonson. In its passage from the original meaning as applied to the supposed fluid constituents in the body to its later use

in Jonson it acquired by the way a variety of meanings, including disposition or characteristic inclination, vice, folly or affectation. Since Jonson used the term in all of these ways, it is evident that no definite meaning can be attached to the word in his work. The elder Knowell and Justice Clement in *Every Man in* are, for example, humor characters in a very different sense from Philautia or Moria in *Cynthia's Revels*.

For a complete study of humor comedy the investigation should be carried forward from Jonson's time as well as backward. What relation to humor comedy have such characters as Mrs. Malaprop, Croaker, Micawber, or Sir Willoughby Patterne? How far is the comedy of Molière humor comedy? Is there, as a matter of fact, any absolutely fundamental idea attaching to the conception of humor beyond that of abnormality, departure from the ideal type as recognized by the best judgment of the civilized society of the time? If this is so, how far can humor comedy be philosophically distinguished from any other branch of the comedy of manners? It seems to me that Jonson's confident use of the term has led to the belief that the use of humors in comedy is a more distinct and novel method than the facts actually justify us in assuming. Jonsonian comedy is of course a different thing from Shakespearean, Fletcherian or Middletonian. It is strictly intellectual, it is didactic, earnest and satirical, it is lacking in charm and grace, it is supremely interested in character, which is sometimes distorted into caricature and stressed at the expense of plot. It is this combination of features that gives distinct character to Jonsonian comedy and not merely the use of humors, which has, I believe, been given a somewhat factitious importance in criticism.

In conclusion, it should be said that Professor Baskervill's main contention has been abundantly established, that the undertaking has been pursued with scholarly care and diligence, and that the book adds materially to our knowledge of Jonson's literary methods and affiliations.

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W. S. JOHNSON.

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Mediaeval Story and the Beginnings of the Social Ideals of English-Speaking People by William Witherle Lawrence, Ph. D., Associate Professor of English in Columbia University. Lemcke and Buechner. New York. 1911. \$1.50 net.

We have here a series of eight lectures delivered by Professor Lawrence at Cooper Union during February and March, 1911. In the first of the series, Professor Lawrence clearly

sketches the ground-work of ideas upon which the subsequent lectures are elaborated. His main point is that we may profitably study early racial or national contributions to our present-day civilization in such socially significant pieces of literature as the *Beowulf*, the *Chanson de Roland*, and the *Arthurian Romances*. In voicing the mind of a people rather than that of an individual such work has a cultural meaning broader but more readily appraised than the literature of more modern times. *Beowulf*, for instance, though in no sense a patriotic poem, "represents the foundations of the modern Anglo-Saxon character in its lofty spirit, its vigor, and its sincerity"; and the Roland reveals that "consecration to a higher ideal of Church and State which was not the least of those elements in the French character which, in spite of much that was selfish and sordid, quickened the life of the English into new vigor after the Conquest, and made possible their later achievements in the years to come."

The lectures are, of course, conditioned in style and point of view by the circumstances under which they were given. Quite properly avoiding debate and omitting the apparatus of scholarship, they do not challenge the critic to a discussion of disputed points. Certainly Professor Lawrence's cautious scholarship more than entitles him to waive such discussions in a volume like this. Any omissions of the kind are amply atoned for by a broad and stimulating treatment of epic, romantic, and popular matter. The book is sure to reach a larger audience than that for which it was originally designed. We are inclined to associate it with Professor Ker's studies and sundry luminous essays of Gaston Paris, although the latter often make their appeal to minds of not a little preparedness in scholarship. We see no reason why the volume should not find a place in college classes; we commend it to those afflicted with scholarly myopia; and we can testify that to at least one instructor it has brought refreshment and much interesting speculation about the larger meanings of mediaeval literature.

H. S. V. JONES.

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Materials for a Study of Spenser's Theory of Fine Art. Ida Langdon, M.A. Ithaca, N. Y. 1911.

This thesis falls into two parts: a collection of Illustrative Passages, which are the 'materials' mentioned in the title, and an Introduction, which outlines the more important inferences to be drawn from them. The term 'fine art' is used in its widest possible extent, to cover not merely architecture, painting, music, etc., but poetry, needle-work, and landscape gar-

dening. The writer makes no pretence to scientific thoroughness: her aim is simply to gather under convenient headings the scattered utterances of Spenser that bear on this vast subject and to comment on them informally.

To do even this with really adequate definiteness and discrimination would perhaps demand more training in critical theory than could be expected of a candidate for the M.A. It is not surprising, therefore, that Miss Langdon's work is in some points unsatisfactory. For one thing, she has not sifted her material with sufficient thoroughness: too much of it has little or no bearing on her topic. What, for instance, are we to make of the following lines, which appear under the heading 'passages illustrative of the general notion of 'form' '?

And therein sate a ladie passing faire  
And bright, that seemed borne of angels brood,  
And with her beautie bountie did compare,  
Whether of them in her should have the greater  
share. F. Q. 4. 3. 39.

And what use are we to find for the two sole passages that appear under the heading 'golden mean' and that express the Aristotelian doctrine of ethics? Such alien matter is simply an obstruction to understanding. Another defect (though this concerns, not the soundness of the work, but only its convenience for use) is that the various groups of illustrative passages are arranged according to the alphabetical order of their headings. This plan would be satisfactory if the headings were all, like 'comedy' or 'painting', inevitable; but of course they are not. If one is in search of embroidery or tapestry one must grope about till the eye lights on "needle-work," and if one wishes to find what is recorded of Spenser's attitude toward the past, one must drift down nearly the whole list from 'architecture' to 'workmanship' before unearthing it under 'respect for antiquity.' A more serviceable plan would surely have been classification according to logical relations—such a plan, for instance, as that followed in the introduction. This introduction is unpretentious and, in the main, good. It is marred here and there, however, by misunderstanding or twisting of Spenser's text. Under the topic of inspiration, for example, we read:—"The celestial rage of love" also inspires the poet: he is filled by it with "furious insolence," until he feels himself in the enviable case of one "ywrapt in spright." The phrases quoted are not among the Illustrative Passages: one has to know Spenser of old to remember that they are from *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*. There, however, they are widely separated. The



first (l. 823 f.) is from the panegyric of Love; the second and third (l. 622 f.) are from the panegyric of the veteran Queen Elizabeth. The point is perhaps unimportant, but in a study which necessarily rests on the critical analysis of quotations one might expect greater care in the application of them.

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R. E. NEIL DODGE.

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The Complete Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, Now First Put into English by John S. P. Tatlock and Percy MacKaye. Illustrations by Warwick Goble. The Macmillan Company. New York. 1912. \$5.00 net.

Romance, Vision, and Satire. English Alliterative Poems of the Fourteenth Century. Newly Rendered in the Original Metres by Jessie L. Weston. Houghton Mifflin Company. 1912. \$1.25 net.

These volumes present two notable additions to the rapidly increasing number of modernizations of mediaeval literature. Such attempts to make our earlier literature more generally familiar should be heartily welcomed. Particularly desirable are modern renderings of the difficult alliterative poetry of the fourteenth century. But even in the case of Chaucer, who to the student of English soon becomes in the main pretty easy reading, a painstaking transcript into present-day English has undeniable value. It should unquestionably make Chaucer familiar to many cultivated persons who, but for such a version, would know him only by name.

In Miss Weston's *Romance, Vision and Satire* there are eight titles. Not counting the Prologue to *Piers Plowman*, of which texts A and B are given, we note that three out of the six remaining poems are given only in part. *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, *The Adventures of Arthur at the Tarn Wadeling*, and the *Pearl* are complete. On the other hand, in the case of the *Morte Arthure* we have only two small fractions of the whole in the passage describing a dream of Arthur, which extends from l. 3206 to l. 3455, and that recounting the death of Gawain, which extends from 3858 to 3898 of the Middle English poem; in the *Cleanness*, only the account of Belshazzar's feast beginning in the original at l. 1357 and running to the end of the poem; from the *Patience*, the story of Jonah, to be found between lines 61 and 344 of the original. Nowhere in Miss Weston's book are we explicitly told what parts of the original poems are reproduced, nor indeed that the poems are rendered only in part. That they are not presented entire may be implied in the sub-titles in each case.

But why should the truth be so darkly hinted? Many of the readers to whom Miss Weston's book particularly addresses itself will be misled, remembering the sub-title of the whole volume, *English Alliterative Poems of the Fourteenth Century*, and, perhaps, this passage in the Preface:—"Since the original text of these poems is now unintelligible save to scholars, they should be reproduced in their entirety, and in a verse form which preserves as much as possible the life and spirit that they once possessed. I have tried throughout to give a literal translation etc." There is no sign given here that what should have been done has not been achieved.

Nor do we think that Miss Weston has been less misleading in declaring that the poems are "rendered in the original metres." Whether or not her verse form "preserves as much as possible the life and spirit that they [the poems] once possessed," in the case of several of the poems we cannot by any stretch of language say that they are "rendered in the original metres." For instance, the stanzas of the *Middle English Morte Arthure* are unrhymed except at the end where the lines shorten; Miss Weston's fragmentary rendering is in couplets as far as the short lines. Even if we do not accept Luick's types for fourteenth century alliterative verse, we can hardly read the long lines of the *Morte* as iambic hexameters; and yet these, sprinkled with alliteration, are what Miss Weston gives us. And what shall we say to smooth pentameter couplets as "the original metre" of *Cleanness* and *Patience*? We wish that Miss Weston had preferred prose to verse.

Happily that was the preference of Professor Tatlock and Mr. Mackaye as the appropriate form of *The Modern Reader's Chaucer*. Those familiar with Chaucer's verse will, of course, find anything else a poor substitute. They will object to the blunt monosyllables that bring one up short just where one had grown accustomed to the easy grace of the final *e*. But, for all that, the Modern Chaucer, wherever we have sampled it, has a pleasant rhythm of its own. It is by no means a rule of thumb rendering; it seems to be faithful except where departures from the original were obviously justified. Too much praise can not be accorded the beautifully colored illustrations and the general format of the book.

H. S. V. JONES.

## KLEINE TEXTE FÜR VORLESUNGEN UND ÜBUNGEN

The series of texts, edited by Hans Lietzmann (A. Marcus und E. Webers Verlag, Bonn), to which the two numbers mentioned below belong was begun in 1904 to furnish theological texts for lecture room and seminar. Its scope however has since been widened to include literature and philology. Up to the present time more than a hundred numbers have appeared, all carefully edited and very reasonable in price.

Professor Bertsche's selections from the works of Abraham a Santa Clara include two sermons, three chapters from the interesting book *Huy! und Pfuy! Der Welt*, and the passage from *Judas Der Ertz-Schelm* that contains the famous poem *Des Antonius von Padua Fischpredigt*, which with some omissions and additions was included in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*. These well-chosen selections, amounting to only about forty-five pages, are sufficient to give one a good appreciation of this picturesque figure, Schiller's "prächtiges Original," the two-hundredth anniversary of whose death was observed about two years ago.

Edward Schröder in his edition of *Dietrich Schernbergs Spiel von Frau Jutten* gives a good text and a brief introduction with mention of the most important literature on this unique play.

Besides these two texts there are other numbers in this series which relate to German literature, viz. No. 63 (*Goethes erste Weimarer Gedichtsammlung mit Varianten*), No. 73 (*Die Quellen von Schillers und Goethes Balladen zusammengestellt*), No. 90 (*die Quellen von Schillers Wilhelm Tell*), No. 92 (*Mittelhochdeutsche Novellen*) No. 93 (*Schillers Anthologie-Gedichte*) No. 96 (*Der Franckforter 'Eyn deutsch Theologia'*) No. 100 (*Goethe's Römische Elegien*) No. 101 (*Frühneuhochdeutsches Glossar*) No. 106 (*Das niederdeutsche Neue Testament*) No. 107 (*Herders Shakespeareaufsatz*).

*University of Illinois.*

N. C. BROOKS.

No. 67, *Auswahl aus Abraham a S. Clara*, herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. Karl Bertsche, 1911 (M. 1).

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## DIE FRAUEN UND DIE FRAUENVEREHRUNG IN DER HÖFISCHEN EPIK NACH GOTTFRIED VON STRASSBURG

Die Nachfolger der grossen höfischen Dichter lassen sich in drei Gruppen einteilen. Die erste Gruppe umfasst diejenigen, die in der Form und in Bezug auf den Stoff die höfischen Dichter genau nachahmen oder in die Wege der alten Spielleute wieder einlenken, und deren Phantasie aus den Volksagen genährt wurde; zu der zweiten gehören die, welche religiöse Stoffe auf höfische Weise behandeln; zu der dritten diejenigen, die unter dem Einfluss der Didaktik stehen. Manche haben das äussere höfische Ideal ziemlich vollständig wiedergegeben; alle Dichter nehmen es sich zum Vorbild, lassen sich aber von der Volkspoesie oder von ihren religiösen Absichten beeinflussen und schreiben nicht rein höfische Dichtung, sondern Spielmannspoesie oder religiöse Gedichte nach höfischer Manier und so kommt es, dass jede ihrer Dichtungen in irgend einer Beziehung—und gewöhnlich auch sehr entschieden—von dem höfischen Ideal abweicht.

Mit Ausnahme von Meier Helmbrecht, der für sich allein steht, würde dann die hier vorgeschlagene Gruppierung zu der folgenden Aufstellung führen. I. Die höfischen Nachahmungen (a). Die rein höfischen Gedichte: vom Pleier, "Meleranz", "Garel von dem blüenden Tal", "Tandereis"; vom Stricker, "Daniel von dem blüenden Tal"; und der sogenannte "Gauriel von Muntabel". (b) Dichtungen mit Elementen aus der Volkspoesie: "Reinfried von Braunschweig"; "Apollonius von Tyrland" des Heinrich von Neustadt; "Mai und Beaflo"; "Flore und Blanscheflo"; und "Partonopier und Meliur" des Konrad von Würzburg. II. Religiöse Dichtungen. (a) Dichtungen mit höfischen Elementen: "Wilhelm von Wenden" Ulrichs von Eschenbach; "Die gute Frau"; und des Strickers "Karl". (b) Die Legenden: "Der heilige Georg" des Reinbot von Durne; Hugo von Langensteins "Martina"; Konrad von Würzburgs "Silvester". "Die goldene Schmiede", "Der heilige Alexius". III. Dichtungen unter dem Einfluss der Didaktik: "Das Frauenbuch" des

Ulrich von Lichtenstein; "der Winsbeke" und "die Winsbekin".

Diese Gedichte, die etwa 250,000 Zeilen umfassen, zeigen zur Genüge das Typische für diese ganze Periode.

\* \* \* \* \*

Inmitten der schweren Not des deutschen Volkes in der zweiten Hälfte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts, die durch das zügellose Raubrittertum und die ganze sittliche Versunkenheit der höheren Klassen, sowie durch den über seine Verhältnisse hinausstrebenden Bauernstand charakterisiert wird, erinnert sich der Dichter gern der herrlichen goldenen Zeit der höfischen Poesie und versucht, deren alte Ideale nachzuahmen. "Fast überall herrscht äusserliche Mode und kraftlose Nachahmungssucht, und nur wenige originelle Geister vermögen eine relativ selbständige Stellung zu behaupten" (Becker, R.: Dichtung und Wahrheit in Ulrich von Lichtensteins Frauendienst. Halle 1888. S. 2.). Der Dichter des Gauriel beginnt sein Gedicht mit einem Rückblick auf die gute alte Zeit. Er zeigt uns, dass das, was ehemals für Unglimpf gegolten hat, jetzt als ein Merkmal edler Jugend angesehen wird (1-19) und erwähnt dabei Gottfried, Wolfram und Hartmann. Der Dichter des Reinfrid rühmt das alte höfische Zeitalter im Gegensatz zu den rohen Sitten seiner eigenen Zeit. Er klagt, dass die Ritter, sobald sie heiraten, "sich verliegen", und an Turnieren zu Ehren der Frauen nicht mehr teilnehmen, weil ihnen die Ruhe daheim lieber ist (12520). Konrad von Würzburg (Herzmäre 1 ff.) behauptet, die Minne sei jetzt ganz anders geworden; er versucht denn auch nach Gottfrieds Art von "minniclichen dingen" zu erzählen (4-8), und die älteren Anschauungen von Liebe und Ehre seinen Zeitgenossen vor Augen zu führen.

Sogar der Stoff zeigt, wie sehr diese Dichter sich für das höfische Epos interessierten. Sie schreiben neue Artusgedichte, und erfinden neue Helden, wie Daniel und Gauriel, die sie zu Rittern an Artus' Hof machen. Der Pleier ahmt Hartmann in Äusserlichkeiten genau nach (Bartsch: Melelanz. Stuttgart 1861, S. 365.), ebenso auch der Dichter des "Gauriel" (Roszko's Untersuchungen S. 71. Leinberg 1903). Hartmann zeigt die allgemeinen Tendenzen der höfischen

Dichtung; seine Episoden und Ausdrücke sind deshalb leicht nachzuahmen und finden sich in einer ganzen Anzahl von Gedichten dieser Periode. Die Ähnlichkeit dieser späteren Dichtungen mit denen des Hartmann in Hinsicht auf die Episoden und Ausdrücke ist leicht erkennbar, aber ein ausführlicher Vergleich würde zu weit führen.

“Apollonius von Tyrland” ist eigentlich nur eine Sammlung von ritterlichen Abenteuern nebst solchen aus der Volksdichtung. Andere Gedichte, wie die Legenden, sind in Hinsicht auf einzelne Ähnlichkeiten unter die höfische Dichtung zu rechnen. Diese Äusserlichkeiten treten besonders in Bezug auf die Behandlung der Frauen zutage, weil diese den Mittelpunkt des höfischen Frauendienstes bildeten. Während die Männer ebenso wie in ihren äusserlichen Lebensverhältnissen auch in der Dichtung schon früh den höfischen Anstrich verlieren, haben die wichtigeren Frauengestalten in jedem Gedicht in irgend einer Eigenschaft eine Ähnlichkeit mit denen der höfischen Dichtung. Die Behandlung dieser höfischen Elemente und ihre Weiterentwicklung—wie sie sich verändern oder ganz verschwinden—ist eine dreifache.

Zuerst wollen wir die mehr äusserlichen Einzelheiten in der Beschreibung der Frauen betrachten—Schönheit, hohe Geburt, “zuht” und “tugent”, höfische Sitten und Gebräuche, die in allen hier berührten Gedichten fast ebenso dargestellt werden wie in der klassischen höfischen Dichtung, und die sich auch leicht beibehalten lassen selbst da, wo grössere Veränderungen der Lebensanschauungen stattgefunden haben; zweitens, solche Elemente, wie das Lob der Frauen, den Frauendienst selbst, die Verteidigung bedrängter Frauen, die Herrin und den Lohn—welche trotz Beibehaltung der äusseren Form des höfischen Frauendienstes, sogar in den genauesten Nachahmungen dieser höfischen Ideale die unhöfischen Gesinnungen der Zeit zeigen; drittens, die Elemente, die den gänzlichen Verfall der höfischen Ideale und das Entstehen des Realismus darstellen.

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## I.

*Die äusserlichen Elemente.*

Soweit die Dichter überhaupt eine Beschreibung der Frauen bieten, machen sie ganz im Geiste der höfischen Dichtung (jedoch mit Ausnahme der schlechten Frauen und einiger aus den niederen Ständen) die Schönheit zu einem allgemeinen Attribute des weiblichen Geschlechtes. Sogar in den religiösen Gedichten sind die wichtigeren Frauengestalten schön. "Meier Helmbrecht" weicht in dieser Beziehung allein von den Dichtungen dieser Periode ab; nur auf die einmal erwähnte Nonne wird dieser Ausdruck angewendet.

In ihren Schilderungen bedienen sich die Dichter nicht selten übertriebener Ausdrücke — jede Frau ist die allerschönste, die allerherrlichste — häufig ist der Vergleich mit Engeln. Besonders in Bezug auf die Jungfrau Maria wird diese Art der Beschreibung gern angewendet. Die Dichter scheinen die körperliche Schönheit als unbedingt erforderlich für die Frauen zu betrachten. Doch fehlt überall (wie bei den Klassikern) Anschaulichkeit, denn die Dichter beschränken sich auf die Darstellung einzelner Teile des Körpers und wir erhalten kein Gesamtbild. Alle Frauen sind schön, aber ob sie alle gleich aussehen, oder ob sie von einander verschieden sind erfährt man nicht. Selbst die ausführlichsten Beschreibungen sind ganz allgemein gehalten, und nur in den Gedichten, die dem Artuskreise nicht angehören, nehmen bestimmtere Schilderungen grösseren Raum ein. Die Farbe der Augen wird zum Beispiel nur einmal erwähnt (Apol. 15049). Das Haar wird ganz im Geschmack der Zeit fast immer als goldfarbig, häufig auch als lang und gelockt beschrieben. Nur ein einziges mal wird braunes Haar gerühmt. (Beaflor 9:34), und Ulrich beschreibt seine zweite Herrin als eine Brunette (Frauendienst 1619). Die Kleidung der Frauen ist, sogar in den religiösen Dichtungen, getreu dem höfischen Muster, immer als schön und kostbar geschildert.

Ein mit wirklichem Geschick angewandter Kunstgriff ist die indirekte Darstellung der Schönheit mittelst der Beschreibung ihrer Wirkung auf andere. Flordibel ist z. b. von so ausserordentlicher Schönheit, dass Tandereis vor ihr sprach-



los und stumm dasteht (Tand. 1292). Frauenschönheit kann grausame Herzen mild und harte weich machen (Reinf. 2129). Die Schönheit ist in den weltlichen und auch in den religiösen Dichtungen die indirekte Voraussetzung und Veranlassung zu der Minne. Meleranz verliebt sich sogleich in Typtomie wegen ihrer Schönheit (Meleranz 834). Ebenso Reinfrid in Yrkane (Reinf. 390). Die Königin von Aschalon sei zur Minne geschaffen (Reinf. 23100). Auch die Schönheit der Maria ist solcher Art, dass die "himelvürsten" sich in sie verlieben würden (gold. Schmiede 586). In dieser Beziehung erinnert diese Minne an die höfische: sie folgt notwendigerweise auf die Schönheit, ist jedoch ohne Sünde. Auch da, wo diese Schönheit durch die Umstände, wie z. b. durch grosse Leiden und Schmerzen stark beeinträchtigt wird, verfehlt sie ihre Wirkung nicht. (Flore u. B. 6868; Tand. 8097). Bene ist schön in ihrem Elend (Wilhelm v. Wenden 4315), auch als ältere Frau und Mutter eines achtzehnjährigen Jünglings (4737).

Die Beschreibung der äusseren Schönheit hat jedoch in einigen Fällen geringe Veränderungen erlitten. In manchen Gedichten ist die Schönheit schon nicht mehr unter allen Umständen möglich. Irekel, sagt der Dichter, wäre hübsch, wenn sie ordentlich angezogen wäre. (Part. 8632). Jetzt sind schöne Kleider notwendig (Frauenb. 601 : 10); keine Frau ist so schön, dass hässliche Kleider sie nicht hässlich machen würden (Frauenb. 605 : 7). Ulrich preist jetzt schliesslich (Frauendienst 1755) die "güete" über die Schönheit, die Frau ohne "güete" ist wie eine schöne Blume ohne süssen Geruch. Selbst wenn eine *gute* Frau keine körperlichen Reize besitzt, ist sie trotz alledem schön, und keine Farbe steht der Frau so schön wie die "güete".

Die Frauen in der klassischen höfischen Dichtung sprachen selten auf unhöfische Weise, vielmehr mit "zuht" und "süeze". Das findet man auch meistens in den Gedichten dieser Periode. An Stelle der "zuht" tritt aber jetzt in einigen Dichtungen die Religion, und in der Darstellungsweise der Frauen und ihres Benehmens macht sich ein recht starker Naturalismus bemerkbar (Georg 4164). In den religiösen Gedichten wird die höfische Eigenschaft der "tugent"

—jetzt aber mit starkem religiösen Anstrich—besonders hervorgehoben (Wilhelm Wenden 657, Alexius 217, Martina 3: 96). Dies geschieht besonders mit Bezug auf die Jungfrau Maria, deren Tugend niemand genug loben kann (Georg 2774, Gold. Schmiede 242, 1972). Auch das Ideal, das die Winsbekin ihrer Tochter vorhält, ist die Tugend.

Die meisten höfischen Sitten und Gebräuche mit Bezug auf die Frauen sind in den Gedichten zu finden, die ihren Stoff aus dem Artuskreise schöpfen; hier lassen sie sich in sehr grosser Anzahl verzeichnen. Die Sitten, die im "Frauendienst", im Tristan, und in der "Herzmäre" zur Darstellung kommen, zeigen alle das Verhältnis des überspannten Frauendienstes. Diese Dichter kümmern sich nicht allzusehr um das äusserliche Leben noch um die gesellschaftlichen Formen im täglichen Verkehr zwischen Frauen und Männern, sondern nur um die Minne und deren Befriedigung.

Die anderen weltlichen Gedichte bewahren auch viele der äusserlichen Sitten des höfischen Lebens. Der Dichter des Reinfried, dessen bewusste Absicht es war, ein höfisches Gedicht herzustellen, beschreibt die meisten dieser höfischen Sitten. Der Dichter des Apollonius jedoch schwelgt am liebsten in der Schilderung der Wunder des Morgenlandes, und erwähnt nur solche heimische Sitten und Gebräuche, die sich mit seinen Abenteuern in Einklang bringen lassen. Obgleich die drei Gedichte, Mai und Beaflo, Flore und Blanscheflo, und Partonopier unter die höfischen Nachahmungen gerechnet werden, sind die höfischen Elemente bis auf einige Spuren daraus verschwunden. Einige ganz allgemeine Sitten in Bezug auf die Frauen werden berührt, z. b. die Frauen wohnen den Turnieren bei (Mai und Beaflo 7:19), und danken den Rittern für ihre Tapferkeit; viele Frauen erscheinen am Hofe (71:5), bei Tische sitzen die Gäste in bunter Reihe (8:27; 85:35). Im Flore und Blanscheflo gebraucht der Dichter gar oft das Wort "amie" (1430, 2496 usw.). Irekel tadelt Partonopier wegen der Unhöflichkeit, sie so lange stehen zu lassen (Part. 10838). In Vertretung des Landesherrn schlägt Meliur Partonopier zum Ritter (11880); während des Turniers sitzt sie in einem Turme, um dem Kampfe zuzusehen (13458); um sich einen Mann zu wählen, schickt sie einen

Boten in alle Länder aus (1816). Ferner verlangt Meliur, Partonopier solle zuerst "ritters namen" erwerben, ehe sie ihn heiraten wolle (1901), und bei der Hochzeit findet ein herrliches Fest statt (17400).

In allen religiösen Gedichten leben zwar die Sitten und Gebräuche weiter, treten jedoch spärlicher auf und sind für den Dichter bloss das Mittel, seinem Werke einen höfischen Anstrich zu geben. Sie bilden nur den Rahmen für rein religiöse Motive. Einige Dichter machen jedoch etwas ausgiebigeren Gebrauch davon, z. b.: Wilhelm von Wenden ist ein Fürst, an dessen Hof Ritter und Frauen ein glänzendes Leben führen, und wo höfische Sitten herrschen, und Turniere "ze wirdekeit" der Frauen häufig stattfinden. Der Dichter erzählt, wie sich Wilhelm, noch vor dem Tode seines Vaters, mit einer Prinzessin verlobt, die ihm in sein Land gebracht wird, und der zu Ehren er ein grosses Fest veranstaltet (70). Nach höfischer Sitte empfängt Bene selbst die Gäste auf dem Feste (1406) und beschenkt Arme und Reiche (1631). Weil es dem höfischen Brauche entgegen gewesen wäre, sich früher als die Frauen niederzusetzen, wartet Wilhelm, bis diese alle Platz genommen haben (1518). Nach französischer Art sitzen die Gäste bei Tisch in bunter Reihe (1522), und Bene wird das Wasser erst dann gereicht, nachdem es allen anderen Frauen angeboten worden ist (1512). Auch der Dichter "der guten Frau" liebt die äusserlichen Formen des Frauendienstes: der Ritter will "siner vrouwen" (24) durch Turniere dienen und bittet um Urlaub, um auf Abenteuer zu ziehen (403); denn der Ritter darf sich nicht "verliegen" (449), und zum Lohne begehrt er ihre Minne (480).

In den Legenden kommen auch höfische Sitten und Gebräuche vor. An Daziens Hofe finden Turniere statt (Georg 2253). Dazien übergibt Georg der Kaiserin (2392), die ihn bei der Hand nimmt und ihn in ihre Kemenate führt (2460), wo viele schöne Frauen sind, von welchen eine Jungfrau ihm zu Ehren zur "welschen fidel" singt. Die Kaiserin lässt Georg nach "französischer sitte" an ihrer Seite speisen. In Bezug auf diese hohe Auszeichnung sagt der Kaiser, Georg möge sich freuen, denn die Kaiserin erweise ihm dadurch eine grosse Ehre, die er nur dulde, da es Sitte ihrer Heimat

sei (Georg 2506). Daziens Worte beweisen, dass diese Gewohnheit wohl nicht damalige Sitte war, wenigstens nicht in den ihm bekannten Landen (sonst wäre diese Erklärung unnötig), und das ganze ist wohl nur ein Rückblick auf die höfische Sitte. In den meisten Legenden aber ist die Schönheit das einzige höfische Merkmal, welches übrig geblieben ist.

Ausserhalb der Artusgedichte gibt der Dichter im grossen und ganzen den Sitten und Gebräuchen überhaupt diejenige Form, welche seinen Zwecken und der Wirklichkeit am meisten entspricht, und stellt das Verhältnis zwischen Männern und Frauen in einem weit natürlicheren Lichte dar. Höfische Sitten und Gebräuche haben jetzt manchmal einen anderen Wert als vormals oder sind nicht mehr Sondergut der ritterlichen Etiquette. Im Gegensatz zur früheren Sitte redet Meliur Partonopier nicht mehr mit "ir" an, obgleich der Ritter diese Höflichkeitsform immer gebraucht. Auch gilt in diesem Gedicht der Kuss nicht mehr als höfische Sitte, sondern als Ausdruck der Liebe oder der Minne (Part. 1708), und Meliur klagt, sie dürfe Partonopier vor den Leuten nicht mehr küssen (17374) noch loben (15204).

Die Darstellung des Lebens in dem Winsbeken und in der Winsbekin ist auch vorwiegend realistisch. Was sich von den alten konventionellen Formen erhalten hat, ist von geringer Bedeutung. Die konkreten Bestandteile dieser Dichtungen scheinen der Wirklichkeit entnommen zu sein, aber leider wird diesen Dingen wenig Raum gewährt, worauf zurückzuführen ist, dass auch die äusseren konventionellen Formen des Rittertums nur geringe Beachtung finden. Die Ansichten der Winsbekin sind in manchen Beziehungen natürlicher als die rein höfischen. Sie meint, die edle Frau habe keine Aufsicht nötig, um sich vor Unehre zu bewahren, denn sie könne sich selbst hüten (291); Überwachung von seiten Anderer kränke das Ehrgefühl der Frauen und erreiche nicht einmal den beabsichtigten Zweck. Die Minne solle von Herzen kommen, sie könne nicht von aussen erregt werden (311).

"Das über seinen Stand hinaus strebende Bauerntum und ein unter seinen Stand versunkenes Rittertum wird (im Meier Helmbrecht) derb naturalistisch . . . doch zugleich mit einem wehmütigen Rückblick auf eine vergangene bessere

Zeit dargestellt" (Vogt in Pauls Grundriss II<sup>2</sup>:211). Lemberslint empfängt Gotelinde auf höfische Weise (Meier Helmbrecht 1461) "wilkomen frou Gotelint". Der Dichter sagt, die Hochzeit der beiden übertreffe die Herrlichkeit an Artus' Hofe (1478). Auf die "hube" des Helmbrecht stickte die Nonne ein Bild aus dem höfischen Leben (97); und der alte Helmbrecht schildert das höfische Treiben seiner Jugend, wo die Frauen am gesellschaftlichen Leben teilnahmen und den Turnieren beiwohnten (925). Die höfische Sitte nachahmend, sagt der junge Helmbrecht: (328) ich wil mich nicht durch wîp verligen. Diese Schilderungen sind aber eigentlich keine echt höfischen Darstellungen. Mit dem Verfall des Rittertums geht auch die höfische Sitte zu Grunde, und in den Nachahmungen der hochmütigen Bauern wird sie direkt zur Verzerrung. Die Schönheit, die auch in diesen Dichtungen immer noch eine wichtige Rolle spielt, wird hier kaum erwähnt und wo dies geschieht, fehlt jeglicher Anklang an die frühere Wertschätzung. So könnte man sagen, dass die ganze Schilderung des ritterlichen Lebens hier fast an Karikatur streift.

\* \* \* \*

## II.

### *Die wesentlicheren Elemente des Frauendienstes.*

Trotzdem die meisten von diesen Dichtern noch grossen Nachdruck auf die äusseren Formen der Frauenverehrung legen und sich in ihrer Darstellung der überbrachten Ausdrucksweise der höfischen Dichter bedienen, erkennen wir doch aus ihrer Schilderung der wesentlichen Elemente eine durchgreifende Veränderung in der Gesinnung der Zeit. Denn obwohl die äusserliche Form oft die alte bleibt, ist der Geist, der das Verhältnis zwischen Männern und Frauen beherrscht, ein ganz anderer geworden.

Wie die Klassiker des Mittelalters erteilen viele Dichter dieser Periode den Frauen reichliches und begeistertes Lob. In der Mehrzahl der weltlichen Dichtungen macht sich hierin kein sehr grosser Unterschied bemerkbar. Die didaktischen Dichtungen bieten aber weniger Gelegenheit, die Frau zu loben, was auch dem naturalistischen Ton dieser Dichtungen zuwider ist. Doch hat der Dichter keineswegs die Achtung

vor dem weiblichen Geschlechte verloren, und aus dem Rückblicke auf vergangene Zeiten können wir im Winsbeken und in der Winsbekin deutlich die Trauer des Dichters um das Verschwinden der früheren Ideale heraushören. Als Verehrer der Frauen und als Vertreter der höheren Ideale der Minne preist der Winsbeke die Frauen in fast überschwänglicher Art (111).

Doch singen einige Dichter dieser Periode ihr Lob aus ganz anderem Grunde, nämlich aus einem religiösen. Man solle sie ehren, weil der liebe Gott eine Frau zur Mutter erkoren; denn durch diesen Umstand sei die Stellung der Frauen erhöht worden (Martina 94 : 78). Selbst in den abhängigsten Nachahmungen, sowie in den Legenden ist das Lob der Frau nicht mehr unbeschränkt. Der Pleier sagt ausdrücklich (Tand. 17461), er ehre nur die guten Frauen. Ulrich schränkt sein Lob der Frauen am Ende seines "Frauendienstes" ein und lobt jetzt nicht mehr alle Frauen, sondern nur die guten (XXII:15).

Noch auffälliger ist der Wandel, der sich in dem sittlichen Wesen des Frauendienstes vollzieht. Das Verhältnis zu den Frauen verliert mehr und mehr seinen geistigen Charakter und wird schliesslich in die materielle Sphäre herabgezogen; gleichzeitig werden die unhöfischen Frauengestalten zahlreicher. Die weltlichen Gedichte, die ihre Themata der Artussage entnehmen, haben naturgemäss die äussere Form und teilweise auch das geistige Niveau bewahrt, während wir in den andern Gedichten dieser Gruppe einerseits Übertreibungen des höfischen Ideals, anderseits aber eine mehr natürliche Auffassungsweise treffen. Turniere zu Ehren der Frauen oder der Herrin im besonderen finden wir beschrieben auch in Gedichten, die ausserhalb des Artuskreises stehen. Mit dem Streben nach Ruhm, das einen so grossen Teil des ritterlichen Lebensideals ausmachte, verband sich bei diesen Dichtern wie bei den Klassikern das Gebot, den Frauen besonderen Schutz zu erweisen und sie in bedrängter Lage zu verteidigen. Hier aber wird diese Pflicht als eine Bürde empfunden (Dan. 1843). In den Artusgedichten dient der Ritter immer noch einer bestimmten Frau, aber diesen Frauendienst in seiner echt höfischen Form findet man nicht in den andern Gedichten. Die

Werbung um die Gunst einer Frau, die ungnädig ist, kommt nur in Ulrichs "Frauendienst" vor. Auch hier sowie im Tristan und in der Herzmäre ist der Frauendienst nicht mehr die alte, von seiten des Ritters selbstlose Aufopferung, sondern das Streben nach Minne, nach Befriedigung seines leidenschaftlichen Begehrens. Die Claudin-Kalubin Episode (Tand. 10557) zeigt zur Genüge, dass der Ritter nicht mehr bloss zum Zeitvertreib um die Gunst seiner Herrin wirbt, denn hier, da der erhoffte Lohn ausbleibt, rächt sich der Werber durch grobe Behandlung seiner Angebeteten. Auch Partonopier naht sich nicht als Flehender, er wirbt nicht lange um die Gunst seiner Herrin, sondern er fordert sie einfach und scheut sich nicht, mit Gewalt seinen Willen durchzusetzen (Part. 1566). Er lebt ganz seinen Neigungen und denkt nicht daran, irgendwie seiner Herrin zu gefallen, was er sich allerdings ersparen kann, da ihm diese grosses Entgegenkommen zeigt, anstatt ihn nach höfischem Gebrauche zuerst ungnädig zu behandeln.

Soweit der Frauendienst in den religiösen Dichtungen überhaupt noch vorhanden ist, tritt er in stark veränderter Form auf. Wilhelm von Wenden vollbringt seine abenteuerlichen Taten im Interesse der Religion, obgleich sie angeblich im Dienste der Frau geschehen. Er verlässt sie gegen ihren Willen (1107) und ohne ihre Erlaubnis (2411), ja, sogar ohne dass sie davon weiss. Als er nach langer Abwesenheit wieder mit ihr zusammenkommt, ist sein erster Gedanke ein religiöser: sie ist eine Heidin (7525), und er darf sie als seine Frau nicht wieder zu sich nehmen: alles dies ist dem Geiste des eigentlichen Frauendienstes zuwider. Auch in der "guten Frau" hat die Heldin durchaus keinen Gewinn durch diesen angeblichen Minnedienst. Ihr Gatte will ihr durch Turniere dienen (403) und zum Lohne möchte er nur ihre Minne bekommen, doch würde sie alles gern gewährt haben, wenn er bei ihr geblieben wäre. Dass er bereit ist, seine Frau zu verkaufen, beweist den vollständigen Niedergang der Frauenverehrung. Der Dichter des heiligen Georg ordnet gleichfalls seine höfischen Anschauungen dem religiösen Zwecke seines Gedichtes unter und besingt das himmlische Glück als das einzig erstrebenswerte auf dieser Welt. Alexius ist sogar fast

grausam gegen Mutter und Gattin, die er wegen "gotes minne" verlässt. (213)

In "Meier Helmbrecht" wird das alte höfische Ideal durch das Ideal des Raubrittertums verdrängt. Statt der Minne dienen die Ritter dem Wein (1001), der Mann, der die Frauen dem Weine vorzieht, ist nach der Meinung des jungen Helmbrecht ein Narr. In dieser Auffassungsweise können wir keine Spur mehr von dem ritterlichen Frauendienst entdecken. Im Partonopier, im Flore und Blanschefur, und im Georg ist die "zuht" in dem Benehmen des Mannes nicht mehr zu spüren; anstatt der zeremoniellen Hochachtung den Frauen gegenüber zeigt sich hier rücksichtslose Roheit.

Die didaktischen Dichter beschäftigen sich zwar nicht mit der Frage des Frauendienstes an sich, doch sprechen sie es unverhohlen aus, dass es einem edlen Manne gezieme, sich dem Dienste des schönen Geschlechtes zu widmen. Ulrichs Verhältnis zu seiner Herrin, die er im Frauenbuch erwähnt, ist rein höfisch. Er schreibt das Buch auf ihren Befehl. Sie ist ihm vor allen Frauen lieb, und er ist bereit, ihr in allem zu dienen, obgleich er erklärt, es sei nicht mehr Mode (609:15). Der Winsbeke behauptet: gar schlecht ist des Mannes Herz, das durch die Liebe zu einer Frau nicht geläutert wird (142), denn sie heilt alle Sorgen und bringt immer Ehre. Aber nicht nur Minne—nicht Minnedienst—betont der Dichter, sondern die Minne, die zu "rechter ê" (72) führt. Wenn Gott ihm eine Ehefrau gibt, solle er sie wie ein Kleinod hochschätzen und lieben (71). Die Winsbekin meint, die Minne sei die höchste Weltmacht, und sucht die Tochter von der alten idealen Minne zu überzeugen.

Obgleich diese Dichter den Versuch machen, den alten Idealen des Frauendienstes neues Leben einzuflößen, verrät doch Ulrichs Schilderung der realen Welt (im Frauenbuch) nur zu deutlich, dass die alte Auffassung in der Wirklichkeit bereits verschwunden ist. Er klagt über den Verfall des alten Frauendienstes, und die Frauen selbst klagen darüber: die Dame beschuldigt die Männer der rücksichtslosen Vernachlässigung, die sich nicht mehr der Schönheit und der "Güete" der Frauen freuen. Die Winsbekin warnt ihre Tochter vor den "valschen" Männern, die schöne Kleider tragen und



“süeze” Worte sprechen, doch dabei die Frauen betrügen (164).

Wie gross die Einbusse ist, welche die Frau an ihrer bevorzugten Stellung erlitten hat, erkennen wir vielleicht auch daran, dass die Frau nun manchmal wieder als die werbende auftritt. Antonie verlangt Tandereis zum Gatten, weil sie ihm das Leben gerettet (15846). Die Mohrin wirbt vergeblich um Apollonius und schleicht sich in der Nacht zu ihm (14205). Meliur lockt Partonopier zu sich, weil er ihr zum Manne ziemte (1830). Auch Iгла lockt Anschelm zu sich, ohne darauf zu warten, dass er um sie werbe. Sie verlangt seine Minne und sucht ihn durch List zu gewinnen (Part. 18010).

Vom Frauendienst im allgemeinen sagt Weinhold: “Der ritterliche Frauendienst galt vorzugsweise verheirateten Frauen . . . . und das Ziel des Verhältnisses war nicht die Ehe” (Deutsche Frauen im Mittelalter I : 230). In drei Gedichten—Frauendienst, Tristan, Herzmäre—wirbt der Ritter um eine verheiratete Frau, ohne dass das Ziel die Ehe ist. Ulrich von Lichtensteins erste Geliebte ist eine verheiratete Frau. Trotzdem er selbst eine Gattin hat, denkt er in seinem Unglück nur an die Herrin. Tristan wirbt um eine Jungfrau, die weisshändige Isolde, und nimmt sie nach dem damaligen Gebrauch zur gesetzmässigen Ehefrau. Aber trotzdem dient er zur gleichen Zeit der “blunden” Isolde, der Gattin des Königs Marke. Kaedin erstrebt die Minne der Kameline, doch begehrt er sie nicht zur Frau. Später gewinnt er die Minne der Frau eines Edelmannes, Nampotenis. Das erstrebte Ziel des Werbens ist jedoch in beiden Fällen weder die Minne der klassischen Poesie noch die Ehe. Aber in allen andern Gedichten, in denen ein Ritter um eine Frau wirbt, ist diese unverheiratet.

Nur in Ulrichs “Frauendienst” finden wir dieselbe Auffassung des Minnelohnes wie in der überspannten höfischen Dichtung. Meleranz z. b. gewinnt seinen Lohn, weil Tytomie sich in ihn verliebt; Tandereis erhält Flordibels Gunst, ohne irgend welchen Dienst: die beiden jungen Leute wachsen am selben Hofe auf und verlieben sich in einander. Sogar in Tristan ist keine Rede von Lohn, denn Isolde begehrt Tristans Minne ebenso sehr als Tristan die ihrige und gewährt

seinen Dienst oder Verdienst. In den übrigen Gedichten besteht der Minnedienst anscheinend gewöhnlich im Liebesgenuß, oder es tritt ein unbestimmtes himmlisches Glück an seine Stelle, wie in den religiösen Dichtungen. Das übersinnliche Ideal des Rittertums ist ganz verschwunden.

Gleich die Minne des Mannes oft mehreren, ja sogar vielen Frauen gilt, bleibt die der Frau einem einzigen in unwandelbarer Treue gewidmet, und in dieser treuen Liebe besteht der Hauptcharakterzug der meisten Heldinnen dieser Periode. Die Minne, welche z. b. Apollonius empfindet, gilt nicht nur einer Herrin, denn er wechselt die Geliebte, sobald er eine andere schöne Frau sieht; aber jede seiner Geliebten bleibt ihm treu.

Unter den Frauengestalten findet man den höfischen Typus reichlich vertreten: die bedrängte Frau, die schöne, zuverlässige Dienerin, die treue Gesellschafterin und Ratgeberin, die Jungfrau, die den Ritter aus Gefahr rettet, und die Herrin selbst. Alle diese zeigen die bekannten höfischen Eigenschaften, "zuht", "tugend", und "güete". Auch ausserhalb der Artusgedichte finden sich höfische Frauen. Blanscheflur z. b. zeigt keine besonderen Charakterzüge, die der höfischen Frau nicht eigen sind. Nach aussen ist Yrkane eine konventionelle höfische Frau. Sie verliebt sich in Reinfrid, aber sie lässt ihn nicht merken, wie sehr sie ihn liebt, und stellt sich, als ob sie seine Liebe nicht erwidere (3205). Der höfische Kuss aber, mit dem sie ihn als Sieger beim Turniere auszeichnet, ist auch zu gleicher Zeit ein Ausdruck ihrer herzlichen Liebe (2475). Die Darstellung des ruhigen Benehmens der Meliur, als sie Partonopier in ihrer Kammer findet, und ihre Forderung, Partonopier solle sie erst nach drei Jahren anschauen, sind für die überspannte höfische Dichtung charakteristisch.

Im "Frauendienst", im Tristan und in der Herzmäre bewegt sich das Leben der Frauen gänzlich in den Geleisen des überspannten Minnedienstes. Trotzdem Ulrich von Lichtensteins erste Herrin seinen Dienst zuerst verschmäht, ermutigt ihn ihr Verhalten zu weiterem Dienst. Die Attribute der hohen Geburt und der Schönheit sind beibehalten, aber Tugend und Treue in echt klassischem Sinne sind nicht mehr vorhanden. Die Treue dem Geliebten gegenüber führt so-

wohl im Tristan als in der Herzmäre zur Untreue gegen den Gatten. Kassie (Tristan 5748) ist z. b. eine verheiratete Frau, doch hat sie gleichzeitig einen Geliebten, den sie in der Abwesenheit ihres Gemahls empfängt. (6040). Wie auch bei Gottfried gewinnt Isolde Tristans Minne durch List gegen ihren Gatten. Nicht einmal, sondern viele Male wiederholt sich der Betrug. Isolde grüsst Tristan nur mit verstohlenen Blicken (2562). Der Dichter sagt, ihres Herzens Gruss sei nicht der Gruss, den ihm ihre Augen geben, die Tristan nur selten ansehen; denn sie fürchte, Marke werde Verdacht schöpfen. Nur zum Scheine will sie Marke treu bleiben. Die Heldin der Herzmäre ist ebenfalls nur dem Geliebten treu. Um den Argwohn des Mannes zu mindern, bittet sie den Geliebten, wegzugehen, bis der Gatte alles vergessen habe; dann dürfe er zurückkehren, damit sie ihre Liebe ungestört genießen können.

Neben diesen höfischen Frauen treten gewisse unhöfische der Volksdichtung entnommene weibliche Gestalten auf, die jedoch mit gewissen höfischen Eigenschaften ausgestattet sind, z. b. die herrlichen Frauen aus "Amazonie" (Reinf. 19430), starke kriegerische Frauen. Der Pleier beschreibt ein ungeheures Weib, mit namen Fidegart, die mit furchtbarer Kraft kämpft, um den Tod ihres Mannes von Garels Hand zu rächen und dabei noch brutaler als ein Mann ist (Garel 6037). Heinrich von Neustadt schildert uns die ungeheure Flata (Apol. 4370) als des "tiuwels weib", das ein schreckliches Gesicht, Drachenfüsse und einen weiten Mund hat.

Die höfischen Frauen waren immer gut, mild und freundlich. Bei diesen Dichtern aber sind schlechte Frauen nicht selten, die durch List und Betrug sowohl als durch Unfreundlichkeit allerlei Unheil anstiften. So bedroht z. b. Eliacha, Mais Mutter (67:31), seine Frau mit Schmähworten (67:29), verlässt seinen Hof voller Zorn und versucht Beafior auf hinterlistige Weise zu töten. Tarsias Pflegemutter Dionsiades ist eine eifersüchtige, böse Frau (Apol. 15267), die Tarsia wegen ihrer Schönheit ermorden will. Trotzdem sie hässlich und böse ist, weiss sie sich zu verstellen und "süeze" zu sprechen.

Bei vielen Frauengestalten hat die religiöse Tendenz des

Dichters die klassischen Merkmale verdrängt. Anstatt sich auf höfische Weise zu benehmen, lassen sie sich in ihrem Handeln durch religiöse Erwägungen bestimmen und dadurch büßen viele Frauen ihre Natürlichkeit ein. Bregmunda, z. b. ist in erster Linie eine religiöse Gestalt. Die Götter, die sie lange verehrt, lassen sie und ihren Gemahl im Stich; sie können ihnen in dem Kampfe gegen Karl keinen Beistand leisten. Erzürnt gegen die alten Götter, lässt sie ihre Tempel zerstören und gelobt, sie nie wieder zu verehren. Sie klagt, dass ihr Gatte ein Heide sei, und würde gern alles aufopfern, ihn zu retten (10345). Die zwei Frauen im Georg, die von Natur liebende, gute Frauen sind, werden dadurch völlig verwandelt, dass der Dichter ihnen seine asketischen Ansichten aufzwingt. Die Gastfreundlichkeit und die Liebe der Witwe zum Sohne werden von dem Dichter hervorgehoben (1934). Die Heilung ihres Kindes macht einen so mächtigen Eindruck auf sie, dass sie von nun an eine aufrichtig ernste Anhängerin des einen Gottes wird. Wie Georg selbst ist Alexandrina eine religiöse Gestalt, eine Märtyrerin. Man kann aber ihre frühere Natur in der Scene der Rückgabe des Ringes an Dazien ahnen. Sie hat die Kraft, die schrecklichsten Martern zu ertragen. Trotzdem ihr Gatte sie an den Brüsten aufhängen lässt (4228), redet sie zu den Heiden und ermahnt sie, sich taufen zu lassen (4275). Sie besitzt einen so starken Glauben an Gott, dass sie sich mit freudigen Gedanken an den Himmel zum Tode verurteilen lässt (4611). Selbst dasjenige Gefühl, welches sich bei den Frauen dieser Periode als das stärkste erweist, nämlich die Liebe, wird dem religiösen Zwecke des Dichters zum Opfer gebracht. Sie überhäuft den Gemahl mit den schrecklichsten Verwünschungen (4164), die einem Weibe garnicht ziemen. Ihre Religion hat sie von ihrem Gemahl getrennt, und sie kann nicht länger bei ihm bleiben; die Krone und allen Besitz, sowie den Ring, das Zeichen ihrer Liebe, gibt sie ihm zurück (4552). Dass sie ein weiches Herz gehabt hat, beweist der freundliche Empfang Georgs, den der Kaiser zu ihr führt, und ihre Verteidigung der Armen gegen die Heiden (2455).

Die Dichtungen des Marienkultus zeigen in Bezug auf die Frauen auch höfische Elemente, die aber entschieden verän-

dert sind. Maria ist die allerhöchste Frau, die je gelebt hat (Gold. Schmiede 1). Sie ist in jeder Beziehung ohne Makel (Georg 973), und wird als die Geliebte des Herren betrachtet, doch ist sie zu gleicher Zeit seine Mutter und seine Tochter (Georg 961, 2554). In der Martina wird ihre "kiusche" besonders hervorgehoben (Martina 3:96), ohne die das Wunder der Geburt des Herrn, dass sie trotz ihrer Mutterschaft noch "maget" blieb (3:103), nicht möglich wäre. Die Eigenschaften, die Jesu und dem lieben Gott gewöhnlich zugeschrieben werden, werden jetzt manchmal der heiligen Jungfrau beigelegt. Sie tröstet alle (Gold. Schmiede 540); sie heilt die kranken Seelen der Menschen (807), die Sünder sowie die Traurigen und die Kranken (1326). Sie hat sogar bei der Schöpfung mitgeholfen (544).

Nach der Maria hält der Dichter die heilige Martina für die vollkommenste aller Frauen. Sie ist gut, hilft den Armen (Martina 5:87, 110), und wird vom Volk geliebt (140:60). Ihre Tugend beschützt sie, so dass sie die schrecklichsten Martern erdulden kann (16:18); denn weil die Tugend einen so festen Platz in ihrem Herzen hat, ist sie unverwundbar; weder Mann noch Weib, sogar nicht einmal des Teufels Macht kann sie verführen (6:27). In ihrer Frömmigkeit verschmäht sie weltliche Freude (9:18) und setzt ihr ganzes Vertrauen auf Gott. Durch diesen Glauben hat sie die Kraft, die heidnischen Götter zu besiegen, den heidnischen Tempel zu zerstören und elf Martern zu erdulden. Sie wird mit eisernen Stangen geschlagen (55:80); ihre Augenbrauen werden mit Zangen ausgerissen (72:109); ihre Füße und Hände werden ihr vom Leibe gebrannt (216:22),—aber niemals wankt ihr starker Glaube (165:50).

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### III.

#### *Der Realismus.*

In den höfischen Dichtungen dieser Periode sind auch entschieden realistische Bestandteile zu finden, die in drei selbständige Gruppen zerfallen. An erster Stelle finden wir hier und dort realistische Einzelheiten und Bemerkungen des Dichters, die in keinerlei Beziehung zu dem Hauptthema

stehen und welche zeigen, dass die Dichter starken Anteil an der Wirklichkeit nehmen, und sich nicht länger auf die blosse Vorführung abstrakter Ideale beschränken. Die Nonne im Meier Helmbrecht muss ihren Lebensunterhalt durch Arbeit verdienen (120). In Flore und Blanscheflur (475) meint der Dichter, eine Frau könne sich nur auf *e i n e* Weise an ihren Feinden rächen, nämlich nur durch Weinen. Der Stricker bemerkt, es wäre schade, wenn eine Jungfrau ihr schönes Haar abschneiden liesse, um sich als Mann zu verkleiden (Dan. 4715). Trotz seiner Freude an Turnieren und Abenteuern, hat der Pleier gefühlt, wie schrecklich die Turniere für die Frauen waren, den er klagt über die Folgen des Kampfes:

Garel 15221: dâ von vil maneger flôs den lip,  
den bêdiu kint unde wîp  
dâ heime klagten sêre.

Zweitens machen die Dichter den Versuch, uns ein der Wirklichkeit entsprechendes Bild der damaligen Zustände vor Augen zu führen, die sie mit tiefem Bedauern über den Verfall der ritterlichen Sitten den glorreichen Idealen der Vergangenheit gegenüberstellen. Das Verhältnis ist ein anderes geworden: die Frauen werden nicht mehr so hochgehalten wie früher (Frauenb. 603:31). Früher dienten die Männer den Frauen und taten alles, was diese wollten (655:13), aber jetzt vernachlässigen sie dieselben über Jagd, Spiel und Trunk (607:5), und das Verhältnis zwischen Männern und Frauen ist umgekehrt: die Frauen müssen tun, was jene verlangen (654:25). Die Frau soll dem Manne das Leben angenehm machen (Tand. 16670). Ausserdem darf sich die Frau für einen Ritter jetzt nicht mehr schmücken, es sei denn, dass dieser Mann ihr Gatte ist (Frauenb. 603:1). Von ehelicher Minne sei gar nichts mehr zu spüren, früh morgens gehe der Ritter auf die Jagd und kümmerge sich mehr um seine Hunde und Pferde als um sein Weib (607:5). Wo die Dichter Betrachtungen über das eheliche Leben anstellen, geschieht dies ganz vom Standpunkt des Mannes aus. Die Hauptfrage ist, was er in einem solchen Verhältnisse verliert oder gewinnt. Die sich für die Frauen ergebenden Folgen werden fast mit keinem Worte erwähnt. Viele Eheleute, behauptet der Dich-

ter der Martina, sind unglücklich, weil die Frau so anspruchsvoll ist (131:3), und weil sie so teure Kleider haben will, die mehr kosten als die seinigen. Wenn er ihr die Kleider nicht gibt, beraubt sie ihm seiner Ruhe; früh morgens und spät abends sind Seufzer und Tränen ihr Gruss, bis der Mann ganz unglücklich wird. Sie klagt, dass andere Frauen über sie spotten und ihr keine Ehre erweisen, wenn sie nicht schöne Kleider trage. Sie verlangt, man solle sie vor allen anderen loben; sie will die beliebteste von allen sein, und wenn ihr etwas nicht gefällt, bricht sie in Tränen aus. Was sie will, setzt sie mit Gewalt durch, aber sie erlaubt nie, dass ihr Mann das gleiche bei ihr versuche. Der Dichter warnt deshalb den Mann, ohne sorgfältige Überlegung sich nicht zu verheiraten, denn nachdem er eine Frau geheiratet, muss er sie immer behalten, ob sie hässlich, dumm oder krank sei (133:85). Das Bild, das der Dichter von den grossen und kleinen Leiden des Ehemannes entwirft, ist so lebhaft, dass wir auf den Verdacht kommen, er spreche hier, wenn auch nicht aus eigener Erfahrung, so doch wohl auf Grund umfangreicher Beobachtungen.

Obwohl viele Dichter das Behagen und Glück des Mannes zum alleinigen Massstabe der Beziehung zwischen den Geschlechtern machen, zeigen Ulrich von Lichtenstein und der Verfasser der Winsbekin aber auch Würdigung der weiblichen Anschauung, denn sie warnen diese vor der Falschheit der Männer (Winsbekin 164; Frauenb. 1820).

Im wirklichen Leben nimmt die Frau eine sehr untergeordnete Stellung ein: die Autorität des Mannes ist in allen die Gattin und das Familienleben betreffenden Fragen eine unbedingte, die auch niemals angezweifelt wird. Die Frau soll ihrem Gatten mit Fleiss und Demut dienen (Reinf. 11642). Sie soll ihn in Sorge trösten und seinen Zorn durch gütige Worte besänftigen (11625).

Obleich der Dichter sich die Verherrlichung des höfischen Ideals zum Ziel gesetzt hat, kann er sich jedoch nicht verhehlen, dass viele Frauen diesem Ideale nicht mehr entsprechen. Im Reinfrid klagt der Dichter über das Schwinden der "zuht" der Frauen, deren Sitten und Gebärden wild geworden sind (15206); sie sind nicht mehr tugendhaft, sondern

in Worten und Werken schamlos. Die Frauen sind Schuld daran, dass die Minne nicht mehr ist wie ehemals, denn die Minne ist bei ihnen um Geld käuflich (16890). Er tadelt die Anwendung der Schminke (12212), sowie die Gewohnheit, die Wangen zu kneifen, um sie rot zu machen. Er rügt ferner ihre unanständigen Kleider (15212). Früher, sagt er, hätten die Frauen solche Sitten unwert geachtet (15218). Ulrich von Lichtenstein bildet in dieser Hinsicht die hervorragendste Ausnahme unter seinen Zeitgenossen: während die anderen die Frauen schelten und über sie schmälen, ist er eifrig in ihrer Verteidigung gegen alle Angriffe anderer. Die Frauen seien so wie die Männer sie erziehen, denn sie müssen tun, was die Männer verlangen (Frauenb. 654:26). Sie seien hilflos und können nichts dafür.

Drittens ist doch am allerwichtigsten der Umstand, dass die Dichter in der Schilderung ihrer Heldinnen realistische Züge zur Anwendung bringen, die dem wirklichen Leben entnommen sind. Trotz ihrer untergeordneten Stellung im wirklichen Leben, trotz des Niedergangs der höfischen Verehrung der Frau und des formellen Frauendienstes gewinnt die Frau in der Dichtung mehr und mehr an Bedeutung. Sie erscheint nicht länger als eine bloße Verkörperung des höfischen Ideals, ohne individuelle Merkmale, sondern sie ist in vielen der weltlichen Gedichte eine lebenswahre Gestalt mit allgemein menschlichen Charakterzügen. In vielen Fällen spiegeln diese neuen Eigenschaften das bürgerliche Ideal des Mittelalters wieder, wie z. B. die selbstlose, geduldige, leidende Liebe der Gattin und die tugendhafte "kiesche". Die Frauen dieser Art zeichnen sich durch unbedingten Gehorsam und unwandelbare Liebe und Treue gegen ihre Eheherren aus, und diese Tugenden sind durch die willkürlichste und grausamste Behandlung nicht zu erschüttern. Als höchste Tugend galt oft das stille klagelose Erdulden selbst der Untreue des Gatten, den die Frau als ihren Gott ansieht. Solche Frauen sind die Mutter und die Gattin des Alexius, "die gute Frau" und Beafior.

In einigen der religiösen Gedichte wird das Bild der Frau im Gegensatz zu dem des Mannes durch die religiösen Ansichten des Dichters nicht beeinflusst, sondern mit psychologi-



schem Scharfsinn und in konsequenter Weise gezeichnet. Wilhelm von Wenden z. b. bestimmen in seinem Handeln ausschliesslich religiöse Motive, obgleich seine Taten im Dienste seiner Frau ausgeführt werden. Seine Gattin Bene dagegen ist trotz ihres symbolischen Namens mit allgemein menschlichen Eigenschaften ausgestattet. Sie handelt nur aus Liebe und benimmt sich wie jede echte Frau sich benehmen würde, die einfach aus menschlichen Beweggründen handelt.

Die Eigenschaft, die am häufigsten betont wird, ist die Liebe: die Mutterliebe, die Liebe des Kindes zu den Eltern und die der Geliebten zum Geliebten. Selbst in den Gedichten des Artuskreises tritt die Mutterliebe stark hervor. Meleranz' Mutter wird als liebevolle Erzieherin ihres Sohnes erwähnt (170) und grämt sich über seine lange Abwesenheit als er heimlich von Hause weggegangen ist. Auch Tandereis und Claudin haben liebende Mütter. Ausserhalb der Gedichte der Artussage wird die Mutterliebe noch stärker betont. Die Hauptcharaktereigenschaft der Mutter des Partonopier ist ihre Liebe zum Sohne. Benes Pflegemutter empfängt mit grosser Herzensgüte die leidende aber damals noch unbekannte Bene, die mit ihrem Manne heimatlos durch Wälder und Einsamkeit zieht. Benigna pflegt Beafior als ob sie ihre eigene Tochter wäre. Ebenso zärtlich wird diese Mutterliebe in der didaktischen Dichtung dieser Periode geschildert. Die Winsbekin lebt nur für ihre Tochter, ihre einzige Freude besteht in dem Glücke ihres Kindes. Inmitten der Schilderung des rohen Lebens der Raubritter einerseits und des emporstrebenden Bauernstandes anderseits stellt der Dichter des Meier Helmbrecht auch seine Frauengestalten als realistische Charaktere dar. Helmbrechts Mutter liebt ihren Sohn aufs innigste. Sie schenkt ihm viele schöne Gewänder und sogar "ein röcklin", das sie sorgfältig für sich aufbewahrt hat. Als der Vater den Sohn unerbittlich von seiner Tür weist, weil sein Gerechtigkeitsgefühl jede Spur des Mitleids und der Liebe verdrängt hat, erbarmt sich seiner nur die Mutter, denn—er ist doch, wenn auch verflucht, noch immer ihr Kind, und ihre Liebe lässt sich nicht aus ihrem Herzen ausrotten.

Die Heldin im Reinfrid liebt ihren Vater zärtlich, und als

sie später vielleicht auf immer fort muss, tröstet sie ihn mit sanfter Liebe, dankt ihm freundlich für seinen Rat und bittet ihn, oft an sie zu denken. (11804).

\* \* \* \* \*

In der Schilderung der Frauen jener Tage steht Konrad von Würzburg unter allen anderen Dichtern obenan. Er zeigt das beste Verständniß des weiblichen Gemütes, seiner selbstlosen Liebe und seiner Leiden, und schildert diese Eigenschaften fast mit modernem psychologischen Scharfblicke. Er hält keine langen Lobreden über sie, sondern lässt ihre Handlungen für sich sprechen. Seine Frauen sind nicht mehr höfische, sie sind wirkliche Personen. Meliur z. b. ist eine echte Frau, deren Liebe zu Partonopier und deren sanfte Herzensgüte sich am ersten Abend zeigen, als Partonopier müde von seiner Reise bei ihr einschläft. Obgleich sie gern weiter mit ihm geplaudert hätte (Part. 2160), lässt sie ihn schlafen und—zärtlich wie eine Mutter ihr Kind—küsst sie den Schlafenden. Zweimal entlässt sie ihn, damit er seine Mutter besuchen kann (2843), verzeiht seine Vergehungen und versucht, weil sie ihn liebt, ihn glücklich zu machen. Als er zum dritten mal verlangt, dass sie ihn entlasse, wird sie traurig, weil sie fürchtet, seine Mutter werde ihm raten, sie seinem Gelübde zuwider dennoch anzuschauen. Nachdem ihre Befürchtung Tatsache geworden ist und er sie angeschaut hat, tadelt sie ihn garnicht; tief erschüttert beklagt sie ihr Unglück und wünscht, sie wäre nie geboren, aber sie drückt nur trostlosen Gram aus, und weder Ärger noch Vorwurf (8000). Sie betrauert, dass sie durch seine Tat ihre Zauberkraft verloren hat (8159), dass sie den Spott der Hofleute ertragen muss, doch am allerschwersten wird es ihr sein, ihn entbehren zu müssen, denn sie kann ihn nicht länger vor den Augen der Menschen verbergen. Sie zürnt erst, nachdem ihr Ehrgefühl gekränkt worden ist. Als die Hofleute sie verspotten, flammt ihr Zorn auf (8566), und in ihrem Schmerz jagt sie Partonopier von sich (8574). Sie denkt nicht mehr an ihre Liebe, in ihrer Erregung weiss sie nicht mehr, was sie tut. (8834).

Nur nachdem die Sehnsucht nach der alten Liebe erwacht ist, nur nachdem diese Sehnsucht ihr gekränktes Ehrgefühl gänzlich überwunden hat, wird sie bereit sein, ihm zu verge-

ben. Während Irekel versucht, sie mit Partonopier zu versöhnen, bleibt sie äusserlich unbeweglich, lange nachdem ihr Zorn erloscht ist. Sobald sie aber bereit ist, nachzugeben, tut sie dies ganz und gar (11735), weil sie fürchtet, er sei tot, und ihre Reue komme zu spät (11975). Sie beklagt, dass sie ihn in ihrer dummen Hartnäckigkeit nicht zurückgerufen habe; es sei ihre Schuld, dass sie jetzt unglücklich sei; es sei ihr wie allen "dumben" Frauen geschehen, die unvernünftig wären und immer ihren eigenen Willen durchsetzen wollten. Sie leidet unter dem Spott der Irekel, die sie nicht verstehe, weil sie nie geliebt habe.

Irekel ist eine kluge Jungfrau, ohne deren selbstloses Streben die Versöhnung zwischen Meliur und Partonopier niemals möglich gewesen wäre. Sie weiss, dass der Mensch, und besonders die Frau, das am liebsten hat, was ihr versagt wird, und weil sie ihre Schwester zärtlich liebt, versteht sie, wie weit sie ihre List treiben kann.

Ein anmutiges Bild gibt uns der Dichter von dem jugendlichen Eifer der Irekel. Als Partonopier von den Hofleuten in Meliurs Kammer entdeckt wird, hört sie den Lärm und läuft aus Neugier gleich hin, indem sie ihr Kleid unterwegs zuknöpft.

Obschon Heinrich von Freiberg ein getreuer Anhänger des ritterlichen Ideals in seiner höchstentwickelten Form ist, zeigt er doch in der Art und Weise, wie er seine Heldinnen schildert, "äusserst feinfühliges Verständnis der weiblichen Eigenart." Die "blunde" Isolde, die durch unüberwindbare Leidenschaft gefesselt und ihrem eigenen Gatten fortwährend untreu ist, liebt Tristan mit ganzem Herzen. Ihr Schmerz über Tristans Tod zeigt, dass sie ihn wirklich geliebt. Als sie erfährt, Tristan sei tot, glaubt sie, es könne ein anderer Tristan sein (6516). Nachdem sie aber die Gewissheit erhalten, dass es ihr Tristan ist, fällt sie vor Schmerz ohnmächtig zu Boden. Wieder zu sich gekommen, spricht sie kein Wort sondern winkt nur mit der Hand, dass man sie zu dem geliebten Toten führe. Sie stürzt sich auf ihn, küsst ihn, drückt ihre Wange an die seinige, und umfängt ihn mit ihren Armen; aber kein Wort kommt über ihre Lippen—der Tod rafft sie hinweg, denn ausser Tristan ist ihr nichts mehr begehrenswert auf Erden.

Isolde Weisshand zeigt rein weibliche Züge in noch weit höherem Grade. Sie ist nicht nur stolz und würdevoll, wie es einer hochgeborenen Frau geziemt, sondern auch selbstlos, und immer treu gegen den Mann, der ihr untreu ist, und bildet einen starken Gegensatz zu der leidenschaftlichen selbstsüchtigen Liebe der "blunden" Isolde. Sie ist betrübt über Tristans sonderbares Benehmen und denkt, dass sie vielleicht daran Schuld sei. Weil sie keinen Grund finden kann, warum er so handelt, hält sie dieses Benehmen für Sitte in Parmenie (1826); aber sie denkt niemals an die Möglichkeit, dass Tristan ihr nicht treu sei. Obgleich sie tief gekränkt ist, verrät sie nichts davon, weder der Mutter noch den Andern. Äusserlich gefasst, ist sie innerlich sehr unruhig aber seine Entschuldigung tröstet sie, und voller Liebe ist sie bereit, ihm zu vergeben, und das, was sie für ihr Recht hält, zu entbehren. Ihre Selbstlosigkeit tritt in dieser Tat deutlich zu Tage, denn sie ist in tiefstem Herzen betrübt. Nach Frauenart tröstet sie sich, es werde nur ein Jahr dauern, und lässt ihn niemals gewahr werden, wie traurig sie ist. Obgleich er die ihr unbekannten Frauen, die sie der Minne ihres Gatten berauben, als die allerschönsten lobt, ist sie nicht eifersüchtig und will ihm helfen, sein vermeintliches Gelübde zu halten.

Endlich kommt er schwer verwundet wieder; kein Arzt kann ihm helfen. Er sendet nach der "blunden" Isolde, der einzigen, die ihm Hilfe bringen kann. Der Schiffer solle ein weisses Segel aufziehen, wenn sie komme, ein Schwarzes, wenn sie nicht komme. Isolde Weisshand pflegt derweilen ihren Tristan, wie ihre Herzensgüte gebietet. Der Dichter sagt, er wisse nicht, ob es sie gräme, dass Tristan nach der anderen Isolde gesandt habe (6368); man sehe es ihr nicht an. Sie tritt oft an das Fenster um die Ankunft des Schiffes zu erspähen. Endlich sieht sie das glänzend weisse Segel im Winde flattern, aber die für Tristan frohe Botschaft vermag sie ihm nicht mitzuteilen, denn tief in ihrem Herzen ist diese liebende und oft gekränkte Frau jetzt zum erstenmal auf die "blunde" Isolde eifersüchtig, die ihrem Tristan lieber gewesen ist als sie selbst. Ihre Treue hat dem sonderbaren Betragen Tristans lange verziehen und ihn glücklich machen wollen. Jetzt in dem Augenblicke, wo sie ihm selbst gern beigestanden hätte,

wird sie zurückgewiesen, und eine andere tritt an ihre Stelle. Sie hat ihn lange entbehrt, sie hat sich lange nach ihm gesehnt; jetzt ist das weisse Segel für sie der Bote, dass sie sich vielleicht auf immer von ihrem Gatten trennen soll, und so beraubt sie ihn seines letzten Trostes, und das gekränkte Weib kann nicht länger selbstlos handeln. Sie bereut ihre Lüge gleich, aber umsonst. Tristan ist tot. Mit unbeschreiblichem Schmerz schreit sie laut auf; alle Freunde klagen und jammern.

(Tristan 6492). jedoch leit die meiste nôt  
um in Isôt Blanschemains.

• • • • •

“Meier Helmbrecht” gewährt einen Einblick in das alltägliche Bauernleben der damaligen Zeit; der Dichter behandelt in geschickter Analyse das Verlangen der Bauernfrauen, sich über ihren Stand zu erheben und damit die schweren Pflichten derselben abzustreifen, eine Tendenz, welche für das Zeitalter bezeichnend ist. Die Frauen wie die Männer wollen die höfische Sitte nachahmen und streben nach dem Glanz des ritterlichen Lebens. Die kostspieligen Kleider—besonders die glänzenden Farben derselben—und die mit Schellen behängten Ärmel des Meier Helmbrecht werden von den Frauen und Mädchen mit Entzücken angesehen. (205).

In einer Beziehung gehört Gotelinde dem neuen Zeitalter an; sie lässt sich durch den Flitterglanz des Lebens bei den Räubern verblenden. Die herrlichen Kleider des Bruders und sein Versprechen, dass auch sie in grosser Pracht und anmutiger Musse leben wird, locken sie aus der Heimat. Das Bauernleben ist, besonders für die Frauen, ein fortwährendes Arbeiten ohne viel Abwechslung oder Ruhe, während sie sich vor allem nach dem Glanz des Lebens, nach den Freuden, Herrlichkeiten und der Freiheit der Höherstehenden sehnt. Der Bruder stellt dem “suweren” Leben der Bauern das mühsige Leben bei Lemberslint gegenüber: wenn sie zu Hause bleibt, muss sie einen Bauern heiraten und auf Lebenszeit arbeiten. Ganz besonders herrlich sei das Leben bei seinem Freunde. Er redet ihr sogar ein, sie sei nicht das Kind ihres Vaters. Obgleich sie das neue glückliche Leben mit höchster Freude erwartet, ist sie nicht ganz und gar selbstüchtig; sie

Die erste Gruppe der Formen des  
Verbs ist die der Präsens-  
Formen. Diese sind in der  
Grammatik des Deutschen  
besonders wichtig, da sie  
die Grundlage für die  
Bildung der anderen Formen  
bilden.

Die zweite Gruppe der Formen  
ist die der Imperfekt-  
Formen. Diese sind in der  
Grammatik des Deutschen  
ebenfalls wichtig, da sie  
die Grundlage für die  
Bildung der anderen Formen  
bilden.

Die dritte Gruppe der Formen  
ist die der Partizipien. Diese  
sind in der Grammatik des  
Deutschen ebenfalls wichtig,  
da sie die Grundlage für die  
Bildung der anderen Formen  
bilden. Die Partizipien sind  
in der Grammatik des Deutschen  
besonders wichtig, da sie die  
Grundlage für die Bildung der  
anderen Formen bilden. Die  
Partizipien sind in der  
Grammatik des Deutschen  
besonders wichtig, da sie die  
Grundlage für die Bildung der  
anderen Formen bilden.

Die vierte Gruppe der Formen des

Frauendienstes, noch den Untergang der Frauenverehrung im höfischen Sinne.

\* \* \* \* \*

Aus dem Vorhergehenden ergibt sich, dass in den Werken der Dichter, die auf die höfischen Klassiker folgten und diese als Vorbild benutzten, gegenüber ihren klassischen Mustern gewisse Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede vorkommen, die sich in drei Gruppen einteilen lassen: Die *erste* Gruppe umfasst die nur äusserlichen Einzelheiten der Beschreibung der Frauen und deren Behandlung in Bezug auf die höfischen Umgangsformen. Weil diese sich leicht beibehalten liessen, sind sie am häufigsten nachzuweisen. Mit einer Ausnahme sind alle Hauptfrauengestalten schön, sowie alle anderen, die überhaupt beschrieben werden, ausgenommen die schlechten und einige aus den niederen Klassen. Hohe Geburt, "zuht" und "tugent" werden als wichtige Eigenschaften der Frauen betrachtet. Diese äusserlichen Ähnlichkeiten zeigen jedoch schon geringe Abweichungen von dem höfischen Ideale.

In die *zweite* Gruppe gehören die Elemente welche — trotz bewusster Beibehaltung der äusserlichen höfischen Formen—sogar in den genauesten Nachahmungen wenigstens einige gründliche Veränderungen der Gesinnung der Zeit zeigen. Obgleich die äusserlichen Sitten und Gebräuche des höfischen Frauendienstes ziemlich rein bewahrt sind, so ist z. b. die Verteidigung der Frau auch hier schon eine unangenehme Pflicht geworden, die das Vergnügen des Ritters stört. Alle weltlichen Gedichte, die ausserhalb des Artuskreises stehen, bezeugen den raschen Verfall der höfischen Ideale und zeigen den Versuch des Dichters, dem gänzlichen Untergang derselben Einhalt zu tun. Die religiösen Dichter passen die höfischen Formen ihrem Zwecke an, aber der Geist des alten Frauendienstes ist verschwunden; in den meisten Legenden ist sogar die Form nicht mehr gewahrt. Die Dichter dieser Periode und die Beschreibung der wirklichen Zustände der Zeit im Meier Helmbrecht beweisen, dass dieser Untergang höfischen Wesens auch in der Wirklichkeit stattgefunden hat. In der Schilderung der Frauen selbst gehen ähnliche Veränderungen vor sich. Die Artusgedichte bewahren die verschiedenen höfischen Typen; in den anderen weltlichen Ge-

dichten erschienen Frauen, die trotz ihrer höfischen Eigenschaften doch die entschieden unhöfische Tendenz der Zeit bezeugen. In vielen Fällen aber haben die religiösen Ansichten des Dichters die höfischen Elemente wesentlich verändert oder verdrängt.

Als *dritte* Gruppe kommen die realistischen Elemente in Betracht, die aus dem Verfall der höfischen Ideale entstanden. Daraus, dass die Dichter den Frauen die Schuld zuschieben, sowie aus gewissen an die Frauen gerichteten Ermahnungen, ihrer Pflichten zu gedenken, ergibt sich, dass die Frau ihre hohe Stellung der höfischen Periode im wirklichen Leben verloren hat und in Gefahr steht, diese in der Dichtung gänzlich zu verlieren. In gewisser Hinsicht hat sich die Frau aber zur selben Zeit eine bessere Stellung erworben. Anstatt dass sie als eine hölzerne Gestalt und Vertreterin eines albernen Ideals erscheint, wird sie jetzt von vielen Dichtern als ein lebenswahres Wesen geschildert. Als das Formelhafte in der Beschreibung der Frau verschwand, als das unnatürliche Verhältnis des Frauendienstes immer mehr zurücktreten musste, entwickelte sich neben den realistischen Tendenzen der Zeit auch eine psychologische Charakterschilderung der Frau, welche lange vor der des Mannes Ausdruck fand. Die Frau war der Mittelpunkt des höfischen Frauendienstes bei diesen Dichtern wie bei den Klassikern. Ihre Stellung in der Dichtung ist bei deren Nachfolgern in vielen Beziehungen gründlich verändert worden, aber das Ideal der Liebe, obwohl manchmal auch verändert, bleibt durch diese ganze Periode hindurch bestehen.

Das neue Zeitalter zeigt also in Bezug auf die Frauen zwei bestimmte Tendenzen: erstens, eine geistliche: die übersinnlich-mystische des Marienkultus und der Nachahmungen der Mariendichtungen; zweitens, eine weltliche und zugleich realistische.

*München.*

MYRTLE MARGARET MANN.



## HOFMANNSTHAL AND GREEK TRAGEDY

Hugo von Hofmannsthal is the most impersonal of the modern German authors. At the mere mention of Frank Wedekind or Stephan George, a definite image of the man as well as the author arises before our mind's eye. Of Wedekind we may say that he is incarnate indignation at certain existing social conventions; of George that he is the essence of individualism, demanding for itself the highest possible ethical and aesthetic development. Hofmannsthal cannot be thus characterized in a single sentence. Compared with George, he is not the individual acting upon and giving shape to his environment, but the highly sensitive individual, reacting immediately upon contact with his surroundings. Contrasted with Wedekind, the environment in which he moves and has his being is not narrow and restricted enough to give him a distinct and concentrated personality. Hofmannsthal would tell us that his environment is as extensive as the world itself and all human experience. He may be likened to the sensitive photographic plate, receiving impressions wherever it is exposed. But, unlike the photographic plate, the image which he produces is not faithful and literal, but idealized and intensified under the most favorable conditions.

There are, in fact, two ways of looking at Hofmannsthal's personality. He may be considered as universal and extended as the sum of all the impressions he has received, or, as variable and chameleon-like as the temporary state of consciousness called up by an impression or a series of related impressions. That Hofmannsthal himself has such a dual conception of his own personality is clearly indicated in one of his early essays, "Die Dichter und diese Zeit". He says, "The poet is all eyes and ears and takes his color from the things on which he lights". The intensity of the temporary impression and his absorption in it is emphasized as follows,—"The changing of this color is an inner torture; for the poet suffers from all things, and in suffering has his enjoyment. This suffering-enjoyment is the entire content of his life." The universality of the stimuli which cause this suffering enjoy-

ment is brought out in the words.—"The poet is sensitive to the high and the low, the sublime and the ridiculous, to men and things, ideas and dreams."

The fact that Hofmannsthal ascribes equal value to all these stimuli, making no distinction between men and things, thoughts and dreams, lends to his works a vague atmosphere of unreality, which renders them difficult of interpretation to the average reader. This impression of unreality is further enhanced by a remoteness of time and place, which characterizes his plays. Not that he has an aversion to the present as material for his poetic composition. If he could find in the business and industry of our commercial age, any striking expression of spiritual life, any novel rhythm of life, arising from new combinations or segregations of men, he would eagerly seize upon it as material for the exercise of his genius. But the fact is that he does not find in our practical, matter-of-fact existence such new and striking manifestations of mental and spiritual life. His inspiration comes not so much from the life and activity of his fellow-men as from the art and literature of contemporaries and predecessors. Thus "*Der Tor und der Tod*" is an echo of both *Faust* and *Hamlet*, and "*Der weisse Fächer*" comes directly from a passage in D'Annunzio's "*Springmorning's Dream*".

When, as may be the case, Hofmannsthal is inspired by the mental and spiritual phenomena of his environment, he is not interested so much in their being manifestations of the present as in their being heritages from the past. His penetrating and clairvoyant eyes would discern and unravel those invisible threads which connect these phenomena with their more intensified and idealized prototypes in the past. In his own words, "The present is indescribably interwoven with the past. In the pores of my body I trace a heritage from bygone days, from remote and unknown ancestors, from vanished peoples, and primeval times". It is for this reason that Hofmannsthal rarely finds in the present a suitable vehicle for the finer shades and nuances of the mental state called up by the impression, but seeks in the past the time and place where this feeling or emotion had freest play. His first dramatic attempt "*Gestern*" is an excellent example of this method of

creation or rather re-creation. He becomes impressed, for instance, by the influence of "yesterday" over "today", by the impossibility of breaking the shackles which memory lays upon us. For the purpose of illustration, he brings before us a decadent epicurean of the over-surfeited late Renaissance. Andrea boasts of his independence of the past, and, flitting from one sensation to another, expresses a desire to live entirely in the present. He carries this self-indulgence so far as to make the vain boast that even the faithfulness of his beloved mistress could have no effect upon his capacity for enjoyment. It is not until he actually becomes the victim of Arlette's self-indulgence that he sees the fallacy of his logic and the vain-glory of his boast. Wounded in his innermost soul, he admits the influence of "yesterday" over "today" and leaves the scene a broken-hearted man.

Hofmannsthal's avowed purpose of reconstructing the more vigorous prototype of our present-day enfeebled emotional and spiritual life lends an artificiality to his characters, which keeps them from being well-rounded individuals or even representative types of the age in which he places them. They impress us rather as skeleton-like frameworks for psychological filling-in in the analysis of some dominant passion or emotion. In "Das gerettete Venedig" based upon Otway's "Venice Preserved," Pierre is not the type of political treachery in the sense that Iago is the type of personal treachery, but an exhaustive analysis of political treachery. In this exhaustive treatment of a theme, Hofmannsthal's dramas remind us of musical compositions, more especially of sombre fugues. Having once adopted the subject of love, vengeance or treachery, he repeats, inverts and transposes, welding the component parts into a marvelous whole of polyphonic harmony. It is this analogy to music added to the peculiarly lyric quality of his diction which has made Hofmannsthal the favorite librettist of one of the best known modern German composers, Richard Strauss.

The inevitable result of the musical and lyric character of Hofmannsthal's early works has been that they are not successful acting dramas. Many of them are little more than book dramas or dialogue poems, in which the author has made

no attempt to weave a plot or to oppose to one another dominant and conflicting wills. Hofmannsthal early recognized this defect in his work and began to cast about for existing plots which he could use as the vehicle of his composition. His love of beauty in form and color, his friendship with Arnold Böcklin, the modern Titian, naturally directed him to the Italian Renaissance for the setting of his early and most original works. We pass in review a series of artists, painters, poets and musicians, who are, as has been suggested above, not so much typical human beings, as psychological studies of the creative and artistic principle. Only once, in Marsilio, do we catch a glimpse of the religious ecstasy of a Savonarola, only once, in Messer Braccio, of the bloodthirsty cruelty of the superman of the independent republic.

When Hofmannsthal had exhausted his muse in this period, what could be more natural than that he should turn for further inspiration to Greek antiquity, as the source of the great artistic currents of the Renaissance? An earlier work, "Vorspiel zur Antigone", clearly shows the trend of his mind in this direction. This dramatic fragment or "prelude" is a manifest or program of his future activity. It is an enthusiastic paean of the greatness and splendor of ancient tragedy, and proclaims the eternal value of all genuine poetry as compared with the seeming value of reality.

At the close of a rehearsal of the "Oedipus Rex," a young student lingers to steep his soul in the ideal atmosphere of the theater, before returning to the hustle and bustle of the market-place. Suddenly there appears before him the phantom-like form of the genius of ancient tragedy, who announces herself as a messenger from the gods. The student at first doubts the reality of the vision, believing it to be the creature of his own over-excited imagination, one of those dream-figures which he has often conjured up. His doubts are partially dispelled by the startling announcement, "Thou dreamest not, this is the message I bring thee. Thou must believe me, in order to understand." His desire to believe is strengthened by the persuasive eloquence of the genius who promises him a vision of the virgin Antigone, as she goes forth to meet her death with holy measured tread: "The strength of her soul

shall breathe upon thee, and cast its net about thy soul, so that thou wilt be compelled to say, 'This must be true. For here is reality. All else is simile, like a play in a mirror' ". The genius now breathes upon his eyes and a great transformation takes place within him. His doubts are entirely dispelled and he is at last enabled to distinguish between the real and the unreal. Surrendering himself entirely to the spell which the Oedipus myth casts about him, he proceeds on his way to meet Antigone, "the sparkling vessel of destiny". When she finally emerges from the palace, he bursts forth into an exultant paean on the eternal value of poetry as it is symbolized in her person :

"This radiant creature was not born of a day,  
She is victorious forever and aye."

For the proper appreciation of Hofmannsthal's work, it is quite necessary to understand his position on the relation of art to life. To him the realities of every-day life are only apparent. The phenomena of physical and spiritual life are not fixed and permanent, but experience continual change and flux. Personality itself has no constant value, but varies from day to day, at the best, resolving itself into a series of apprehensive systems. The fact that we do not see things as they really are, that our most cherished realities may be unrealities, lends to human life an illusionary aspect, to which Hofmannsthal is keenly sensitive. He goes so far as to ascribe to dreams, what seems to us to be an undue prominence among the manifestations of consciousness, thus keeping pace with modern science, in the emphasis it lays upon dreams as the expression of the subconscious life. Hofmannsthal has himself said of this changing character of human life: "Everything is in continual motion, as little real as the jets of water, from which myriads of drops incessantly fall and to which myriads are continually added." Now this illusionary and changing life acquires a permanent value only when it becomes the raw material for the artist or poet. By a sort of selective process he extracts from life its kernel and essence. It is not in life itself but in its recreation and exaltation through art, that we find the permanent reality and value of existence. But what of the poet who is the author of this re-creation? As the

creative spirit he must stand aloof from life, as our author puts it, not "in life" but "above life". He is the alchemist who, with intelligent and sympathetic mind, stands above the crucible and separates the gold from the dross. Our analogy must stop here, for the poet is himself part and parcel of the ingredients in the crucible of life. He is himself human and cannot stand entirely "above the life" which he would analyze and synthesize into an artistic masterpiece. It is not strange therefore that we find in Hofmannsthal's works a double tendency, one leading him away from active participation in life to purely objective analysis, and a second thrilling him with the fever of existence and endowing him with the force and energy of action. This double tendency is reflected in the two types of character encountered in his plays; on the one hand sensitive, introspective souls who flee from life as from an enemy, on the other hand firmer and sturdier natures, who conquer life and compel it to do their will.

When Hofmannsthal turned away from the Renaissance to seek fresh inspiration in Greek antiquity, it was not entirely for the purpose of replenishing an exhausted muse, but because he was convinced that he could bring a new and original interpretation to this fountain-head of art and literature. Critics, painters and authors who have devoted themselves to this period have never been unanimous in their interpretation of the principles underlying its art, letters and civilization. The mistake common to all of them is that they have been but too strenuous advocates of their own peculiar viewpoint. It seems almost as if each one were the re-incarnation of some particular phase of this civilization and hence impervious to the appeal made by other phases of equal value and importance. Our own era has witnessed successively three main lines of thought and criticism. The "noble simplicity and quiet grandeur" of Winckelmann was followed by the Apollonic conception of Herder and Goethe, who in turn have been superseded by Friedrich Nietzsche and his Dionysian principle.

That Hofmannsthal was entirely serious in the belief in his own mission and not assuming the literary pose, of which he has been accused, may be gathered from his own words:

"These fables and legends, left behind by the ancients, in which painters and authors have found such infinite and indescribable pleasure, I wish to disclose as hieroglyphics of a secret, inexhaustible wisdom, whose breath I have felt as from behind a veil." The attempt to tear away this veil, he has made in two original works,—"*Electra*" and "*Oedipus and the Sphinx*". But, before analyzing these plays, we may ask in a general way what new interpretation he proposes to give these ancient hieroglyphics, as he calls them. We find, first, that he has fallen a victim to the error of his predecessors in emphasizing but one phase of Greek civilization, and, second, that in his interpretation he is by no means a path-finder. It is no far cry from Nietzsche, the critic of antiquity, to Hofmannsthal, the dramatist of antiquity. It is Nietzsche's Dionysiac principle which has taken possession of our author body and soul, and found its fullest dramatic expression in his version of "*Electra*".

In the "*Birth of Tragedy*" Nietzsche early set forth the relative importance of the Apollonic and Dionysiac principles in Greek literature. On the one hand we behold Apollo, god of dreams and ideals, whose followers, practising self-restraint, develop their personality through the operation of the *principium individuationis*; on the other hand Dionysos, god of frenzy and passion, whose devotees abandon themselves to the mob spirit of the Bacchic revelers. It is in the wild and passionate rhythm of the Bacchic dithyramb, not in the stately and measured tread of the "*Chorus*", that Nietzsche seeks the origin of the Greek drama. In the musical and emotional character of the dithyramb he finds the earliest expression of the human will and therefore the earliest elements of tragedy. The "*Birth of Tragedy*" might well be entitled "*Defence of Richard Wagner*", for Nietzsche's thesis, "*Music as the expression of the human will*", reads like an attempt to establish on historic and aesthetic grounds the dramatic character of Wagner's music dramas. Although Nietzsche over-emphasizes the Dionysiac principle in this effort, he is by no means blind to the fact that Greek tragedy owed its florescence to a fusion of the Apollonic and Dionysiac elements, to a reconciliation between Apollo and Bacchus. The sensuous orgies

of the Bacchanalia must be subjected to the restraining influence of the majestic and statuesque Apollo. Self-abandonment must be held in check by self-discipline and emotion must be tempered by intellect. The influence of Apollo served to raise the reveler from his subjection to those blind forces of nature, with which he had identified himself in self-forgetfulness, and to awaken him to the realization of an individual destiny over and above them. This is the *principium individuationis* operating for the development of personality and the uplift of the race through a personal victory over the Titanic and irresistible forces of nature. Among modern authors Goethe has best realized this deeper significance of the Apollonic principle. In Iphigenia, he has shown how a noble personality can overcome the gloomy beliefs and unrestrained passions which obscure the spiritual vision. Orestes, the matricide, pursued by the furies, symbolizing a guilty conscience, is absolved from pollution, not by an act of ritual atonement, but by the influence of the purer character of his sister Iphigenia, the priestess of Apollo.

When Hofmannsthal selected "Electra" as the subject for his first essay in the field of ancient tragedy he was at once confronted with a choice between the Apollonic and the Dionysiac principle. It is not entirely to his credit that he has reverted to the Dionysiac conception and presented us with a drama of orgiastic vengeance, which has little in common with our modern thought unless it be with the intensive study of hysteria, paranoia and other related branches of abnormal psychology. The plot is borrowed without essential change from Sophocles. Electra, loyal to the memory of her outraged father, Agamemnon, maintains a solitary protest against her mother, Clytemnestra and the latter's paramour Aegisthus. Through years of mental and physical anguish, her life has been one of imagined association with her dead father, who urges her on to ultimate vengeance. Upon the return of her brother Orestes, her vision of triumph becomes realized, Clytemnestra and Aegisthus are lured to their death, and the murder of Agamemnon is avenged.

Hofmannsthal makes no innovations in the sense of Voltaire or Alfieri. As in Sophocles, the primary interest centers in



the portrayal of Electra, the other characters serving only to throw her into stronger relief. Voltaire and Alfieri distract our attention by the introduction of the "cri du sang", the former by making Clytemnestra intercede with Aegisthus for Orestes, the latter, by endowing Clytemnestra with a hysterical tenderness for her children. If Hofmannsthal is indebted to anyone besides Sophocles, it is to Euripides. He does not follow him in making the brother equally responsible with the sister for the act of vengeance, but resembles him greatly in the interpretation of Electra's character. In the *Electra* of Euripides we no longer find that peculiarly Sophoclean union of strength and gentleness which proceeds to the execution of a righteous and just vengeance, but an undaunted, cold-blooded Lady Macbeth, actuated by an ineffable hatred of her mother. Hofmannsthal goes a step farther than Euripides in thus degrading human passion and bringing it down to a lower plane. His is an *Electra* not only of vengeance but of ecstatic vengeance, yielding entirely to the Dionysiac passion of revenge, she soon loses her personality through too frequent indulgence in gruesome memories of Agamemnon's murder and horrible visions of the vengeance to come. From a lowly slave, hiding in the palace yard, she grows before our eyes into a wild dancing Salome, whose exultant and ecstatic frenzy finally breaks the bonds of endurance and casts her a broken reed at our feet.

In the very first scene, *Electra* appears before us, surrounded by her fellow-slaves. She is a veritable wild beast, springing in and out of its lair, to snarl at anyone who comes too near. Like the screech-owl in the forest, she breaks the deep silence of the night with wailing and lamentation. In her reproaches to her fellow-slaves we are aware of something more than a sense of personal pain and sorrow. She gloats over this sorrow and guards it jealously from foreign intrusion. The fact that she alone for so many years has mourned the loss and cherished the memory of Agamemnon, gives her a feeling of ownership which rebels at even a sympathetic interest. Her sense of fairness is utterly obscured by the "idée fixe" of the desecration of Agamemnon's household. She curses the slaves for giving birth to children in a house

which still reeks of unavenged murder. Dwelling upon the gruesome details of this murder, and conjuring up visions of the vengeance to come, have been the sole occupation of Electra's despondent mind.

Hofmannsthal has followed Sophocles in making Agamemnon the silent, sympathetic ally of Electra in her hours of lamentation. But while Sophocles emphasizes the noble victorious king of Greece, stricken down in the hour of triumph by his faithless wife and her treacherous paramour, Hofmannsthal's Agamemnon appears to Electra at the time of the murder, bathed in his own blood, with gaping wounds, as he is dragged from the palace by Aegisthus. This vision of the past is inevitably accompanied by one of the future, a veritable orgy of the blood, which has accumulated in Electra's perverted mind. She says: "Blood shall flow from a hundred throats. As from overturned jugs it shall flow from the bound murderers; and round about shall stand, like marble vases, the naked bodies of their accomplices, of men and women; and with the rush of a swollen stream their life blood shall flow." She sees herself and Orestes dancing the blood dance at Agamemnon's grave. "And I shall raise my foot, step by step, over corpses and they who see me dancing shall say: 'for a great king is prepared a gorgeous festival by his own flesh and blood, and happy is he who has children to dance such royal dances at his grave'."

Besides Electra there are but two characters in the drama which are developed with psychological care and nicety; Clytemnestra, the mother, and Chrysotemis, the sister. Clytemnestra reminds us of a wounded serpent, writhing and coiling in agony, but without sufficient strength to strike a blow. She is treacherous and deceitful, possessing no moral sense whatsoever. Her actions are inspired by no feeling of remorse but by an intense fear of impending doom. Electra's bitter invectives are to her not the voice of conscience but of an avenging Nemesis. In her eyes Electra assumes the form of a demon, who disturbs her rest with horrible dreams and hallucinations. Electra has for her the attraction of the flame for the moth. As the source of her dreams and misery, she looks to her for relief, attributing to her an almost supernatural pow-

er. Clytemnestra believes in the healing power of charm and talisman and comes to Electra as to a priestess, in search of a rite or ritual, which shall remove the curse. To this demand Electra replies, "When the proper victim falls under the ax, thou shalt dream no more." A large part of the first scene between Electra and Clytemnestra consists in the latter's attempt to interpret these ambiguous words. Electra leads her on with tantalizing cruelty, pronouncing at last the damning words, "What must bleed is your own neck, when Orestes the hunter has caught you." At this point Electra is again seized by one of her convulsive fits of hate, rage and invective, in which she pictures all the revolting detail of the act of vengeance.

Chrysotemis is the natural and normal woman, serving as a background, against which Electra's abnormal personality stands out in strong relief. She is mentally weaker and physically stronger than her sister, a true woman, whose desire for marriage and family outweigh the memory of her father's death. Toward her Electra is bitter and brutal, upbraiding her in vulgar language and making her little better than Clytemnestra. In reply to Chrysotemis's words, "I am a woman and desire a woman's fate", Electra scornfully replies, "You desire to be a refuge for the murderer after the crime".

As compared with her sister, Electra appears to be entirely unsexed. To her, Chrysotemis's longing for children, in its disregard of the duty to be performed, is merely bestial. The bestial character of her own state never enters her mind. To her, but one thing is bestial and that is to forget the past and submit to a life of physical comfort.

When Electra receives the news of Orestes's supposed death, removing all hope of assistance from this source, she implores Chrysotemis to take his place in the act of vengeance. This appeal is one of the most beautiful and at the same time most inconsistent scenes in the drama. We cannot but feel that, in spite of her physical exhaustion, Electra would at the supreme moment, find the demonic strategy to put to death both her mother and Aegisthus. The appeal itself is a long drawn out lyric digression on Chrysotemis's feminine beauty,—better

suited to the lips of an ardent lover than to those of a heartless sister. It is this scene especially which has aroused so much unfavorable comment among German critics, who see in it an indication of Electra's perverse sexual tendencies. To my mind this is not only an unnecessary but a highly unjust interpretation. The author motivates Electra's praise of Chrysotemis's beauty and strength in the memory of her former self and the consciousness of the need of physical force to wreak her vengeance. Chrysotemis's charms have a value in her eyes only so far as they may become the instrument of this vengeance. The German critics may have been led astray by witnessing the first presentation of the drama in Berlin. *Fräulein Eysolt*, who played the part of Salome in Wilde's play, also created the role of Electra. It is undoubtedly true that she injected too much of Salome's sensuality into Electra's character.

Although Hofmannsthal's Orestes is merely outlined, he is a very sympathetic character. He is impelled to action, not so much by hatred of his father's murderers, as by the command of the gods to take revenge. In fact the regard for his mother is almost as strong as the mandate of the gods. It is not until Electra recites to him the horrible details of his father's death and the heartlessness of Clytemnestra, that he says, "I will do it and do it quickly." He appears to Electra in her hour of direst distress, after the appeal to Chrysotemis had been made in vain. Orestes finds her at the threshold digging for the ax with which Agamemnon had been slain and which she has selected as the instrument of vengeance. Moved first by pity at the sight of her lowly and abject state and then aroused to sympathy by her dismay at the news of Orestes's death, which he brings in the guise of a messenger, he wrests from her the confession that she is Electra. He then reveals his own identity and the two avengers take counsel as to the course of action to be pursued. The second stage of this recognition scene is highly disappointing. There is no exultant cry from Electra at seeing the longed-for retribution so near at hand, no indulgence in brotherly and sisterly affection at the reunion of these two outcasts, so marvelously brought together by fate. Electra pauses in her gruesome

task only to indulge in a monologue of self-pity and regret for the loss of her former beauty, called to mind by those memories of the past which are revived by Orestes's appearance.

The double murder is soon consummated. Aegisthus and Clytemnestra are quickly lured to their death, which takes place behind the scenes. We see Aegisthus at a window crying for help, and hear the shrill shrieks of the hapless victims. Then Electra appears to dance the dance of blood and to die before our eyes in a fit of exultant and ecstatic frenzy. The introduction of this dance at the conclusion of the play is by no means entirely satisfying. It seems as if the author were shifting from himself the responsibility for the supreme effect and leaving it to the terpsichorean ability of a virtuoso to cap a fitting climax to his drama of blood and revenge.

Second only to Hofmannsthal's interest in the curse resting on the house of Pelops is his interest in that second famous cycle, the Theban Oedipodei. As early as 1906 he published a translation of Sophocles's Oedipus, thus evincing an interest which was later substantiated by an original work, "Oedipus and the Sphinx". His version of the Oedipus Rex is neither a literal nor a free translation, but an abridgement or adaptation. The division into speeches is followed faithfully throughout and the spirit of the original is well preserved except for the choruses, which are either omitted entirely or sketched. The long speeches are cut down and abstracted, portions of them being transposed and even taken up in subsequent speeches. The solemn and dignified Greek choruses, importuning the gods for deliverance from woe, are transformed into mere exclamatory imprecations, with the emphasis laid upon the realistic horrors of murder, blood and incest. It is especially in this careless treatment of the chorus that we are conscious of the wide gap which separates the translation from the original. Sophocles always shows a delicate sympathy between meter and matter, his elaborate lyric rhythms being the expression of the feeling which the course of the drama excites in the chorus and the spectator. It is surprising that Hofmannsthal, of pronounced lyric talent, should neglect the opportunity offered by these choruses, to give free play to his own peculiar genius.

In his original work "Oedipus and the Sphinx", Hofmannsthal is the first modern to weld together into dramatic form the events immediately preceding the action in Sophocles's Oedipus. Of the ancients, Aeschylus alone made this attempt in his satyric drama, "The Sphinx", which is no longer extant. The most detailed account of these events is obtained from Sophocles himself and may be gathered from incidental hints in his exposition of the Oedipus. Briefly related, they are as follows: Laius, king of Thebes, being childless, asks the oracle of Apollo at Delphi whether it is fated that a son be born to him. The answer is, "I will give thee a son, but it is doomed that thou leave the sunlight by the hands of this child." When the son is finally born, it is exposed to death on Mount Citheron. But the Theban servant, who receives the infant from its mother, Jocaste, seized with pity, gives it to a fellow herdsman from Corinth. The latter gives it to Polybos and Merope, the childless rulers of Corinth, who rear it as their own and look upon it as heir to the throne. Now it happens that at a feast a young man, heated with wine, throws out a hint that Oedipus is not the true son of the Corinthian king, but a foundling. Oedipus resolves to seek the truth from Apollo himself at Delphi. On consulting the oracle he receives no answer to the question touching his parentage, but is told that he is doomed to slay his father and defile his mother's bed. He departs from Delphi, resolved to return to Corinth, and takes the road through Phocis to Boetia. But it happens that Laius also has taken this road from Thebes to consult the oracle at Delphi. His small party meets Oedipus at a narrow place near the branching roads in Phocis. A quarrel ensues in which Laius is slain by Oedipus, thus fulfilling the first part of the oracle. The mourning for Laius in Thebes is soon displaced by a new source of trouble. The Goddess, Hera, hostile to this city, the favorite of her rival Semele, sends, to afflict it, the Sphinx, a monster with a maiden's face and a lion's body. She sits on a hill near Thebes and chants the following riddle, "What is the creature which is two-footed, three-footed and four-footed, weakest when it has most feet?" Every failure to answer costs a life. Oedipus arrives and solves the riddle by answering "man". The

Sphinx hurls herself from the rock and the thankful Thebans proclaim Oedipus their king. At the same time he marries Jocaste, his own mother, in this way fulfilling the second part of the oracle.

The action of Sophocles's Oedipus begins sixteen years after this marriage and is concerned with the gradual revelation of Oedipus's identity, the final certainty of which reduces him from the height of fame and power as King of Thebes to the misery and despair of a social outcast. Hofmannsthal's drama sets in at the cross roads at Phocis, after the visit to the oracle, and relates those events which lead up to the incestuous marriage with Jocaste.

Among these antecedent events are several which are susceptible of effective dramatic treatment; the taunt at the banquet and murder of the scoffer, the visit to the oracle at Delphi, the murder of Laius at the cross-roads, and the conflict between Oedipus and the Sphinx. Of these Hofmannsthal has chosen only the last two for dramatic treatment; the others we hear, as in Sophocles, in narrative form, from Oedipus's own lips. To fill in the gap and to give at least the semblance of a plot, he amplifies the character of Kreon, giving him an undue and unhistorical prominence. Kreon appears as a scheming and unscrupulous villain who attempts to murder Oedipus and replace him as king of Thebes. The climax of the drama actually lies in the moral ascendancy gained by Oedipus over Kreon at the cave of Harna. What the play lacks in plot is made up in intensive psychological analysis. Act I is devoted entirely to Oedipus; Act II to Kreon and Jocaste. It is not until the final scene of Act II that these protagonists are brought together and anything like action results from the juxtaposition of their conflicting wills.

Driven mad by a sudden reversal of fortune, which has changed him from prospective heir to the throne of Corinth into an abject creature, condemned by the oracle to murder his father and defile his mother's bed, Oedipus has wandered for three days and three nights in the country between Delphi and the cross-roads in Phocis, resolved never to return to Corinth and in some yet undecided way to become reconciled with his fate. Of course this reconciliation involves, in its

surrender of the past, a complete change of life and personality. It is therefore an altered Oedipus, half-crazed with grief, half forgetful of his former self, that is found at the cross-roads by his retainer, Phönix, who has come to search for him.

Through the suggestive power of Phönix's references to the past life at Corinth, Oedipus is partially restored to his former self. He unburdens his heart to his faithful retainer as to a father-confessor and relates the events which have brought him to this sorry state. It is especially in his account of the visit to the oracle that Oedipus's character assumes definite shape before our eyes. After the ritual of consecration by the priestess of Apollo, he falls into a hypnotic or cataleptic state, in which he is visited by the shades of his ancestors, who penetrate his whole being with their spirit and merge their individuality with his own. The entire history of his family seems to be concentrated in his person and he reviews, with himself as chief actor, the horrors and crimes which have brought the curse upon his house. We are reminded at this point of Hofmannsthal's words quoted in the introduction of this essay, where he emphasizes his interest in present phenomena as a heritage from the past, and expresses a desire to unravel those threads which connect the present with the past. "In the pores of my body, I trace a heritage from by-gone days, from remote ancestors and primeval times." It is this thesis of heredity which is developed here in Oedipus's communion with the spirits of his ancestors. But Oedipus's vision is not limited to the past, but includes the future as well, giving the author an opportunity to introduce his secondary theme of predestination. Oedipus's hands are suddenly uplifted to strike down an imaginary foe, whose identity is concealed by a veil, and his heart is filled with the joy of anger. The scene then changes and he finds himself in the loving embrace of a woman, in whose arms he seems to be a god. He rises to kiss her lips but they likewise are concealed by a veil, which recalls the memory of the man he has just slain. As he wakes from these visions the priestess enters and pronounces the words, "As thou hast dreamed, so it shall be fulfilled. Thou shalt slay thy father and defile thy mother's bed."



Up to this point there is nothing abnormal in Hofmannsthal's Oedipus, but his answer to Phönix's next question stamps him as both abnormal and perverse. Phönix asks, "Did not your soul reject these horrible words?", and Oedipus replies, "No, they ate their way into the very marrow of my being and there found nourishment, nothing but nourishment." Oedipus explains these enigmatical words by saying that although subjected to various temptations he has always remained chaste, that an unsheathed sword hung between all women and himself. He now realizes that it is for his mother's sake that he has been thus preserved. The oracle is further confirmed in his mind by the fact that his first amorous desires were aroused by the sight of his supposed mother, Merope, going with her attendants to perform the holy rites. Hofmannsthal is by no means an innovator in thus endowing Oedipus with a premonition of the incestuous relationship into which he is to enter. His predecessors, Voltaire, Corneille and Dryden, represented both Oedipus and Jocaste as haunted from the first by a mysterious instinct of their relationship. Dryden makes Jocaste say, "When you chide, me thought a mother's love start up in your defence." But, where Dryden uses these premonitions to make the spectator shudder, Hofmannsthal's interest in abnormal psychology lays the emphasis upon the pernicious tendency in Oedipus's character. The oracle strikes a responsive chord in his own nature and he feels himself capable of committing all the atrocities predicted of him.

In spite of this natural weakness Oedipus by no means humbly submits to the curse laid upon him by the oracle but heroically endeavors to prevent its fulfillment. He resolves never to return to Corinth and to sacrifice his brilliant future in that city. He becomes a wanderer upon the face of the earth, a companion of the birds and beasts of the field. In a passage of surpassing beauty in which there is perfect correspondence between the meter and the intense emotion, he takes leave of his followers and through them of his supposed father and mother. As he lies in the road with hands and eyes uplifted to the gods, praying for a happy issue from his affliction, his fate swoops mercilessly down upon him in the form of the

herald of Laius, king of Thebes, who commands him to clear the road. In the struggle which follows, Oedipus slays the herald and when Laius, demanding a life for a life, commands him to be bound and taken captive to Thebes, Oedipus is forced in self-defence, to slay the king. With a final look at his victim to assure himself that he has not killed his father, Polybos, thus fulfilling the dreaded oracle, he goes on his way and the first act closes with the hopeful words, "The day is dawning, The world is dawning, There is no blood upon my staff, No blood upon me; O night, receive thy dead."

The greater part of Act II is devoted to the exposition of Kreon's character. In the prominence given to this villain Hofmannsthal harks back to Corneille and Dryden. The latter, following the Frenchman's example, makes Kreon a hunch-back knave, who plots against Oedipus and sues for the hand of Euridice, daughter of Laius and beloved of Adrastos, king of Argos. The salient characteristics of Hofmannsthal's Kreon are brought out in two scenes; one with a magician and the other with a boy-favorite. Kreon is imbued with an inordinate desire to become king, but an innate cowardice arising from fear of the demonic influence of Jocaste, keeps him from taking any definite step to advance his project. This dread of Jocaste has its origin in a wrong which he imagines he has done her. In former years, as a messenger from the priests, he had announced to Laius that he would die by the hand of the child she should bear him. The consciousness of this wrong, combined with his present designs upon the throne, assumes the form of a demon clothed in the image of Jocaste. From the magician, whom he consults as to a method of overcoming her, he gets little satisfaction, merely the words, "Sacrifice, Sacrifice," together with the veiled hint well understood by the reader, that the demon, gnawing at his soul is not Jocaste but Oedipus. Kreon has a vague premonition of the ultimate failure of his plot in a dream. He sees himself, not as the king of Thebes, but as a servant to the new master, who appears to be a Laius redivivus.

In the scene with the boy-favorite, Kreon is revealed to us as a selfish, treacherous sybarite, a type of decadent rather than heroic Greece. Nothing can stir this coward to action,

neither the assurance by three separate messengers of the loyal support of his followers, nor the self-sacrificing love and almost feminine devotion of his favorite. The boy's confidence in his master's ability to conquer the Sphinx finds no response in Kreon's pusillanimous heart, for he knows that he does not possess the courage to make the dangerous trip to the cave a second time. The report had gone abroad that in his first attempt the gods had given a sign that the time was not ripe for the solution of the riddle, by making Kreon's torch-bearer slip and plunge over the precipice. We now learn from Kreon's own lips that he stabbed this torch-bearer in the back, because he showed by his halting step that he had no confidence in his master. In spite of this humble confession the boy-favorite sticks to Kreon with unswerving loyalty and almost womanly devotion, reminding him that his destiny is still in his own hands, that only one positive step is required to insure success. When Kreon shows, by an absolute refusal to act, that he is a cowardly and unfeeling voluptuary, the boy commits suicide from sheer disappointment.

The character of the third protagonist, Jocaste, is revealed to us in a scene with her mother-in-law, Antiope. The latter blames Jocaste for the curse which rests upon the city. It is her sterility which has brought the Sphinx and all the evils which afflict the land. Jocaste endures these upbraidings until she is forced to confess that she has given birth to a child which was exposed in order to circumvent the oracle. Jocaste's role in the drama is a passive one. At Antiope's suggestion she is willing to offer herself as a sacrifice to the Sphinx and when the populace clamors that she bestow her hand on the deliverer of Thebes, she humbly consents. In spite of her passiveness, however, Jocaste is clear-sighted and realizes better than anyone else the futility of struggling against fate and the gods. Not being a blood member of the ill-starred family of Laius, she is not subject to those presentiments and visions which partially reveal the future but withhold the essential and clarifying facts. She has none of the clairvoyant faculties of Antiope, her mother-in-law, who as a seer and priestess has a vision of the god or demon whom

Jocaste is to wed and with whom she is to rear an heir to the Laius throne.

At least two thirds of the play has been consumed with exposition and characterization when the real action sets in. The populace comes to the palace, clamoring for a king and deliverer, and for want of a better candidate, are ready to accept Kreon. This catastrophe is averted, however, by the arrival of the seer Teiresias, who falls in a trance at the sight of Laius's bloody cloak and announces the arrival of the true deliverer. He cries, "Out of endless woe arises a demigod", prostrates himself at Jocaste's feet and calls her mother. This is the clue, desired by the populace, which at once exacts the promise that the deliverer shall wed Jocaste. The fulfillment of Teiresias's prophecy is near at hand; for Oedipus, arriving in this city of burning homes and devastated fields, inquires into the cause of the disaster. The people greet him with the title "Perseus, deliverer of the city". He is told the story of the Sphinx and asked if he is willing to undertake the deliverance of the city. Oedipus looks upon this opportunity as a command from the gods and accepts the task with the utmost confidence in himself. The people demand that he see the queen, Jocaste, before making the trip to Harna. As soon as he is brought into her presence she cries, "Laius", and Oedipus, as if struck by lightning cries repeatedly, "Who is this woman?"

It is difficult to state with what conflicting emotions this mother and son confront one another. Without doubt they are both inspired by a sudden sympathy which consumes the very marrow of their souls. For Jocaste this union brings with it the prospect of a new life with total oblivion of the ancient curse which has deprived her of her child. For Oedipus also the prospect of a new life opens up. This union with an alien house will certainly render void the prediction of the priestess. The sacrifice which he has made in leaving Corinth has apparently appeased the gods. These facts stand out clearly, but down in their subconsciousness are dull and vague feelings struggling for recognition; in Jocaste, a mother's love for a son, interpreted as sexual attraction; for Oedipus, a son's love for a mother, mingled with the gratification of his own

pernicious tendencies, for he says of Jocaste, as he has said of his supposed mother at Corinth, "For thy sake have I disdained the maidens in my own land".

It is not until the third act that we have the scene to which the drama owes its title, "Oedipus and the Sphinx" and then not the conflict itself but a narrative from Oedipus's lips of what transpired in the cavern at Harna. Much of the act is taken up with the struggle between Oedipus and Kreon. The latter, disguised as a torch bearer, accompanies Oedipus with the intention of murdering him and taking his place as king. As Oedipus emerges from the cavern, Kreon is about to spring upon him with drawn dagger. But Oedipus turns in time to snatch Kreon's arm and ward off the impending blow. Upon Kreon's confession that he is a member of the royal household and related to Jocaste, Oedipus spares his life and then relates his experience with the Sphinx. This narrative differs from the traditional account in that the Sphinx does not propound the riddle at all. At the sight of Oedipus it makes a low obeisance and calls him by name, saying, "Be greeted, Oedipus, thou who dreamest the deep dreams and for whom I have waited." It then turns and plunges over the precipice with a cry of mingled triumph and despair.

For Oedipus this experience is a sign that his fate is linked in some mysterious way with that of the demon; that there is no possibility of getting away from the dream of the oracle; that there can be no future for him in Thebes or any other part of the world. In the depths of despair and with the intention of making a still greater sacrifice, he hands the dagger to Kreon, commanding him to put an end to an accursed life. But Kreon is so dazed and overwhelmed by the supernatural character of Oedipus's experience that he hails him with the words, "Thou art a god and the son of the gods, I cannot lift my hand against thee." But something more is required than the homage of a regenerate Kreon to raise Oedipus from his despondency. In this drama of dreams, demigods and clairvoyance, we are not surprised to encounter a "deus ex machina" in the form of a thunderbolt from the sky, which kindles a thousand year old oak, as a wedding torch for Oedipus. He himself has agreed to set this tree on fire with Kre-

on's torch as a signal that his visit to the Sphinx has been successful.

Oedipus accepts the sign and arouses himself from his lethargic despair. With one supreme effort he puts the past behind him and asks for the name of the queen. At the word "Jocaste" he seems to feel the fulfillment of his innermost desires. "Since I have heard it, it seems as if the pulse of the world, the restless sea, dully thundering, rose and fell in joyous unison with the ebb and flow of my blood." The populace now come to proclaim him king and place the crown upon his head. The act and the play end in an affecting scene between Oedipus and Jocaste. That their union is fated and inevitable is indicated to them both by the sign from the gods, but that this union will bring joy and happiness neither seems convinced. In spite of their mutual attraction there is a dark, unspeakable something brooding over them. Jocaste feels the embrace of death in Oedipus's arms and Oedipus sees the mysteries of death glowing in dull flowers about Jocaste's girdle. Their very last words, Jocaste's question, "What is it that we do?" and Oedipus's answer, "The blind act of the gods", show that they realize the tragic import of their union.

It is extremely difficult to follow the ups and downs of Oedipus's moods in this last act and obtain any very clear idea of his conception of the future. It appears, however, that the author wishes to leave with us an impression of the dual character of Oedipus's emotions; happiness in the possession of Jocaste, but anguish in the mysterious, supernaturally revealed fate which threatens to close in upon him.

The great defect in the drama lies in its remoteness from human interest. It is not so much the tragedy of a human being as of a demigod. Of course Oedipus's struggles to circumvent the oracle are in a general way symbolical of the struggles which we all have to make against the burdens laid upon us by heredity and environment. But there is no immediateness of contact between Oedipus and the average human being. We cannot measure his character in terms of ordinary psychological analysis. What can even the expert psychologist say of the mental states of a demigod? We may

ask, for example, whether there is any natural reason except disparity of age why a son, separated in infancy from his mother, should not fall in love with her in adult life. For human beings the answer would be emphatically, "none". And yet we cannot gainsay Hofmannsthal in portraying the demigod, Oedipus, with a semi-clairvoyant presentiment of the incestuous relationship between him and Jocaste. A second objection to the play arises from the fact that it cannot be judged entirely on its own merits but must be considered in relation to the Oedipus of Sophocles. Hofmannsthal's hero suffers greatly by comparison with his prototype. If there is any one thing that characterizes Sophocles's Oedipus, it is intellect. All that he learns is obtained through the exercise of this faculty. Even when the evidence is brought before him of his being implicated in the death of Laius, he sifts and analyses it with the impartiality of a judge. There is no suggestion of foreboding or premonition in his character. For sixteen years the union between Oedipus and Jocaste has been a happy one. Children have been born to them and Oedipus stands at the height of his fame. When the catastrophe arrives it is sudden and overwhelming.

Both Sophocles and Hofmannsthal agree in making the central idea of their drama the irresistible power of destiny. It is in the development of the minor themes and their reflection in the consciousness of the characters that we see the greatest divergence in the two plays. Especially in the second theme of Sophoclean drama, the sacredness of primary ties, does Hofmannsthal differ most widely from Sophocles. While the latter, as a true poet, emphasizes the horror of even an unconscious sin against these ties, the former shows in his Oedipus a perversity of nature, which finds a violation of these ties perfectly in keeping with his own desires and inclinations. Objection might also be made to the traditional distortion of Kreon's character. With Sophocles, his is the lot of the average normal human being. He is honest and sturdy, successful in all his undertakings, but not consumed, as Hofmannsthal's Kreon, by an inordinate ambition. Hofmannsthal was evidently mindful of this objection for he makes the rather unsuccessful attempt to rehabilitate Kreon in our eyes by making

Oedipus forgive him and ask him to stand a brother at his side. This sudden transformation from abject villainy to humble adoration is, however, too sudden to be convincing.

"Oedipus and the Sphinx" marks the end of Hofmannsthal's interest in Greek antiquity. His latest effort, the "Rosenkavalier" makes a leap of centuries and places us in the outgoing Rococo. It is a far cry from the bloodthirsty Orestes to the fickle and frivolous Marschallin, temptress of the Chevalier des Roses. We can only stand aghast at Hofmannsthal's versatility and register the "Rosenkavalier" as a further indication of his peculiar talent.

*Philadelphia.*

GEORGE M. BAKER.



## KJÆMPEHØIEN AND ITS RELATION TO IBSEN'S ROMANTIC WORKS

*Kjæmpehøien* or *The Warrior's Mound* was the first fruit of Henrik Ibsen's interest in the Romantic literature of the North. So thoroughly was the work permeated with the spirit of Romanticism and so closely did it follow the conventional type of drama established by Danish Romantic School that it has been rightly termed <sup>1</sup> 'an impersonal study after the manner of Oehlenschläger's Norse tragedies.' Nevertheless, the history of the composition of this work clearly shows that Ibsen was developing towards a different conception of the Viking character than that which the Danish dramatist, Oehlenschläger, had portrayed.

Two versions of *Kjæmpehøien* appeared, one in 1850 and the other in 1854. These two versions differ so widely from each other in dramatic treatment that it may be assumed that even as early as the year 1854, Ibsen had begun to free himself from the thralldom of Oehlenschläger's Romantic conception of the Viking character and that he now was pursuing his own way, which was to lead him later to the composition of such dramas as *Fru Inger til Østraat* (1854) and *Hærmændene paa Helgeland* (1857). These later dramas were so out of tune with the conventional Oehlenschläger type that they first met with ill success upon the Norwegian stage.

Early as the year 1849-50 in his Grimstad days, Ibsen was at work upon a Viking drama, *Olaf Trygvesson* (Breve I. II. p. 58-59) and also wrote a little one act play of the same nature, entitled *Normannerne*, which in the next year (1850), after he had come to Christiania to take his examinations for the university, he developed further into *Kæmpehøien*. This play he wrote during the Easter vacation and in its first form presented it to the Christiania theater, where (unlike *Catalina*) it was accepted, under the title "*Kjæmpehøien, dra-*

<sup>1</sup> *Henrik Jøger, Henrik Ibsen*, p. 67-68. Baade i form og indhold er det en upersonlig studie efter Oehlenschlägers nordiske tragedier.

*matisk Digting in I Act af Brynjolf Bjarme.*"<sup>2</sup> This little one-act Viking drama was quite in harmony with the prevailing literary taste in Norway and was well received, establishing the first signs of Ibsen's literary reputation in Christiania. It was first played September 26, 1850, and repeated twice, September 29 and October 24 of the same year. After its first performance the play was somewhat disdainfully criticized but not without recognition of its poetic value in *Christiania Posten* <sup>3</sup> No. 744, but somewhat later received as much favorable criticism in *Krydseren*,<sup>4</sup> No. 77.

In the meantime the author himself was not entirely satisfied with the form of his work and therefore while he was in Bergen, as theater director and playwright, he subjected the play to a thorough revision. In this revised form he introduced it to the Norwegian Theater in Bergen, January 2, 1854, where it was given only once again, February 15, 1856. In its original form of 1850, *Kjæmpehøien* was never printed and our sole knowledge of the work is based upon the "*Sufflørbog*" (promptbook) of Christiania Theater, now preserved in the archives of the National Theater at Christiania. From this "*Sufflørbog*" Henrik Jæger has given an analysis and criticism of the work in his "*Norske Forfattere*" (Kbh. 1883), p. 161-178. In the revised form of 1854, the play was printed directly after its performance in Bergen, as a "feuilleton" in *Bergenske Blade* 1854, No. 9-13. The numbers of this newspaper cannot be found for the year 1854, but there is a copy of the "feuilleton" in the library of the Bergen Theater, from which the play is published by Halvdan Koht in the "*Supplementsbind*" of "*Henrik Ibsen's Samlede Værker*," (Kbh. 1902), p. 1-44.

That Ibsen, himself, thought well of this little Viking drama is certain from the fact that long after he had left the field of Romantic literature he took pleasure in reading *Kjæmpehøien* again. In June, 1897, Julius Elias and Paul Schlenther, Ibsen's ardent admirers and the chief exponents of the poet's cause in Germany and Austria, sent him a detailed plan for

<sup>2</sup> *Henrik Ibsen, Samlede Værker, Supplementsbind, Bibliografiske Oplysninger* ved Halvdan Koht, p. I. ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Henrik Jæger, Norske Forfattere*, p. 169-771.

the publication of his *Complete Works* in German. Ibsen approved the plan but there was some difficulty in obtaining copies of his earliest works for translation. Many of these were sent to Vienna in manuscript form, among which was *Olaf Löljekrans*, September 1, 1897, and a little later, September 7, 1897, *Kjæmpehøien*, when the poet took occasion to write to Elias: "Today I am sending you *Kjæmpehøien* which I finally have succeeded in getting into my possession. After reading it through, I find there is after all much good in this little, youthful work, and I thank you sincerely that you compelled me to include it in the collection."

The influence of Oehlenschläger upon both versions of *Kjæmpehøien* is unmistakable. The general theme of the play, the contrast of the sturdy Norse warriors with the weaker race of Southern clime, the brutality of the heathen religion of Odin and Thor over against the ennobling influences of Christianity, together with many individual details,<sup>4</sup> are sufficient evidence that Oehlenschläger had served Ibsen to a large degree as the model for his work.

The chief difference in the general nature of Ibsen's work and those of his Danish predecessor is that Ibsen lays the main stress upon the contrast between Christianity and heathendom as moral factors in the development of character, while Oehlenschläger is chiefly concerned in depicting the vital power of the North in contrast with the effete and degenerate life of the self-indulgent South.<sup>5</sup>

Fredrik Paasche, now *Universitetsstipendiat* in the *History of Literature* at the University of Christiania, has treated the whole question of Ibsen and his relation to the Romantic

<sup>4</sup> Such as Blanka's dream realized in the person of the Viking Chief Gandalf (cf. Tordenskjold and Miss Carteret in "*Tordenskjold*"). Maria and Harald Haarderaade in "*Væringerne i Miklegård*" and such as the figure of the aged Rørek who determines to spend the rest of his life upon the island as a hermit (cf. Kuetsalcoal alias Bjørn in "*Landet fundet og forsvundet*")

George Brandes, *Henrik Ibsen*, p. 123-127.

Henrik Jøger, *Henrik Ibsen*, p. 67-71.

Henrik Jøger, *Norske Forfattere*, p. 174-178.

<sup>5</sup> Henrik Jøger, *Henrik Ibsen*, p. 69.

Movement in his essay upon "*Gildet paa Solhaug*,"\* in which he devotes especial attention to the variance in dramatic treatment in the two versions of *Kjempehøien* (p. 63-65). Here the author shows that the main difference in these two versions consists in the superior delineation of character in the second.

The writer of this article agrees with Herr Paasche that there is an inner necessity in the later version, which brings about the change of heart in Gandalf and his warriors. In the first version Gandalf is persuaded to renounce his Viking vow of revenge by Blanka's series of declamations which savor strongly of *Oehlenschläger's* bombast. One almost feels that she is sermonizing. The wild Viking Chief is suddenly converted into an exponent of the Christian faith. His warriors follow him without dissent, but neither Gandalf nor his men are in any wise prepared for this violent change. Therefore, the transition from the brutal doctrines of heathendom to the teachings of Christ is too sudden to be natural and savors more of *Oehlenschläger* than of Ibsen. The chief virtue of Ibsen's dramas as a whole consists in his wonderful analysis of human character. Of *Oehlenschläger* one can hardly say that his dramas are anything more than dramatized romances. With him skill in character delineation is conspicuously lacking; exactly the opposite is true of Ibsen.

In his second version of *Kjempehøien* Ibsen has to a large extent remedied the weakness of the first. With skilful hand he prepares Gandalf for this inner change. Gandalf's men too, still heathen at heart, do not all follow their chieftain's example as a mere mechanical act of service, as in the version of 1850, but, true to their belief in the sacredness of their heathen oath of revenge, rebel against his conduct. Asgaut, the typical Norse Viking, views his master's act with contempt and openly avows his intention to leave the land of

\* *Fredrik Paasche, Smaaskrifter fra det litteraturhistoriske seminar, V. Gildet paa Solhaug, Ibsens National romantiske Digting.* This work is the most detailed study of Ibsen's relation to the Romantic Movement which we possess. The work shows much literary feeling and originality, and is an invaluable contribution to the general study of the Romantic Movement in Norway.

Southern weaklings and cowards, and sail for Iceland whither the disease, which has smitten his fellow country-men, has not yet found its way:

“Jeg vil gå til Island; did er end ei sotten trængt.”

This essential and all important difference in the dramatic motivation of character between the version of 1850 and that of 1854 has not yet been sufficiently emphasized or analysed, even by Herr Paasche. First of all, Gandalf in the version of 1854 is the highest type of Viking character and one well fitted for conversion to the nobler ethics of Christianity. He repeatedly rebukes his men, especially Jostein, for their savage rapacity.<sup>7</sup> Though a heathen at heart he is honorable and true to his own ideal of heathen ethics.<sup>8</sup> There is a strong moral fibre to his character and such a character, especially at a time when the Old Norse religion was beginning to waver before the ever increasing power of the Christian faith, is ripe for the conversion to which Blanka gives the impulse. Such is not the case in the elder version in which Gandalf has sworn to *spare neither man nor woman* in his ruthless work of revenge.

In the later version though he rebukes his skald, Hemming, for entertaining a superstitious reverence for the Christian religion and with contempt bids him don the monk's cowl, Gandalf betrays, nevertheless, a certain loathing for the old heathen gods whom his bard exalts in song. As soon as Asgaut

*Supplementsbind, p. 14:*

JOSTEIN

Det er en gammel skik, og den bør agtes!  
Men hvis jeg havde været konning Gandalf,  
så var jeg bleven liggende i Velskland,—  
*for der var guld at vinde.*

p. 15:

GANDALF

Og nu afsted at speide rundt om søn;  
ti end i nat skal hævnens være fuldbragt,  
hvis ei, så må jeg falde selv.

ASGAUT

Det svor han.

GANDALF

Det svor jeg dyrt ved alle Valhals guder!  
Og end engang jeg sverger.

and his Vikings leave Gandalf, the latter expresses his aversion for the crude, coarse gods of his fathers in a violent outburst of feeling. He says (p. 16-17): "He (Asgaut) never really trusts me. 'Tis well he went! It is like a weight upon my shoulders, when he is near me. The old stone-man with his rude features; he reminds me of Asathor, who in the sacrificial grove on my father's estate stood hewn out in gray stone with Mjølner and the magic belt." Thus it is evident that Gandalf entertains neither a feeling of reverence nor affection for the gods of his ancestors. In strong contrast to this natural aversion for the crude images of the heathen gods is the spontaneous admiration which he expresses for the graceful beauty of nature which surrounds him in the milder clime of the South. With the vision of the crude and clumsy Thor still in his mind he suddenly pauses, filled with admiration for the scene which confronts his physical sight (p. 17). "How beautiful it is here in the groves of the South; *my* fir-trees have not so sweet a perfume." Thus he betrays a fineness of feeling incompatible with the worship of stone images.

When a child, his father had told him that a part of the fallen warriors was received by Freya whose fair abode he described much like the gentle, sweet grove in which the lovely Blanka dwells. Freya is the embodiment of grace and gentleness, and represents rather the milder virtues of Christianity than does Odin who is the chief god of the Vikings and their ideal of warrior. Odin once declared war against Freya's race of the peace-loving Waners and cast his mighty spear into their midst. To escape the disgrace of the "*straw-death*" the true Norse warrior consecrated himself to Odin by running his spear through his own body. After listening to Blanka's gentle words; how she would transplant the fair flowers of the South to the barren soil of the North and cover the naked mountain-sides of Norway, infusing gentleness and love into the brutal strength of the Viking marauder, Gandalf realizes that he himself is one of the fallen warriors who shall see Freya, for now Odin no longer can claim him. The development of Gandalf's character at this

point is strongly marked and prepares us for the change soon to come.

When Blanka tells him the pitiful story of her foster-father with its touching pathos of Christian love, Gandalf forgets for a moment that he has sworn an oath of revenge (p. 25).

GANDALF

“Ha, blodhævn! Tak! Du minder mig om ordet; fast havde jeg forglemt.” So deeply is he touched by the Christian charity and devotion of this simple maid towards her enemy that he wavers in his heart to fulfil the brutal doctrine of revenge; and finally, susceptible as he is to good impulses, succumbs to the new doctrine of forgiveness. Gandalf’s character, as we have seen, is not at all incompatible with such a change of heart, for the Christian virtues are there, though under the guise of a heathen religion. Therefore, though he accepts the new doctrine in his heart he outwardly rebels against its influence for he still clings to the letter of his old religion and to the spirit of bravery and self-sacrifice which in a spiritual sense is also a part of the Christian religion. The gallant warrior is no coward, he must consecrate himself to Odin but will spare his enemy even as she spared hers. Contempt for weakness is the Viking’s chief virtue and to forgive one’s enemies must, according to the heathen code of the Asa faith, be construed as weakness. Therefore, Gandalf chooses death; a fact which reflects the heathen virtue of his character.

When his companions return and threaten to enslave or murder Blanka, Gandalf spares her life. Not only this, the Vikings are determined to slay the aged Roderik also, whom they believe to be the sole survivor of the band who murdered their chieftain Rørek. Blanka, who knows that Roderik is deceiving the Vikings in order to save her life, betrays his purpose. But she cannot believe that Gandalf, the heathen, could understand such a deed of Christian self-sacrifice. A heathen could not possibly comprehend the motive of such an act. But a real inner conversion has already taken place within Gandalf’s heart. He understands now the Christian

doctrine of self-sacrifice.\* Turning to his men he bids them spare the life of their supposed enemy. He, himself, therefore follows out Blanka's doctrine of self-sacrifice by offering his own life in accordance with his oath, namely, either to slay the murderer of his father or take his own life if he failed. Thus we see that Gandalf is now a heathen only according to the letter of religion, but a real Christian at heart. This transition from heathen to Christian is developed with much stronger conviction and logical sequence than in the version of 1850, where the transition is unnatural, abrupt and without the compelling force of inner development.

Blanka and Gandalf have both experienced a premonition that they were destined for each other. In the elder version Blanka has merely cherished an ideal of Norse warrior from the vivid descriptions of these brave men, which her foster-father was wont to give her. In the later version Blanka has actually dreamed that she had seen her beloved in the form of a Viking (p. 7, 8, 18), 'standing at the prow of his ship with the copper helm upon his golden locks,' etc. Gandalf too has been driven from him home by 'a secret longing, a quiet impulse' (p. 42) towards the goal of his love. Both these secret premonitions are later actually fulfilled. Fredrik Paasche (p. 89 ff.) traces the origin of this motif back of Heinrich Kleist's, *Das Käthchen von Heilbronn* and develops it further in *Olaf Läljekrans*, *Fru Inger til Østraat* and *Hærmændene paa Helgeland*.

In *Olaf Läljekrans* both Olaf and Alfhild have premonitions

p. 35-36:

BLANKA

Han skuffer eder!

(til Gandalf.)

Har du ei begrebet,  
det er kun mig, sin datter han vil frelse?  
Dog, hvad forstår vel du et kærligt sind,  
der ofrer alt for den, som—

GANDALF

Jeg forstår ei?

Du tror ei, jeg forstår?

(til Vikingerne.)

Han skal ei fældes.



of their future love. Olaf's ideal of happiness is pictured by the elfwomen as a flower (p. 84)<sup>10</sup> which Olaf must first pluck and whose leaves he must first tear off and scatter to the winds ere he can find happiness. The flower<sup>11</sup> here is the symbol of love which must first be tried and tested ere it can be proved genuine.

In *Fru Inger til Østraat* a similar mysterious relation exists between Nils Lykke, the Danish nobleman, and Eline, daughter of Fru Inge. In the fifth act of the play, Nils Lykke in his secret interview with Eline reveals the same irresistible power over her which Graf Friedrich exerts over Kätchen. Eline has secretly cherished him in her dreams as her ideal lover. A premonition which she is powerless to resist has at last been fulfilled. Though at first hating him for his infidelity and cruelty, she at last becomes a slave to his every wish. Like Kätchen she is proud to receive a crumb from her master's hand.

In *Hærmændene paa Helgeland* this motif has assumed far greater proportions than Fredrik Paasche has led us to believe. Here in *Hærmændene* we not only have the same secret attraction of two souls for each other in the persons of Hjørdis and Sigurd but also the beginnings of the problematic phase of soul affinity which occupied such a large place in Ibsen's later social dramas, especially in the characters of *Rebecca West* and *Pastor Rosmer* in *Rosmersholm*. In *Hærmændene* the secret of this mutual love between Hjørdis and Sigurd can be traced back to the old legend of the *Volsunga Saga* where Sigurd rescues the Valkyria, *Brynhildr*, from the wall of flame. *Brynhildr* loves the man who rescued her, not

<sup>10</sup> *Supplementsblad*.

<sup>11</sup> It would have been well if, in the chapter upon the relation of the German Romantic School to Ibsen's poetry (Gildet paa Solhaug som led av Ibsen's digtning, p. 96 ff.), Herr Paasche had brought this symbol of happiness in *Olaf Liljekrans* in connection with the favorite symbol cherished by Novalis and his School, namely, "die blaue Blume" of *Henrich von Ofterdingen* (1799-1800); although there is probably no direct connection between this and Ibsen's flower of love, other than that of pure poetic fantasy.

the man she weds.<sup>12</sup> In *Hærmændene* Hjørdis, in spite of her marriage to Gunnar, cherishes the same love for the brave as does Brynhildr. This love for Sigurd is a part of Hjørdis's wild, Valkyria nature, a part of her life's destiny, a thread spun at her birth by the inexorable Norns which connects her destiny with Sigurd's; if this thread be broken, two lives are lost instead of one.

### *Hærmændene*

#### ACT III

Hjørdis (med høihed). Det er *nornens råd*, at vi to skal holde sammen; det *kan ei ændres*; grant ser jeg nu mit hverv i livet: at gøre dig berømmelig over alle lande. Du har stået for mig hver dag, hver time jeg leved her; jeg vilde rive dig ud af mit sind, men magted det ikke; nu gøres det ei nødigt, nu da jeg véd dui elsker mig.

Hjørdis (med høihed). Jeg blev hjemløs i verden fra den dag du tog en anden til viv. Ilde handled du den gang! Alle gode gaver kan manden give til sin fuldtro ven,—alt, kun ikke den kvinde han har kær; thi gør han det, da *bryder han nornens lønlige spind og to liv forspildes*.

In her deep seated passion for Sigurd, her dominant will and unlimited ambition, Hjørdis possesses that same type of masculine character which Ibsen later develops in *Rebecca West* who likewise strives to shape the destiny of the man she loves. Bound to him by the invisible thread of destiny, a spiritual kinship which no power can alter, she demands as the price of her love that both share the fate of the unfortunate wife, who has been wedded to the man destined for another and thus has broken 'the secret thread of the norns.' Thus two lives must be sacrificed instead of one.

Another very striking parallel in this relation of soul kinship we find between *Hærmændene* and *Kæmpehøien* itself. In both instances, the lovers, though predestined for each other in this life, are to be separated in the next by reason of their religious faith; one being a Christian and the other a

<sup>12</sup> cf. *Sigrun*, in *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* II, who has loved Helgi before she has ever seen him. She too begs him to rescue her, in this instance from her betrothed, Hoðbrodd, son of Granmar.

heathen. This is not at all a strange motif in a Viking drama, since one of the chief questions of interest involved is the struggle between heathendom and Christianity. In *Hærmændene* Sigurd has been converted to Christianity by King Athelstan of England, while upon a Viking expedition into that country. When Hjørdis shoots the fatal arrow and Sigurd falls, she believes that they will now be united in Valhalla and thus the thread of the Norns will remain unbroken. But their separation is now eternal for Sigurd is a Christian. He must go to meet 'the white God,' while Hjørdis must enter the portals of Valhalla.

*Hærmændene*

ACT IV

Hjørdis (jubilende, idet hun iler hen til ham:) Sigurd, min broder,—nu hører vi hinanden til!

Sigurd. Nu mindre end før. Her skilles vore veie; thi jeg er en krisnet mand.

Hjørdis. (forfærdet.) Du—! Ha, nei, nei!

Sigurd. Den hvide gud er min; kong Ædelstan har lært mig ham at kende; det er op til ham jeg nu går. Hjørdis (i fortvilelse.) Og jeg—! (slipper buen.) Ve, ve!

Thus the thread spun by the Norns at her birth, is broken and two lives are lost instead of one.

In *Kjæmpehøien* when Gandalf, in fulfillment of his oath, determines to take his own life, Blanka rejoices, believing that they shall yet be united in the life to come. But Gandalf is a heathen, Blanka a Christian, therefore they must now be separated forever.

*Supplementsbind, p. 38-39*

SCENE VII

BLANKA

Vi mødes atter!

GANDALF

Aldrig, aldrig mer!

Dig venter himlen og den hvide Krist,  
Jer går til Valhal; taus jeg sætter mig  
ved bordets ende, nederst imod døren,  
thi hallens lystighed er ei for mig.

But here the softer light of Oehlenschläger's Romanticism casts its rays upon the scene. Gandalf is released from his heathen oath by the sudden revelation of Roderik's identity. A reconciliation follows in which Blanka is united with Gandalf who determines to renounce his wild Viking habits for a peaceful life at home.

Fredrik Paasche<sup>13</sup> has noted the influence of *Welhaven* (1807-1873) and *Heiberg* (1791-1860) upon Ibsen's second version of *Kjæmpehusien*. Welhaven's love of nature-symbolism, the poetic fantasy with which he fills the woods and waters with nature-sprites is quite evident in Ibsen's "*Blandede Digtninge*" of 1849-1850,<sup>14</sup> in many of his early dramatic works of the fifties,<sup>15</sup> and later in the *Epic Brand*.<sup>16</sup>

*Johan Ludvig Heiberg*,<sup>17</sup> the Danish poet and critic, also had a strong influence upon Ibsen at this time, as is shown by the fact that Ibsen not only quotes him in his *Fortale* to *Norma*<sup>18</sup> and applies Heiberg's aesthetic criticism to certain phases of dramatic art<sup>19</sup> but also in a poem to Heiberg at the latter's death in 1860 (*Ved. J. L. Heibergs Død*) urges both Danes and Norwegians to carry on the poet's life-work, whom he considers to be a spokesman of the North.

The general tendency of aesthetic nature worship which both Heiberg and Welhaven represent can be plainly traced in Ibsen's early works of the fifties. He was then following out the so-called "*Heiberg-Welhavenske Linje*" which was carrying him somewhat away from a pure imitation of Oehlenschläger. Heiberg, for instance, made no such distinction

<sup>13</sup> *Smaaskrifter*, p. 65 ff.

<sup>14</sup> *Efterladte Skrifter*, Indledning LX-LXII, cf. *Møllergutten*, *Midnatsstemning*, *Inat* with Welhaven's *Digte*, 1839. *Nyere Digte*, 1845. *Halvhundrede Digte*, 1848.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Sankt Hans Natten* and *Olaf Liljekrans*.

<sup>16</sup> *Episke Brand*, p. 257 ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Fredrik Paasche*, *Smaaskrifter*, p. 62.

*Efterladte Skrifter*, Indledning, LXII.

*Episke Brand*, p. 262.

<sup>18</sup> *Efterladte Skrifter*, I, 77.

<sup>19</sup> *Asylet paa Grønland*, *Theatret*, *Efterladte Skrifter*, I, 228-234. I, 243-245.

between present and past as did Oehlenschläger. With Oehlenschläger the past represented an entirely different civilization and life from the present age. "For Heiberg centuries were as moments, men of the day were united with those long dead" (F. Paasche, p. 62). In Heiberg's foot-steps followed *Henrik Hertz* (1797-1870) with his anonymous *Gengangerbreve* which put into verse-form Heiberg's aesthetic principles.

When Roderik in *Kjæmpehøien* describes to Blanka the wild scenery and the valiant Viking of the North, he pauses for a moment thinking that Blanka, who has never seen Norway, can in no wise comprehend or appreciate the feeling he has for his native land. But Blanka here exhibits a fineness of feeling and appreciation of nature which makes it unnecessary for her physical eye to behold all these splendors. She says: "does man need to see and to hear everything with his outward senses? Has not the soul also eyes and ears to hear and to see with just as distinctly? With my physical eye I see, to be sure, the rich glow of color which the rose possesses; but the eyes of my soul can in the chalice see a winsome elf with the wings of a summer bird, who roguishly hides back of the red leaves and in sweet melodies whispers of a secret power from heaven which gave the flower its glorious color and perfume."

All this is stamped with the spirit of Welhaven, in fact we hear in Blanka's reply Welhaven's elf, as a symbolic spirit of nature, singing a song of praise to the flowers just as in the poet's *En Vaar-Nat* (*Nyere Digte*, 1845).<sup>20</sup>

But in the contrast which Blanka emphasizes between spiritual and physical vision the influence of Hertz is just as apparent as that of Welhaven. One needs only to mention *Hertz's Kong Renés Datter* (1845) to understand the parallel involved. King René's daughter does not require the physical

20

Vaar-Natten stille og sval  
favner den slumrende Dal.  
Elvene nynne de lange  
dæmpede, dyssende Sange.  
Alfer sukke  
for de smukke  
Lilier: "O, tager os tilfange!"

sense of sight until the flame of love within her arouses the desire for it. She senses the form, color, quality and other attributes of physical objects by means of the inner vision of the spirit. It is the soul of things which she sees with this vision just as Blanka who penetrates the spirit of nature with her inner vision. The real spirit of nature can be comprehended without seeing its outward form and color; a poetic thought thoroughly Romantic in conception and quite in keeping with the construction which Welhaven and Heiberg laid upon the interpretation of nature. But the parallel in thought between *Kong Renés Datter* and Blanka's reply to Roderik is too striking to be merely fortuitous. Why should Blanka, for instance, mention this inner vision and emphasize its power in contrast to the mere sensing of outward form, which one has through the physical sight? She might have answered Roderik's rebuke in various other ways, which would have satisfactorily assured him of her appreciation for the life and the natural scenery which he is describing to her. But instead she chooses to explain her appreciation on the ground of an inner vision of the spirit which can sense the real significance and beauty of nature.

Furthermore, in the opening scene of *Kjæmpehøien* when Blanka dwells in revery upon the imposing grandeur of Norwegian life, she expresses the wish that she might have "the magic swan's ham" (*svanehammen*) and fly over the sea. The beautiful legend of the mermaids who are provided with magic wings and fly to all parts of the earth has its roots in old Germanic folk-lore and was a very common motif among the Danish Romanticists. The legend finds its most beautiful literary expression in Hertz's *Svanehammen* (1841).

The influence of Hertz's *Svend Dyrings Hus* (1837) upon Ibsen's *Gildet paa Solhaug* (1855) cannot be denied, although Ibsen, in the *Fortale* of the second edition of *Gildet paa Solhaug*, strongly protests against any imitation on his part of Hertz's work. *Svend Dyrings Hus* and *Kong Renés Datter* are Hertz's two most famous dramas both of which were known in Norway as most graceful products of the Danish Romantic School. While theater director in Bergen, Ibsen himself presented *Svend Dyrings Hus* a little while after the

first performance of *Gildet paa Solhaug* (1856). Undoubtedly the dramas of Henrik Hertz, with their highly artistic form and grace, the most finished products of Romantic genius, impressed the young Ibsen at this period of his development.

In the concluding scene of *Kjæmpehøien* when the reconciliation has taken place and Blanka decides to follow her hero to the North, she utters a prophesy concerning the future of Norway. "Just as the spirit of the hero, whose body lies buried in the mound, shall rise to Valhalla there to do battle upon the plain of the Gods, so also the North shall rise from its grave, and its spirits, thus purified, shall do battle upon the sea of thought."

Når mos og blommer dækker høiens side,  
skal heltens ånd på Idavold jo stride,—  
så stiger også Norden fra sin grav  
til luttret åndsbedrift på tankens hav!

The last two lines are the only ones written in Ibsen's own handwriting in the manuscript copy of 1854, now preserved in the Library of the Bergen Theater. Georg Brandes<sup>21</sup> believes these lines lie outside the original limits set down for the drama and sees in them evidence of the poet's awakening to self-consciousness in spite of the imitative character of the whole work. "Ibsen," he says, "undoubtedly expresses here his strong and justified faith in the future."<sup>22</sup>

Undoubtedly Ibsen does here express an optimistic hope as to the future of Norwegian intellectual life (åndsbedrift). Ibsen afterwards expressed his optimism concerning the future of man in a speech at Stockholm,<sup>23</sup> Sept. 24, 1887. He had often been accused of being a pessimist and here he took occasion to define exactly how he stood on this matter. "I am a pessimist in so far as I do not believe in the permanence of human ideals. But I am also an optimist in so far as I thoroughly believe in our power to transmit and develop those

<sup>21</sup> *Georg Brandes, Henrik Ibsen, Tredje Indtryk* (1898), p. 126.

<sup>22</sup> Men i disse ord har han da ogsaa utvetydigt udtalt sin stærke og berettigede Fremtidstro.

<sup>23</sup> *Supplementsbind*, p. 516-517. *Tale ved en fest i Stockholm.*

ideals (idealernes forplantningsevne og deres udviklingsdygtighed). The ideals of our age, by their very decadence, are tending towards that which I have called, in my drama *Keyser og Galilæ*, "*The Third Kingdom*." This "*Third Kingdom*" he further defines: "I believe that there will soon come a time when our social and political conceptions will cease to exist in their present form and from them both will grow up a unity which will, for the time being, contain within itself the conditions for man's happiness. I believe that poetry, philosophy and religion will be blended together into one new category and into one new vital power which we, who are living to-day, can in no wise comprehend."

This open declaration of trust in the future of man bears a striking resemblance to the young Ibsen of *Kjæmpehøien*, whose faith in the intellectual future of Norway is added in his own handwriting.

But in spite of the ulterior significance of this passage in *Kjæmpehøien*, there seems to be evidence that these last two lines were not entirely original with Ibsen as the expression of the poet's personal views, and furthermore that they did originally lie, contrary to Brandes's statement, within the lines set down for the drama. In Oehlenschläger's *Væringerne i Miklagard*, which undoubtedly partly served Ibsen as a model for *Kjæmpehøien*, Maria expresses, in the final scene of the play, exactly the same hope for the future of her fatherland as Blanka in *Kjæmpehøien* does for the North. Out of love for Maria, Harald has promised to spare her fellow-countrymen but though he spare them he will always despise them on account of their treachery and deceit. "The whole world," he says "shall, just as I, despise this brood of vipers." In her death struggle Maria sees a vision of the future. Raising herself in his arms with the convulsive strength which her approaching death lends her, Maria gives the lie to his false prophecy: "Hellas shall rise again, strong, noble and beautiful. Her heroes and poets shall be crowned anew, her language shall not perish nor her beautiful land with its springs and blue mountains, nor shall her spirit pass away in a degenerate race. Through the dark night of death I see clearly—my fatherland shall regain its glory."



Two circumstances confirm the suspicion that Ibsen based Blanka's epilog in *Kjæmpehøien* upon this passage in *Væringerne i Miklagard*. In the first place, the main thought in both passages coincides, as a sort of heraldic prophesy of a new age for the country which both characters (Blanka and Maria) love; in the former case her adopted land, in the latter her native land. Secondly, both passages are at the end of the play as a sort of epilog, giving the action a formal conclusion and lending a dramatic quality to the scene. Blanka's:—

så stiger også Norden fra sin grav  
til luttret åndsbedrift på tankens hav!

is exactly the same idea as Maria's:—

Nei - - - atter skal Hellas  
Reise sig stærk, ædel og skjøn.

This thought may have been particularly attractive to Ibsen on account of his own faith in the future and therefore these two last lines in *Kjæmpehøien* were personally added by him in the manuscript copy in the Library of the Bergen Theater. But that they originally lay outside the limits set down for the drama is clearly refuted by the almost direct parallel in *Væringerne i Miklagard*, which more than any of Oehlenschläger's plays served Ibsen as his model for *Kjæmpehøien*.

Finally, it is of interest to note that Gandalf, in speaking of his duty as Viking chief, to protect the religion and life of the Old Norse warrior, refers to this office as a "call," an expression which Ibsen afterwards uses so frequently with regard to the mission of the individual in life. This "call" develops later into the great problem of *self-realization* which becomes one of Ibsen's most important philosophic concepts.

Gandalf.

Det blev *mit kald* som drot at værne om vort Kæmpeliv.

The study of *Kjæmpehøien*, as Ibsen's first Romantic production, is of great importance to the student of Norwegian literature. Here we see the poet in his inception, fumbling about for literary form and originality, still bound by the prevailing influence of Oehlenschläger and his School, yet at the same time betraying his own personality and the possibility of a different type of Viking drama. What Ibsen was to be

later, especially as author of *Fru Inger* and *Hærmændene* can be seen in germination in this youthful work. In short, no work offers us a better insight into Ibsen's own literary growth than *Kjæmpehøien*, for after a study of this play we realize what a truly marvelous development he experienced. He began as a pupil of Oehlenschläger but finished as his master.

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## THE GUTTURAL SERIES IN ENGLISH CHEWS: CHOUSES.

1. The following entry is extracted from Paul's Deutsches Wörterbuch, s. v. *kosten*:

1. Zu *kiesen* (urverwandt mit Lat. *gustare*), bedeutete ursprünglich allgemein 'prüfen', ist dann beschränkt auf 'prüfen durch den geschmack'.

Beyond question this statement of the Germanic usage of the sept to which Eng. *chooses* belongs is correct, and in its slightly altered sense *chooses* is still as completely generalized as was *kosten* in its earlier sense of 'prüfen'. But how is the restriction of *kostet* to the sense of 'tastes' to be reconciled with the fact that γούραι and Lat. *gustat*, its cognates earlier of record, both mean 'tastes'? By later restriction *kostet* seems to have arrived at the only sense attested for γούραι and *gustat*.

2. What was the original sense of this word-sept? In Sanskrit the root *jus-* and all its offshoots (stems) seem rather to have the sense of 'to enjoy', but if we will study Grassmann's classification of the objects of *jus-* in the Rig Veda, such, e. g., as *havyā* 'libamenta', we can but yield assent to his rubrication of the examples as though the primary sense was 'kosten'.

3. Further and ample vindication of this primary sense of *jus-* may be drawn from the compound word *sajūs*, which Grassmann defined all too vaguely by 'zusammen' from 'gleich-befriedigt'. In RV. 10, 105, 9, *sajūr* (sc. *asi*) — *nāvam svāyaçasam* is correctly, however literally, rendered by Griffith (substantially after Ludwig) as "thou joyest in the self-bright ship" (the 'ship' being the 'vessel' that contained and transmitted the sacrifice to Indra). Here *sajūs* is a genuine participial, governing the accusative, and is applied to the partaking of the sacrificial food. In all its other usage *sajūs* is a prepositional of the type of Lat. *adversus* (nom. of a ptc.). For the sense we can adduce a very near parallel in Fr. *copain*, Eng. companion wherein *com-* 'with' and *pāis* 'bread' are represented. The sort of 'companionship' originally indicated by *sajūs* is again revealed very clearly in its usage in RV. 5, 51, 8 (repeated with other names also in stanzas 9 and 10):

a saĵūr viçvebhir devébhir  
 b açvibhyām usāsā saĵūh  
 c ā yāhy agne atrivát suté rana.

Here Agni, companioning-with (*saĵūs*) the Viçve Devās, with the Açvins and with Usas (Aurora), is thus besought in c:

huc veni, O Agni, presso (sc. quasi vino) delectare (2d ipv. pass.). Similarly in 1, 23, 7; 1, 44, 14; 5, 60, 8 *saĵūs* stands in drinking contexts, while in 1, 44, 2 it is applied to a bearer of offerings. Not coupled with predicates meaning to drink or eat we find *saĵūs* generalized only in 6, 47, 29; 7, 34, 15; 10, 75, 6 (here of rivers flowing forth). Surely the contexts in which chiefly *saĵūs* survived attest its inherent connection with the acts of drinking or eating, i. e. 'tasting'.

4. So far as meaning goes, if English *chooses* (from a root written *ġews*-) originally meant 'tastes'—and I am here reminded of country-folk I have known who used the locution "I wouldn't *choose* any" as an archaic etiquette for polite refusal of foods offered them at table—it invites identification with Eng. *chews* 'masticates', for which the root (see Kluge, s. v. *kauen*) is written, in weak grades, *gyū-* / *ġw-* (with either *g-* or *g<sup>w</sup>*—cf. OBulg. *živq* 'I chew' with *živq* 'I live'—not with palatal *ġ*). To mediate between *gyū-* (not improbably reduced from *gyēw-*) and *ġews-* (with determinative *-s-*), we may assume that *ġ* was a proethnic variant of the *gy-* of *gyēw-*; and that this, plus the determinative *-s-*, served to denote the specialized sense of 'to taste'. This is to assume that, when analogy did not interfere, *gy-* yielded *ġ[y]-* or, after the terminology of Fick, *z[y]-* (cf. Bartholomae's γ-spirant, Gr. Iran. Phil., § 26). So far as a mere literal representation goes, we may compare Greek γ- from γγ-.<sup>1</sup>

5. Due allowance made for extended levelling in the individual word-septs, we cannot expect a rigid demonstration of

<sup>1</sup>On the general problem of the development of palatals (spirants) from pure gutturals see Joh. Schmidt in KZ. 25, 123 sq., Hirt in BB. 24, 288 sq., Fay in AJPh. 32, 416 sq. I there expressly proposed, in order to achieve parallelism with the notation of the labialized gutturals by *kw gw*, to notate the palatals by *ky gy*. This proposal will gain in value if it can be rendered probable that *ġ*- proethnically arose from *gy-*. Pedersen in IF. 5, 76 suggested that *ki* was the proper phonetic notation of *k̂* for the satem-languages.

the notion I once advanced (Cl. Rev. 13, 398; cf. 11, 300) of the interchange of the three guttural series conditioned on the palatal or labial nature of the environment.<sup>2</sup> If by an *a priori* we should expect *ġīw-*, and not *gīw-* 'to chew', so far as the palatal *ī* was potent, still anticipative rounding from the *w* (or the *o* color of a deflected grade *\*goiw-*) might have been a factor potent enough to maintain an initial *g-* against palatalisation, or even to round it to *g<sup>w</sup>-*. But, generalizations apart, let us empirically test the cognates of the root of Eng. *chews*, now written *ġīw-* / *gyū-*, and in the Germanic group *kīw-* / *kū-*.

6. As regards *kū-*, it is common to consider *k-* as a Germanic product of *ky-* (cf. e. g. Streitberg, Urg. Gram., § 72).<sup>3</sup> But the loss of *y* may rather have been prothetic (see Brugmann, Gr.<sup>2</sup> I, § 279, anm. 1, with literature, especially Kretschmer, KZ. 31, 386.<sup>4</sup>) The chief instances which appear to make for this loss of *y* are found in Skr. *sūtra-* 'thread': the root *sīv-* / *syū-* 'to sew' (cf. Walde, s. v. *suo*), and in Skr. *-mūta-s* 'motus': the root *mīv-* 'movere' (cf. Walde, s. v., noting the loss of *y* in the Latin, also). We also have a "root" *spū-* 'to spit' alongside of *spīw-*<sup>5</sup> (cf. Walde s. v. *spuo*, noting the Sanskrit rhyming synonym *sthīv-* / *sthū-*).

7. Not only must we recognize the variation *īw* / *yū* but

<sup>2</sup> This and other possible causes of shift between the guttural classes are collected by Hermann in KZ. 41, 59.

<sup>3</sup> Streitberg writes Germ *k'* (from *ky-*), and regards the *t-* of ONorse *tyggva* 'to chew' as proof of *ky-*. Brugmann Gr.<sup>2</sup> I, § 312, 1) explains *t-* as dissimilated from *k-*.

<sup>4</sup> Hirt (Abl., § 770—780) classifies most of the words involved in the discussion of this question as trisyllabic bases. Kretschmer's account of the weakest grades as the product of *-ya-w-* and *-y-aw-*, respectively, from roots in *-yēw-* seems to offer at least as adequate a formula.

<sup>5</sup> Not impossibly a *w*-less form of this root exists, represented in the sept of Eng. *foam*: Skr. *phēna-s* from a root stage *\*phēy-* (cf. Walde, s. v. *spūma*). Av. *spāma-* 'spittle, slime' may come either from *sphē(y)-* or *sphē(w)-*, and Lat. *spūma* 'foam' either from *sphōy-* or from *spharw-* (as here = *e*, *o* or *ə*).

also *īw* / *yū*, especially in the stem (or root) *diw*.<sup>8</sup> 'to shine' (in the sept of Lat. *dies*, v. Walde, s. v.) as compared with Skr. *dyu-t*.<sup>7</sup> 'to shine'. A *w*-less form of the root is found in Skr. *dī*- 'to shine' (cf. also *dī-p*-) and in *dīna-m* 'dies' (: OPruss. *deina*. Lat. *nun-dīnae* etc.). Similarly, beside Skr. *cyávate*<sup>8</sup> 'moves, stirs', *xī-vēw* and Lat. *cīeo* (ptc. *-cītus*) exhibit a *w*-less root form, though *ciēs ciētis*, e. g., may continue proethnic \**k(i)yēwesi* etc. For the long<sup>9</sup> vowel cf. Skr. *cyāu-tná-m* 'concussio'.

8. As in the roots in *-īw*- / *-yū*- listed above we have forms in *-[y]ū*- after *s*-, *sp*- and *m*-, it is a ponderable query whether Germanic *kū*- 'to chew' does not represent proethnic *g[y]ū*-, or even *gū*- (cf. on *gēw-s*- 'to taste' in § 4). For the further consideration of this problem let us turn our attention to the root *g<sup>w</sup>īw*- 'vivere' represented in Skr. *jīvati*-, Lat. *vivo*.<sup>10</sup> But

<sup>8</sup> Inasmuch as *dī-w*- is found only in the *dīes* sept (Skr. nom. *dyāu-s*) I am inclined to interpret proethnic *dy-ēw*- as a tautological compound of *dī*- 'shining' + *ēw*- 'burning': the root *ēw-s* in Lat. *ūrit* 'burns'. The root without *s* exists in OBulg. *ūtro* / *jūtro* 'aurora', as to which cf. Berneker, IF. 10, 156.

<sup>7</sup> Is the *j*- of *jyōtis* 'lumen' due to a dissimilation in the syllable sequence *d-t*-?

<sup>8</sup> Avestan cognates show in the earlier language *sy*- in the later *s*-, a sequence analogous to Streitberg's theory in § 6 fn. for Germ. *k*- from *ky*-.

<sup>9</sup> It seems quite too complicated, on the basis of this definition, to derive Lat. *quatio* from a root *k[y]ēw*-, where relation to a start-form *kw-at*- would be quite problematic. See on *quatio*, (dissimilated, and with broken reduplication) from *twə[y]-t-io* (root *twē(y)*- in Greek *σεῖω*) Fay in a forthcoming number of IF.

<sup>10</sup> Inasmuch as the root for 'to chew' admits of being written *g<sup>w</sup>īw*- as well as *gīw*- (see § 4), question must arise as to the ultimate identity of *g(w)īw*- 'mandere' and *g<sup>w</sup>īw*- 'vivere'. In favor of their identity—the affirmation of which is immaterial for the questions chiefly under discussion in this essay—we may note that in Sanskrit *jīv*- with the instrumental (earlier, in the Brāhmanas, *upa* + *jīv*- with the accusative) is used of the food whereon one lives, while in Latin we have *vivere* with the ablative (in Plautus, with *de* + ablv.). Further note *γάει* with *ἀπό τινος* (cattle, fish, etc.) and English 'to live off of' (off = of, tautological).

there is also a *w*-less root form *g<sup>w</sup>ēy-* represented in βσιουαι<sup>11</sup> (v. Prellwitz<sup>2</sup>, s. v.; Walde<sup>2</sup>, s. v. vivo), Av. *gaya-* and *jiti-* 'vita', *ji-jī-š-ā* 'Erquickung, nahrung'. A root-stage *g<sup>w</sup>yēy-* is written for *gāw*, but *g<sup>w</sup>yē(w)-* is just as apt to be correct, and in either case *gy-* or *gy-* may be the true initial (see for the latter Osthoff, IF. 27, 193).

9. But we have also to recognize a *y*-less form of this root, in Skr. *jáivate*<sup>12</sup> *junóti* 'celer est', not to be separated from the *w*-less form *jinóti* / *jínvati* 'celer est; accelerat'. As regards the correlation of *jivati* with *jinóti*, the etymologists of old time formulated it by regarding *jiv* as "durch verdoppelung von *ji-* — \**gvi-* entstanden, also ursprünglich \**gvigv-*" (Grassmann, Wtbch., col. 491). According to this conception, we should have to regard the sense 'vivere' (in *jiv-*) as derived from the sense 'festinare' (in *ji-*) and make 'life' an enthymeme from 'motion'—and this were reasonable enough. But contrariwise 'motion' may be secondary to 'life'. In modern English *quick*, which in old English meant only 'vivus', now means chiefly 'celer'. The earliest example in the Oxford dictionary for the sense 'celer'—and here (probably) still a connotation only—is "He sywide (secutus est) after þe traytour mid wel *quic* pas". Here, if we modernize *quic pas* into 'lively pace', *lively* would also connote 'celer', and Germ. *lebhaft* has the same connotation; cf. also *vividus* Umber (sc. canis), Aeneid, 12, 753. With this historically attested semantic development before our eyes, we are justified in regarding Skr. *ji-rá-s* 'celer' (: *ji-nóti*) as secondary to Skr. *ji-v-á-s* 'vivus'—both from a root *g<sup>w</sup>ēy-* 'vivere'. Note that Miklosich (Wtbch., 412) institutes a morphological comparison of OBulg. *žirŭ* 'pascuum' with Skr. *ji-rá-s* 'celer'.

10. How account for the correlation of *g<sup>w</sup>ēy-* and *g<sup>w</sup>iw-*? By regarding *g<sup>w</sup>* as parasitically labialised from the root final *-w-*, and I would go on to explain *g<sup>w</sup>i<sup>g</sup>w-* (e. g. in Lat. *vixi victus*

<sup>11</sup> For the diphthong cf. ONorse forms cited by Kluge, s. v. *Keck*.

<sup>12</sup> In the Avesta *javaiti* 'viviť' (but see Bartholomae, Gram. § 268.17) may also attest a root-stage *gew-*.

'viterals'; Eng. *quick*), not exactly as a broken reduplication, but as exhibiting further assimilation of the original syllable sequence *g-w*-, that is to say that *g-w*- yielded first *g<sup>w</sup>-w*- and subsequently *g<sup>w</sup>-g<sup>w</sup>-*. Here we may recall that the early French pronunciation of Germanic *w* resulted in a labialized velar, as e. g. in Anglo-French *guard*: Eng. *warden*, Fr. *guerre*: Eng. *war*.

11. To mediate between Skr. *jīv-á*- 'celer' and *jáv-ate* 'celer est' we need but to recall the relation of Skr. *mīw-* to the *y*-less root in Lat. *mōvet* etc. (§ 6).—True, *jávate* has a palatal *ǵ*-, for I agree with Uhlenbeck that its Avestan cognate is *zāvar*- 'celeritas', a sense absolutely assured by the prevailing use of *zāvar*- as a quality possessed by horses and by the feet. With the long diphthong of *zāvar*- cf. the *ū* of Skr. *jūti-s* 'celeritas', *jū-s* 'equus'. The phonetic problem, then, is to mediate between *g<sup>w</sup>i(w)-* 'vivere' and *ǵū* 'festinare',<sup>13</sup> and the conditions are identical with the conditions exhibited above (§ 8) in regard of the root *g<sup>(w)</sup>iū-* 'to chew' (in OBulg. *zīvq* 'mando') : *g<sup>\*</sup>[y]ū-* (in Eng. *chews*) : *ǵew-s* 'to taste' (in the sept of Lat. *gustat*<sup>14</sup>). We have also noted the root-stage *g<sup>(w)</sup>ěy-* in βείωμα (with parasitic labialism of *g<sup>(w)</sup>* retained from the *g<sup>(w)</sup>iū-* stage), and must ask if a stage *ǵěy-* is not also preserved in Av. *zaēni- zaēman-* 'vigil, vigilans', Gāthic *zaēman-* 'vigilantia'.<sup>15</sup> Colloquially in America *live* (adj. = *lively*) and 'wide-awake' (= *vigilans*) are convertible synonyms; cf. Plautus, Epid. 283, *vive sapis* 'your wits are wide-awake', with Av. *zaēni-buδra-* quasi 'vive-sciens'. Not a small proportion of the lexical examples of Lat. *vividus* lend themselves to the rendering 'wide-awake', cf. also *vivaciores* = *alacriores* in Quintilian, 2.6.3.

<sup>13</sup> The Petersburg lexica define *júvas-* (RV.) by 'raschheit, lebendigkeit'.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Fr. *goûter* 'luncheon, merenda', with backwards development towards the sense of 'edere, vivere', i. e. 'victual'.

<sup>15</sup> The Sanskrit compound *āṇu-homan-* 'rasch hineilend' is not semantically so near as to demand the equation of *zaē-man-* with *hac-man-* (: *hinóti* 'incitat').



12. Among the absolutely certain cognates of *gʷiwo-* 'vi-vere' the most difficult phonetic problem attaches to βίος 'vita', from *gʷiwo-s*, as to which see Brugmann, Gr. Gram.<sup>3</sup> § 94. I entirely agree with Brugmann, as against Meillet and Schulze, that β- is abnormal for δ-, but Brugmann cannot be justified in assuming in any Greek period a pronunciation *gʷyo-*. For δφίς (i. e. δπφίς) his case is stronger, as we may admit flexion forms with *ghwy-* (not *-gʷhy-*, see Fay TAPA., 41, 41) but I shall suppose, till a valid reason to the contrary is proposed, that the φ of δφίς is like the φ of Aeolic φήρ : θήρ.

13. The alleged example of βι- out of *gʷi-* (or *gʷy-*, Brugmann's supposition) are βίος 'vita' βίος 'bow' and βιά 'vis, violentia'.<sup>16</sup> These examples, all question of their ultimate roots apart, amount to but one. For βίος 'life' we have a probable start-form *gʷiwo-s* whereas in ὁ-γής 'bonam vitam habens' we may have as start-form *gʷiyos-* (: Av. *gaya-* 'vita' :: Skr. *bhīyās-* 'pavor' : *bhayá-m*). In *gʷiwo-s*, in the syllable sequence *gʷ-w-*, *gʷ-* either never suffered delabialization, or in the pair *gʷiwo-s* / *gʷiyos-* relabialization from the *w* of \**gʷiwo-s* attacked *gʷi-* and this relabialization spread to the homonyms represented in βίος 'bow' and βιά 'violentia'.

14. A root *gʷ(i)w-* looks like a weakened form of *gʷ(i)ēy-w-* and this root or a pair of such roots meant 'mandere' and 'vivere'. From a reduced form of the latter, *gʷē-* / *gʷō-*, the verbs *vescor* (quantity of *e* not determined) and βόσχομαι 'pascor' would derive. For *ō(w)-* forms cf. Homeric βωτι-άνειρα 'pasci-vir' : βώ-τωρ 'pastor'. The diphthong of βούτης (βώτας in Theocritus) may be either original, or due to analogy with βούς. For the sense cf. Av. Y. 59, 1, *yōi nā jījīšənti* = qui nos alunt and *jījīšā-* 'alimentum, victus' (see also § 8) : OBulg. *žirŭ* 'pascuum' (§ 9).

15. Prellwitz (Wtbch.<sup>2</sup> s. v. βούς) has already suggested that βούς (: Eng. *cow*) belongs with the βόσκω sept. I also believe in the cognation of βούς with βόσκω, but I derive βούς

<sup>16</sup> I lack a control of the "andere minder sichere" examples referred to by Brugmann, l. s. c.

from a stem *g<sup>(w)</sup>[y]ōw-* 'animal quod mandit', interpreting the name of the cow as [wider-]kaüer.

16. The weakest stage of the root *g<sup>(w)</sup>[y]ēw-* would be delabialized *gū* (if not *ġū-*), and this is what we find in Lat. *guttur* (for *\*gūtur*) 'throat',<sup>17</sup> which has been compared of late (v. Ehrlich, ap. Walde<sup>2</sup> p. 870) with Eng. *cud* 'quod (or quō) bos mandit'. For *cud*, however, the Germanic start-form is given by Skeat as *\*kwednom*, and this may have come from proethnic *\*gwet-nóm*, quasi 'chewed':<sup>18</sup> the root-stage *\*gwe-t-* in Greek βο-τ-άνη 'fodder' (: βόσκει 'feeds').

### Resumé

17. A., root meaning to chew.

1. *ġiŵ-* or *g<sup>w</sup>iŵ-* in OBulg. *zīvā* 'I chew' (§§ 4, 8).
- 2. *gyū-* or *ġū-* in OEng. *céowan* 'to chew' (§§ 4, 6, 8).—3. *ġew-s-* in Lat. *gustat*, Eng. *chooses* (§§ 4, 8).

B., root meaning 'to live'.

- i. *i-forms*. 1. *g<sup>w</sup>ěy-* in βείωμα (§ 8).—1<sup>a</sup> *g<sup>w</sup>i-y-* (*?ġi-y-*) in ὀ-γίης (§ 13).—2. *g<sup>w</sup>ēy-* in Skr. *jī-rá-s* 'celer' (§ 8).—3. *ġēy-* in Av. *zaē-ni* 'vigilans' (§ 11).
- ii. *u-forms*. 1. *g<sup>w</sup>ě[w]-* in Lat. *vescor*, βόσκω, βωτίναιπα (§ 14), βοῦς (§ 15).—2. *g<sup>w</sup>ū-* in Lat. *guttur* 'throat' (§ 16).—3. *ġū-* in Skr. *junó-ti* 'celer est' (§§ 8, 11).
- iii. *i- and u-forms*. 1. *g<sup>w</sup>iŵ-* in Lat. *vivit*; *g<sup>w</sup>iŵ-*

<sup>17</sup> Lat. *gutta* 'drop' (from *gūta*) may originally have meant 'bit' (from 'bite') i. e. 'masticatum' (= a 'chew'), cf. ψαράς 'morsel, bit; drop'.

<sup>18</sup> Or is *kw-ednom* a compound of *kw-* 'cow' + *edno-m*, from proethnic *etnó-m* : ἔτνος 'pea-soup'? In consistency, and in its greenish-brown color, the expectorated *cud* is not unsuggestive of a pea-soup. Some similarity in consistency with a lava stream will explain the special turn given to ἔτνη in the Hesychian citation ἔτνη δὲ πῦρ ὥσει ποταμὸς χεόμενον ἐν Σικελίᾳ. The derivation of ἔτνος from proethnic *ed-* quasi 'ess-' + τ(μ)νο-(ς) quasi 'bissen' (: *tem-* as found in Lat. *tondet* 'bites', cf. Walde,<sup>2</sup> s. v.) is quite supposable, however incapable of demonstration.

or *gīw-* in Skr. *jīvati* (§ 8).—2. *g<sup>w</sup>i-w-* in βίος (§ 13).

iv. *i-* or *u-forms*. *g<sup>x</sup>yē(y)-* or *g<sup>x</sup>yē(w)-* in ἡμέ, ἡμέα (§ 8).

18. The palatals in § 17. A. 3 (cf. also 2) and in § 17. B ii. 3 must have been developed in proethnic times, and proethnic phonetic changes belong to the domain of the glottogonic. Still, if our phonetic processes are reliable, we shall have to determine on grounds of general semantic probability whether divergence of guttural convincingly negatives the ultimate cognation of Eng. *chews* with Eng. *chooses*, of Skr. *jī-rá-s* 'celer' with *junóti* 'celer est'. Can we not abstract an Indo-European phonetic law from a sound etymology (cf. Hirt, Ablaut, § 780) ? It can only be in the field of glottogony that we can hope to determine the ultimate correlation of the guttural classes (see Hermann, KZ., 41, 59).

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## SPENSER'S ARRAIGNMENT OF THE ANABAPTISTS

There has been general agreement that the fifth book of the *Faerie Queene*, containing the legend of Artegall or of Justice, deals with contemporary political history, and illustrates the principles of justice as involved in England's Irish policy, in the execution of Mary, and in the armed opposition to Spanish oppression in the Netherlands. In an interesting study entitled *Spenser and British Imperialism*, Professor E. A. Greenlaw has recently attempted to apply the allegory in detail, and to support the thesis that "deeper than this allegorical treatment of contemporary events lies the exposition of a theory of government that makes the book one of the most remarkable productions of the time."<sup>1</sup>

It is the object of this paper not to discuss the book as a whole, but to offer an interpretation of the controversy between Artegall and the Gyant, which occurs in the latter part of the second canto. This canto Professor Greenlaw has treated only in a very general way, not attempting a specific interpretation of the political allegory. The theme of the canto is the subject of property rights, and the canto falls into two parts,—the first twenty-eight stanzas dealing with extortion, and the remaining twenty-six with communism.

The story is as follows: Artegall, attended by his grim body-guard, Talus, the man with the iron flail, meets a dwarf who tells him of a bridge hard by which is guarded by a Saracen, Pollente. This giant assaults travelers, be they rich or poor, fordoes them, and secures their possessions and property,

Having great Lordships got and goodly farmes,  
Through strong oppression of his powre extort;  
By which he stil them holds, and keeps with strong effort.

Beyond the bridge lies a castle, presided over by his daughter Munera, who uphoards all the ill-got gains. Artegall at once sets out to overcome this nefarious extortioner. At the bridge he engages the Saracen and, after both have been

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Philology*, IX, 347.

precipitated into the flood, finally succeeds in killing him. Hence the knight and his attendant seek the castle. Munera tries to stay their entrance by heaving down bags of gold, but to no avail, for the huge iron flail of Talus shatters the door. In vain does Munera, haled forth from her hiding beneath a heap of gold, plead for mercy with Talus,—

But he her suppliant hands, those hands of gold,  
And eke her feete, those feete of silver trye,  
Which sought unrighteousness, and justice sold,  
Chopt off, and nayld on high, that all might them behold.

Then, after throwing the body into the stream, he burns to ashes the "mucky pelfe,"—

The spoile of peoples evill gotten good,  
The which her sire had scrap't by hooke and crooke,

and razes the castle.

So much for the first episode. Whatever specific political procedure, if any, Spenser may have in mind, it is evident that he is here condemning the injustice of extortion and ill-gotten gains. The counterpart occupies the latter half of the canto, in which those who deny all property rights are as roundly scored.

Proceeding on their way, Artegall and Talus at length draw near the sea. There they behold a great crowd of people, drawn from many nations, gathered around a giant, who, standing upon a rock, noisily boasts that, in the huge balances which he holds in his hand,—

All the world he would weigh equallie,  
If ought he had the same to counterpoys.  
For want whereof he weighed vanity,  
And fild his ballaunce full of idle toys:  
Yet was admired much of fooles, women and boys.

In his boastfulness he proclaims that he would weigh the earth and the sea, fire and air, heaven and hell,—

And looke what surplus did of each remaine,  
He would to his owne part restore the same again.

For why, he sayd they all unequal were,  
And had encroched uppon others share,  
Like as the sea (which plaine he shewed there)  
Had worne the earth, so did the fire the aire,  
So all the rest did others parts empalre.

And so were realms and nations run awry.  
 All which he undertooke for to repaire,  
 In sort as they were formed aunciently;  
 And all things would reduce unto equality.

Therefore the vulgar did about him flocke,  
 And cluster thicke unto his leasings vaine,  
 Like foolish flies about an hony crocke,  
 In hope by him great benefite to gaine,  
 And uncontrolled freedome to obtaine.

When Artegall sees how the giant misleads the people, he chides him severely, declaring that he is getting beyond his depth, for before one sets out to reform, he should know what was the original status of things. At the first all things were created by just measure and carefully balanced, the earth in the centre, the waters about it, the air above it. So doth heavenly justice reign that each body knows its own bounds and is without change.

But if thou now shouldst weigh them new in pound,  
 We are not sure they would so long remaine:  
 All change is perillous, and all chaunce unsound.

In great wrath the giant asks if Artegall cannot see how inordinate things have become, the sea encroaching upon the land and the earth getting its increase at the expense of the dead.

Therefore I will throw downe these mountaines hie,  
 And make them leuell with the lowly plaine:  
 These towring rocks, which reach unto the skie,  
 I will thrust downe into the deepest maine,  
 And, as they were, them equalize againe.  
 Tyrants, that make men subject to their law,  
 I will suppress, that they no more may raine;  
 And Lordings curbe, that commons over-aw;  
 And all the wealth of rich men to the poore will draw.

Artegall replies by asking the giant how he can judge of unseen things when he so misdeems visible things, for no particle of the earth is destroyed by the sea and at death we merely return the dust which we borrowed at birth.

All in the powre of their great Maker lie:  
 All creatures must obey the voice of the most hie.

They live, they die, like as he doth ordaine,  
 Ne ever any asketh reason why.

The hills doe not the lowly dales disdain;  
The dales doe not the lofty hills envy.  
He maketh kings to sit in sovereignty;  
He maketh subjects to their powre obey;  
He pulleth downe, he setteth up on hy;  
He gives to this, from that he takes away.  
For all we have is his: what he list doe, he may.

. . . . .  
In vaine therefore doest thou now take in hand,  
To call to count, or weigh his works anew,  
Whose counsels depths thou canst not understand.

To the giant's retort that he can weigh the lightest word, Artegall challenges him to weigh the false and the true, or the right and the wrong. The giant first tries to weigh the words, and then the qualities themselves, but "all the wrongs could not a little right downe way." In great rage the giant is about to break his balances when Artegall admonishes him not to be angry with them, since

In the mind the doome of right must bee;  
And so likewise of words, the which be spoken,  
The care must be the ballance, to decree  
And judge, whether with truth or falshood they agree.

He then suggests that the giant put two wrongs in the balances, since they permit of comparison, and that the right sit on the beam of the balance; the giant, however, thrusts the right away, for he has no interest therein, but is solely bent on increasing or diminishing extremes. Seeing this, Talus shoves him into the sea.

That when the people, which had there about  
Long wayted, saw his sudden desolation,  
They gan to gather in tumultuous rout,  
And mutining, to stirre up civill faction,  
For certaine losse of so great expectation.  
For well they hoped to have got great good,  
And wondrous riches by his innovation.  
Therefore resolving to revenge his blood,  
They rose in armes, and all in battell order stood.

Not wishing to soil his hands with the base blood of this rabble, Artegall sends Talus to handle them. At first they assail him, but quickly disperse when he wields his flail. So much for the story.

In briefest terms, a hypocritical, loud-mouthed, muddle-

headed agitator, a demagogue parading under the banner of justice, by shouting communism and denouncing property rights, and by denying the validity of law and authority, attracts a rabble of shallow-pated malcontents drawn from different nations. He is challenged by Artegall, the personification of justice, who declares that sovereignty and property are divinely-ordained institutions, created and supported by the mysterious providence of God, that in human life as in nature there are compensations for every loss, and that the true and the false, the right and the wrong—in other words, good and evil—cannot be placed in the balance and weighed against each other. Finally, the monstrous mischief-maker is forcibly dumped into the sea, and his disciples, who cannot be appeased by gentler means, are quieted by force.

Before entering upon the interpretation of this allegory, it remains to quote, for purposes of reference, the somewhat similar passage from *Mother Hubberds Tale* (ll. 129-149), in which the fox suggests to the ape that, since one person has no more right to property than another, they walk about the world and live without occupation:

Thus therefore I advize upon the case,  
That not to anie certaine trade or place,  
Nor anie man we should ourselves applie:  
For why should he that is at libertie  
Make himselfe bond? Sith then we are free borne,  
Let us all servile base subjection scorne;  
And as we bee sonnes of the world so wide,  
Let us our fathers heritage divide,  
And chalenge to our selves our portions dew  
Of all the patrimonie, which a few  
Now hold in hugger mugger in their hand,  
And all the rest doo rob of good and land.  
For now a few have all, and all have nought,  
Yet all be brethren ylike dearly bought:  
There is no right in this partition,  
Ne was it so by institution  
Ordained first, ne by the law of Nature,  
But that she gave like blessing to each creture  
As well of worldly livelode as of life,  
That there might be no difference nor strife,  
Nor ought cald mine or thine .....

It must be evident that the allegory of Artegall and the



Gyant is no mere academic handling of the subject of communism; it is a scathing denunciation of it, in which the personal feeling of the author is sufficiently evident. Spenser here throws down his gage. If the subject had been regarded as merely theoretical, an answer to such speculative and idealistic exercises as Plato's *Republic* and More's *Utopia*, Spenser would have replied in the traditional vein of Aristotle, who held that the sense of possession is necessary to thrift and enterprise, is a source of keen pleasure, furnishes opportunities for the practice of temperance and liberality, and makes for harmony and real unity in the state.<sup>2</sup> (*Politics* II, 5.)

Was there, then, a party or sect, in the England of Spenser's day, who were regarded as obstreperous advocates of communism, and who were sternly suppressed? Assuredly there was; a sect whose contentions were generally supposed to be those stated in the allegory, against whom the very arguments were used that are employed in the poem, whose followers were drawn from different nations, who were thought to arouse the ignorant and the designing, and to check whom the English government was forced to expell the leaders across seas without ceremony and to threaten the residue with force. This sect was the Anabaptists.

I shall now present the proofs in detail, and try to substantiate the thesis that the latter part of this canto is an arraignment of the Anabaptists.

<sup>1</sup> There is, to be sure, a touch of Neo-Platonic philosophy in Artegall's criticism of the proposal of the giant to redispse the land and the sea. According to the Neo-Platonists, earth, sea, and air are held in their places and ruled by love, and the giant's proposal showed complete misunderstanding of the loving providence of God and of the divine principles governing the Universe. The Neo-Platonic view is thus expressed by Marsilio Ficino: "Ejusdem enim semper est affectionis et conservacionis officium. Nempe similia similibus conservantur. Amor autem simile ad simile trahit. Terrae partes singulae amore mutuo copulante, ad partes alias terrae sui similes sese conservunt. Tota enim terra ad simile sibi mundi centrum illius aviditate descendit. Aquae partes ad sese invicem similiter et ad locum sibi convenientem cum toto aquae corpore servuntur. Idem partes aeris ignisque . . . ac etiam duo haec elementa ad supernam regionem sibi congruam et similem regionis illius amore trahuntur. Coelum etiam, ut Plato inquit, innato movetur amore."—*Commentarium in Convivium*, III, 2.

Citations without number might be given to show that it was generally believed that the Anabaptists, like the giant, though pretending to be reformers, were, in reality, stubborn sowers of dissension, distorting the Scriptures and tending to alienate the minds of men from each other and to dissolve the bonds of society through their denial of property rights, social distinctions, and civil and ecclesiastical authority. Two citations, however, may be taken as representative.

The first is from the pen of Bishop Hooper and was written in the time of King Edward VI: "For many times, as well heretofore as in our days, have been superstitious hypocrites and fanatical spirits, that have neglected and condemned the office of magistrates, judgments, laws, punishments of evil, lawful dominion, rule, lawful wars, and such like, without which a commonwealth may not endure. They have condemned also the ministry and ministers of Christ's church; and as for Christian society and charitable love, they confound. They use the ministry of the church so that it is out of all estimation, supposing themselves to be of such perfection, that they need neither the ministry of the word, neither use of Christ his holy sacraments, baptism and the supper of the Lord. And the other they use with such devilish disorder, that they would by a law make theirs their neighbors', and their neighbors' theirs, confounding all propriety and dominion of goods. . . . ."

"And now in our time, to the great trouble and unquietness of many commonwealths in Europe, the Anabaptists have resuscitated and revived the same errors: which is an argument and token of the devil's great indignation against civil policy and order. For he knoweth, where such errors and false doctrines of political orders be planted, two great evils necessarily must needs follow: the one is sedition, that bringeth murders, blood-shedding, and dissipations of realms; the other is blasphemy against Christ's precious blood; for these sects think they be able to save themselves of and by themselves." <sup>3</sup>

The second citation, chosen from Whitgift's *Answer to the*

<sup>3</sup> *Later Writings of Bishop Hooper*, Parker Society, p. 76.

*Admonition*, shows that this attitude toward the sect was quite unchanged a quarter of a century later. In the preface to this book, Whitgift states, "That because the common sort of persons, especially where the Gospel was preached, were so apt to embrace new-invented doctrines and opinions, though they tended to the disturbing the quiet of the Church, and the discrediting such as were in authority, and the maintaining of licentiousness and lewd liberty; he thought good therefore to set before their eyes the practices of the Anabaptists, their conditions and qualities, the kind and manner of their beginnings and proceedings, before the broaching of their manifold and horrible heresies: to the intent, that they, the Magistrates, might the rather in time take heed to such as proceeded in like manner: lest they being suffered too much, might burst out to work the same effect." The character then given to the Anabaptists is in part as follows: "That these Anabaptists had their private and secret conventicles, and did divide and separate themselves from the Church; neither would they communicate with such as were not of their sect, either in prayer, sacraments, or hearing the word. They counted all men as wicked and reprobate, that were not of their sect. They pretended in all their doings the glory of God, the edifying of the Church, and the purity of the Gospel. They earnestly cried out against pride and gluttony, &c. They spake much of mortification: they pretended great gravity: they sighed: they seldom or never laughed: they were very austere in reprehending: they spake gloriously, &c. Thereby they won authority among the simple and ignorant people. . . . They taught that the civil magistrate had no authority in ecclesiastical matters. . . . Their whole intent was to make a separation and a schism, and to withdraw men from their ordinary churches and pastors. . . . There was no stay in them; but they daily invented new opinions, and did run from error to error. They were very stubborn and wilful, which they called constancy. They were wayward and forward, without all humanity, judged and condemned all other men. They sought to overthrow commonwealths and states of government. They gave honour and reverence to none. And they used to speak to such as were in authority, without

any signification of honour. Neither would they call men by their titles, and answered churlishly; they attributed much unto themselves, and pleased themselves very well; but other men they contemned. . . . They sought to be free from all laws and to do what they listed. . . . The people had them in great admiration because of their hypocrisy and straitness of life.”<sup>4</sup> Such was the repute in which the Anabaptists were held, and it is precisely the character that Spenser gives the giant.

Again, the arguments employed by Artegall to refute the contentions of the giant are precisely those commonly employed against the teachings of the Anabaptists. Artegall refutes the communistic doctrines of the giant by declaring them opposed to God’s purpose and authority. This is the universal argument employed by Churchmen against this doctrine of the Anabaptists.

Thomas Rogers, in his *Exposition of the XXXIX Articles*, presents the view of the Church in the following condensed form :

#### “ARTICLE XXXVIII

“Of Christian men’s Goods, which are not common.

“The riches and goods of Christians (1) are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast. Notwithstanding (2) every man ought, of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

#### “PROPOSITION I

“The riches and goods of Christians, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, are not common.

#### “THE PROOF FROM GOD’S WORD

“Against community of goods and riches be all those places (which are infinite) of holy scripture, that either condemn the unlawful getting, keeping, or desiring of riches, which, by covetousness, thievery, extortion, and the like wicked means, many do attain; or do commend liberality, frugality, free and friendly lending, honest labour, and lawful vocations

<sup>4</sup> Strype, *Life and Acts of Archbishop Whitgift*, I, 71.

o live and thrive by. All which do shew that Christians are  
o have goods of their own, and that riches ought not to be  
common.

“Of this judgment be the reformed churches.”<sup>6</sup>

Henry Bullinger in his *Decades*,<sup>6</sup> a work of great vogue in England, in discussing the eighth commandment maintains that the holding of property is supported by both the Old Testament and the New, though “There is no small number of that furious sect of Anabaptists, which deny this property of several possessions.” Bullinger’s evidence is in brief as follows: God gave Abraham property; God apportioned the promised land among the children of Isreal; Jesus commanded works of mercy and liberality, impossible under communism; Paul commanded laying up of alms; the early Christians sometimes sold their lands to relieve the necessity of their fellows, which could not have been done if they had not owned property; they broke bread from house to house, which implies that they had not renounced their possessions.<sup>7</sup>

As the Anabaptists based their doctrine of communism upon the supposed practice of the Apostolic Church, the discussion naturally centered around the early chapters of Acts. The orthodox contention is thus succinctly expressed by Thomas Cartwright: “For, I pray you, what community is spoken of either in the two, or three, or fourth of the Acts, which ought not to be in the church as long as the world standeth? Was there any community but as touching the use, and so far forth as the poor brethern had need of, and not to take every man alike? Was it not in any man his power to sell his houses, or lands, or not to sell them? When he had sold them, were they not in every man his liberty to keep the money to himself at his pleasure? And all they that were of the church did not sell their possessions, but those whose hearts the Lord

<sup>6</sup>Thomas Rogers, *The Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England*, Parker Society, p. 352.

<sup>7</sup>*Decades of Henry Bullinger*, Parker Society.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, II, 18. All such arguments are drawn from Melancthon, *Epist. adv. Anabap.*; Calvin, *Instruct. adv. Libertinos*. Bullinger also wrote a complete treatise on the subject: *Adv. Anabap.*

touched singularly with the compassion of the need of others, and whom God had blessed with abundance, that they had to serve themselves and help others; and therefore it is reckoned as a rare example that Barnabas the Cyprian and Levite did sell his possession and brought the price to the feet of the apostles."<sup>8</sup>

The communistic doctrine was thus shown to be opposed to the social conditions allowed God's chosen people under the Old Dispensation, and the members of his inspired Church under the New. As Artegall declares,

He gives to this, from that he takes away,  
For all we have is his: what he list doe, he may.

Again, the denial of temporal authority by the giant and by the fox, the boast of the giant that he would suppress tyrants and curb the nobility, are part and parcel of the supposed Anabaptist program and were condemned by Artegall on the same grounds as by the Churchmen. In a sermon preached at St. Paul's on November seventeenth, 1583, the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's coming to the throne, Archbishop Whitgift speaks as follows: "The second sort (of the disloyal) are the Anabaptists; who wil have no government at al. And they ground their heresy upon the fifth to the Galathians, *Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free. And again, You are called unto liberty.*"<sup>9</sup> The fox was arguing from these very passages when he said,

For why should he that is at libertie  
Make himself bond? sith then we are free borne,  
Let us all servile base subjection scorne.

The words of Artegall,

He maketh kings to sit in sovereignty;  
He maketh subjects to their powre obay;

voice the attitude of the English Church, as of the Reformation in general. They correspond exactly to the first two divisions of this sermon, that obedience to magistrates is the express commandment of God, and that sovereignty exists by the ordinance of God. To quote again:

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in *The Works of John Whitgift*, Parker Society, 1, 352. Cf. also *The Works of Bishop Hooper*, Parker Society, 2, 42.

<sup>9</sup> *Life and Acts of John Whitgift*, Parker Society, 3, 75.

“(1) The *commandment* of God is evident; by the first commandment of the second table: *Honour thy father and thy mother*.

“Christ himself paid tribute; and left it as a perpetual rule to al, *Give unto Caesar, &c.* Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers: and Obey those that are set over you, saith his Apostle. And S. Peter, *Be subject to every humane ordinance for the Lord's sake*.

“*Yee must needs be subject*, saith S. Paul. *Oportet subjici*. Obedience is nothing indifferent: to be taken or shaken off at our own pleasure: but *for fear*, and for *conscience sake* also, as the same Apostle adds.

“If this charge were made by the Apostles when the magistrate was an infidel, and in the time of Nero, a cruel persecutor, how much more ought obedience be commanded now by us, and yielded by you, to a Christian magistrate, that saveth you from persecution.

“(2) It is the *ordinance* of God. The magistrate is appointed by God. He is his Vicar and Vicegerent. He giveth him his name; and title: *Vos dii estis*. I said, *Ye are gods*.

“*Dominus dat sceptrum, cui vult, et aufert*: i. e. God gives the sceptre to whom he wil, and takes it away.

“*Per me reges regnant*: i. e. By me Kings reign.

“*Promotion cometh neither from the east, nor from the west. God setteth up and pulleth down whom it pleaseth him.*”<sup>10</sup>

The words of Artegall to the giant,

He pulleth downe, he setteth up on hy,

are the very words of the Proverb here employed in refuting the teachings of the Anabaptists.

Can there longer be any question that the giant represents the Anabaptists, and his noisy declarations, the Anabaptist cult?

The vain efforts of the giant to balance good and evil, I take to be a criticism of the supposed Anabaptist doctrine of salvation by works, the doctrine that close account is kept of a man's deeds and that his chance of salvation depends upon

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 71.

having a snug balance on the right side of the ledger. The English Churchmen did not believe in any such system of divine bookkeeping. I think Spenser is saying, in terms of allegory, that we are justified by faith alone, and that it is idle to try to determine any man's claim upon God by balancing his good deeds over against his evil deeds. So dreadful is sin in the sight of God, so impotent is man by nature, that nothing but faith in Christ can be to him of any avail. Bishop Bale<sup>11</sup> classed the Anabaptists with the Papists because of this doctrine, and Thomas Rogers classed them with the Turks.<sup>12</sup>

It now remains to explain the action of Talus in shouldering the giant off the land into the sea. As a result of the persecutions in the Netherlands under Alva, a great many Anabaptists took shelter in England, and in the year 1568 their presence was considered so grave a menace that the following proclamation was issued against them: "The Queen's Majesty understanding that of late time sundry persons, being infected with certain dangerous and pernicious opinions, in matters of religion, contrary to the faith of the Church of Christ, as Anabaptists, and such lyke, are come from sundry parts beyond the seas into this her realme, and speciallye into the citie of London, and other maritime townes, under the colour and pretence of flying from persecution against the professors of the Gospel of Chryst: whereby if remedy be not speedily provided, the Church of God in this realme shall susteyne great daunger of corruption, and sects to increase contrary to the unitie of Chryst's Church here established.

"For redresse whereof, her Majestie, by advice of her Counsaile, having commanded the Archbishop of Canterbury, Byshop of London, and other Byshops to see the parishes in London, and other places herewith suspected, to be severely visited, and all persons suspected to be openly tried and examined, touching such phanatical and heretical opinions; willeth and chargeth all manner of persons born eyther in

<sup>11</sup> *Mystery of Iniquity*, Geneva, 1545, p. 53.

<sup>12</sup> *The Catholic Doctrine*, p. 114.



forreigne parts, or in her Majesties dominions, that have conceived any manner of such heretical opinion as the Anabaptists do hold, and meaneth not by charitable teaching to be reconciled, to depart out of this realme within twenty days after this proclamation upon payne of forfeiture of all their goods and cattelles, and to be imprisoned, and further punished, as by the laws eyther ecclesiastical or temporal in such case is provided."<sup>13</sup>

I suggest that it was this harsh removal across seas of these troublesome sectarians that is figured forth in the precipitation of the giant into the sea. Twice before in Elizabeth's reign had like measures been taken, but they were not carried through so vigorously.

Such, then, do I take to be the allegory of Sir Artegall and the giant.

The canto as a whole is a definition of the correct theory of property by the elimination of wrong theories, and an exposition of the office of the true nobleman, the man of virtue (*ἀρετή*), in upholding economic justice. Extortion and communism are in equal violation of that divine law upon which justice is based, and it is the duty of the true knight, on the one hand to defend the poor against the greed of the plutocrat, and on the other, to defend property against the revolutionary folly of the communist. As succinctly expressed in the opening lines of the canto:

Nought is more honorable to a knight,  
Ne better doth besecme brave chevalry,  
Than to defend the feeble in their right,  
And wrong redresse in such as wend awry.

In Book Two, Spenser had already condemned the greed for gold on the grounds of temperance, and had defined the attitude which the virtuous man should take toward riches. Sir Guyon, the knight of Temperance, in response to the temptations of Mammon, rejoins:

But I in armes, and in atchievements brave,  
Do rather choose my flitting houres to spend,  
And to be Lord of those, that riches have,  
Then them to have my selfe, and be their servile slave."<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Strype, *Life and Acts of Archbishop Grindal*, 181.

<sup>14</sup> 2. 7. 33.

All that I need I have; what needeth mee  
To covet more, than I have cause to use?<sup>15</sup>

I have elsewhere tried to show that in matters ecclesiastical Spenser chose the golden mean; I think it is evident from the present study that he likewise inclined to the golden mean in the matter of riches.

It remains to be observed that this attitude is precisely that advocated by the Elizabethan divines. The condemnation of concupiscence in the first part of the canto, like the condemnation of communism in the second, runs parallel to the prevailing ecclesiastical thought. In the sermon on the eighth commandment, quoted above, Bullinger condemns extortion and the inordinate love of money with as much warmth as he condemns the communism of the Anabaptists. The prevailing attitude of the English Churchman is succinctly expressed in the words of the articles agreed upon in the convocation of 1552, and published by King Edward VI: "The riches and the goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, (as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast:) notwithstanding every man ought of such things, as he possesseth, to give alms to the poor, according to his ability."<sup>16</sup> Thus in this canto, as in the first book, Spenser identifies himself with current ecclesiastical thought.

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* 39.

<sup>16</sup> *Liturgies of King Edward VI*, Parker Society, p. 536.

SPENSER'S EARLIEST TRANSLATIONS<sup>1</sup>

The authorship of the verse translations in Van der Noot's *Theatre of Worldlings* has not yet been determined to the complete satisfaction of all students. Professor Schelling, for instance, in his book, *The Elizabethan Lyric* (Introduction, p. XIII), speaks of "the case of Spenser's contribution to the *Theatre of Voluptuous Worldlings*, in 1569, which not even Doctor Grosart's zeal has rendered wholly unapocryphal." Since Doctor Grosart's time, Spenser's claims have been seriously challenged. I shall attempt here a consideration of the matter, in the hope of bringing it to a more definite and acceptable state than that in which it now is.

In 1569, when Spenser—a lad in his seventeenth year—was making ready to enter the university, there was published in London an English translation of a book bearing the title: *A Theatre wherein be represented as wel the miseries and calamities that follow the voluptuous worldlings as also the greate joyes and pleasures which the faithful do enjoy*. The author was a Flemish poet, Jan Van der Noot,<sup>2</sup> who had fled from Antwerp, having become hateful to the Spanish authorities by reason of his overt and defiant activity among his fellow-Calvinists. Van der Noot's work, which he had put forth as a bitter attack against Rome, had already appeared, first in Flemish, and then in a French version. Part compilation and part original, the book is of a variety not uncommon in those days—a series of most proper and instructive poems, reinforced by the edifying bulwark of a long prose commentary. The latter is wholly the work of Van der Noot, and is turned from the French tongue into English by a certain Theodore Roest. For the poetry our Fleming had gone to

<sup>1</sup> This paper was written as a preparatory step to a study which I hope to bring out, on "Spenser's Minor Poems: studied in connection with the French Literature of the Renaissance."

<sup>2</sup> On Van der Noot see: Aug. Vermeylen, *Leven en Werken van Jonker Jan Van der Noot*, 1899; Frederiks and Branden, *Biographisch Woordenboek*, etc.; histories of early Dutch literature, especially that of Jonckbloet; Cambridge edition of Spenser (R. E. N. Dodge) pp. 764 ff.; and Grosart's edition, vol. 1.

French sources, taking, in the words of a recent Spenserian editor,<sup>3</sup> "first, a translation by Clément Marot<sup>4</sup> of one of Petrarch's canzoni ('Standomi un giorno solo a la fenestra')<sup>5</sup> under the title of 'Des Visions de Petrarque'; second, the *Songe* of Joachim Du Bellay, with the omission of sonnets VI, VIII, XIII and XIV; third, four sonnets of his own composition (for he was a poet of distinguished abilities) the matter of which was drawn from the Apocalypse." The identity of the English translator of all this verse is not revealed.

Twenty-two years later, in 1591, Wm. Ponsonby, the printer, issued Spenser's volume of *Complaints, containing sundrie small poems of the Worlds Vanitie*. The last two poems of this Spenserian miscellany are: *The Visions of Bellay* and *The Visions of Petrarch, formerly translated*.<sup>6</sup> The strong testimony of the titles and the more convincing evidence of the texts, reveal the later poems in the light of a direct and skilled recast of the earlier versions. This is especially true of the Petrarch series where the changes are few in number and comparatively insignificant,—hence it is, most likely, that they are labeled "formerly translated." Such is not the case, however, with the *Visions of Bellay*. Here there is clear indication that the translator had had recourse to the French original before completing his transformation,—and truly it is a transformation, for the crude, youthful work is rounded

<sup>3</sup> Mr. R. E. Neil Dodge, p. 764.

<sup>4</sup> The originals are found as follows: Marot, *Oeuvres* (ed. Jannet), vol. 3, p. 147; Du Bellay, *Oeuvres*, (ed. Marty-Laveaux) vol. 2, p. 280; Petrarca, *Rime*, (ed. Cozzo, 1905) p. 291, Canzone III, in morte Laura.

<sup>5</sup> Marot translates 'Un jour estant seulet a la fenestre' (vol. 3, *idem*). Another French version of the *Canzone* is referred to by Flamini (*Studi di Storia italiana e straniera* 1895 p. 264): "'Estant seulet aupres d'une fenestre'—come tradusse Francesco I."

<sup>6</sup> The words *formerly translated* have been variously interpreted. The most obvious meaning seems to be 'formerly translated by *himself*,' that is, the poet; for I do not see how its signification is to be 'revision of a former translation not by the reviser.' The words may, of course, be understood as a statement to the limited effect that there existed an earlier rendering, but in view of the certain connection between the two, this explanation can have no grounding in fact. We shall return to the phrase, below.

out and made to ring true. And so, having the lines of the problem well in hand, we are set the goal of identifying the unpracticed translator of 1569.

Thus far the presumptive evidence would seem to point unequivocally to the youthful Spenser. The matter, indeed, would be plain enough were it not that Van der Noot seems to have taken pleasure, whether by reason of malice aforethought or some inexplicable caution, in mystifying his readers as to the poetic translations. It has been shown by various scholars<sup>7</sup> who have collated the texts, that the English renderings in the *Theatre* are directly from the French,—yet in the part of the prose commentary relating to the *Sonets* (as the *Visions of Bellay* are here named) we are told, “I have translated them out of Dutch into English”; similarly, in the part which refers to the *Epigrams* (i. e. *The Visions of Petrarch*) it is stated, “I have out of the Brabants speache turned them into English.” Nor are we given any clue as to this mysterious “I,” unless we are to infer that it stands for Theodore Roest who, as already stated, had rendered the commentary “out of *French* into English.”

Despite these puzzling circumstances, generations of Spenserian editors and commentators have refused to look upon the early renderings as apocryphal. The general attitude of large and unquestioning confidence in the authenticity of the work is well exemplified by the words of one critic:<sup>8</sup> “I have no hesitation in attributing these blank-verse sonnets [the Du Bellay poems] to Spenser, not only for the reason there given but from the poet’s whole character, both as a man and a gentleman.” Somewhat later, the great editor, Doctor Grosart,<sup>9</sup> with characteristically broad sweeps of his critical ax, cleared for himself a rough path to belief; and so the matter rested until, in 1889, the German scholar, Professor Koepfel, in going over the ground, found a multitude of obstacles to assured faith in the Spenserian authorship of the *Theatre* versions; and, after further investigation, came forth

<sup>7</sup> See Koepfel in *Eng. St.* vol. 15; Jusserand in *Athen.* vol. 1, 1902.

<sup>8</sup> Lee Hunt in *The Book of the Sonnet*, p. 71, vol. 1 (ed. Lee Hunt and S. Adams Lee, 1867).

<sup>9</sup> In his edition, vol. 1.

with a point-blank denial of their genuineness, even to the extent of somewhat tentative disbelief in the poet's claims to the revisions.<sup>10</sup>

At once the thought arises, in impatience with these doubts, why, then, did Ponsonby include the recasts in Spenser's *Complaints*? But we are not free even here, from a fortuitous bit of uncertainty. In this instance it is the chronologic question connected with the licensing of the volume in which the *Visions* appear.<sup>11</sup> Ponsonby in his address to *Complaints*—"The Printer to the Gentle Reader"—speaks of having gotten "into my handes such smale poemes of the same authors as I heard were disperst abroad in sundrie hands, and not easie to bee come by, by himselfe; some of them having bene diverslie imbeziled and purloyned from him, since his departure over sea." Now the poet had departed "over sea," that is, to Ireland, early in 1591, the same year in which his work appeared on the responsibility, and under the sole supervision, it is implied, of the Printer. But from an entry in the Stationer's Register<sup>12</sup> we learn that the work was approved on December 29, 1590—when the poet was still in England, though busied, we may fancy, with preparations for his journey. Does the circumstance of the entry imply that the book was to be published exactly as it stood at the time of presentation to the censors? Or was it permitted Ponsonby to add such pieces as the poet would have found it "not easie to bee come by, by himselfe"? The latter seems the likelier supposition. It must be further noted, as more conclusive and satisfying, that, whatever is conjectured with regard to the

<sup>10</sup> In *Englische Studien* vol. 15. To this Professor J. B. Fletcher replied, as will appear below, with many a telling argument, in *Modern Lang. Notes*, vol. 13.

<sup>11</sup> See Mr. Dodge's introduction to *Complaints* (Ed. c., p. 57). Also Grosart, vol. 1, *passim*.

<sup>12</sup> The Register under the date reads: "Wm. Ponsonbie entred for his Copie under the handes of Doctor Staller and bothe the wardens, A booke entytuled *Complaintes conteyninge sondrye smalle Poemes of the worldes vanity*." (Arber: *Transcript of St. Register*, 1554-1640, vol. 2.)

On the Stationer's Co. see an article by Chas. R. Rivington in *Library*, 2nd series, vol. 4; also the Company's minute-books.

publication of the volume of *Complaints*, it is certain that Ponsonby was Spenser's accredited printer, and that communications must have passed between him and the poet, and possibly, too, the poet's closest friends. This renders it highly improbable for the printer to have himself "imbeziled and purloyned" for Spenser, work to which the poet had no claim or but doubtful claim—particularly as the collection was well under way, if not wholly completed, at a time when Spenser had not yet made his departure "over sea."<sup>13</sup>

Probably the most solid footing from which to direct a reconnaissance of the entire ground covered by the matter is the antecedent, but highly warrantable likelihood of the Spenserian authorship of the early translation. For why should he, even in the first flush and tentative setting-forth of his poetic career, desire to reshape the fustian work of another hand? For the immature poet to begin with translation, is the rule rather than the exception, but for him to revamp another's translation is assuredly uncommon, even unlikely, though it may be granted, not impossible. Let us see how Spenser sets about the task. It is claimed by Mr. Dodge that "The object of the youthful poet in these *rifacimenti* was apparently not to better his translation, but, for merely artistic effect, to turn the irregular stanzas of the Petrarch group and the blank-verse poems of the Bellay group into formal sonnets."<sup>14</sup> This I venture to think is not wholly correct, and least of all, I am convinced, of the Bellay group. In the 'Visions of Petrarch, *formerly translated*' the alterations are few indeed, as I have already noted. The poems had been put into rime in the earlier rendering and at most they lacked a couplet to attain the perfect sonnet-form. It was but inevitable, then, that the poet should be content with a few emendations, not thinking it worth his while, probably,

<sup>13</sup> Is one justified in regarding as a bit of corroborative testimony the statement of "formerly translated" in the title of *The Visions of Petrarch*? These words, whether added by the begetter or the printer of the work, are alike favorable to a condition of knowledge on the part of either, or of both.

<sup>14</sup> Ed. c. p. 125.

to remodel the first crude result.<sup>15</sup> Yet whenever the oppor-

<sup>15</sup> The following is a table I have made of all but the orthographic changes in the *Visions of Petrarch*:

1569	1591
I (14 lines)	
9. this gentle beast	9. <i>that</i> gentle beast
II (12 lines)	
10. O great misfortune! O great grief! I say,	10. And perished past all recov- erie
	11. O how great ruth and sorrow- full essay.
	12. Doth vex my spirite with per- plexitie.
11. one moment	13. <i>a</i> moment.
III (14 lines)	
2. a fresh	2. <i>the</i> fresh
3. amidde	3. amidst
7. My spirites were ravisht with these pleasures there	7. That with their swetnes I was ravish't nere.
IV (12 lines)	
7. Unto the gentle sounding of the waters fall.	7. To the soft sounding of the waters fall
8. The sight wherof dyd make my heart rejoyce	8. That my glad heart thereat did much rejoyce.
9. But while I toke herein	9. But while herein I tooke
V (12 lines)	13.)
7. at length	14.) (couplet added)
12. For pitie and love my heart yet burnes in paine	7. at last
	12. That yet my heart burnes in exceeding paine
	13.)
VI (12 lines)	14.) (couplet added)
2. That in thinking on hir I burne and quake	2. That thinking yet on her I burne and quake
11. in earth	11. on earth
12. But bitter grieve, that dothe our hearts annoy	12. But bitter grieve and sorrow- full annoy
	13.)
	14.) (couplet added)

Surely these alterations make for greater ease and better rhythm. At the end, however, is a complete change, for an original sonnet replaces the four-line envoy that rendered literally Marot's quatrain from Petrarch's:

Canzon, tu puoi ben dire:  
Queste sei visioni al signor mio  
àn fatto un dolce di morir desio.



tunity comes, his finer poetic instinct adds new tones of melody that ring out at intervals like full chimes amid baser music. And at the end, in the original and added sonnet, is the sustained note of his greater harmony—not indeed rising to the highest strains, but at once reminiscent of them and “with promises as sweet”:

When I behold this tickle trustles state  
 Of vaine worlds glorie, flitting too and fro,  
 And mortall men tossed by troublous fate  
 In restles seas of wretchednes and woe,  
 I wish I might this wearie life forgoe,  
 And shortly turne unto my happie rest,  
 Where my free spirite might not anie moe  
 Be vext with sights, that doo her peace molest,  
 And ye, faire Ladie, in whose bounteous brest  
 All heavenly grace and vertue shrined is,  
 When ye these rythmes doo read, and view the  
     rest,  
 Loath this base world, and thinke of heavens  
     blis:  
 And though ye be the fairest of Gods creat-  
     ures,  
 Yet thinke, that death shall spoyle your  
     goodly features.<sup>16</sup>

It is the same surer touch that imparts the throb of rhythmic life to the blank-verse sonnets of the original ‘Visions of

\* The two complete sonnets of the early version of the *Visions of Petrarch* are rimed: ababedcdefefgg: so, of course, are the revised sonnets—all but the original one, which, it is well to note, is of the distinctive Spenserian construction: ababbcbccdcdee. Here is another notch added to our tale of evidence, for not only is this sonnet Spenser's by virtue of his private and formal stamp but it reflects his “proper” mood of gentle melancholy and distrust of “tickle” mutability. Yet Doctor Koepfel declares (*idem*. vol. 27, p. 110) “Weil er [Spenser] bei dieser bearbeitung nur wenig eigenen dazugegeben hatte, setzte er in seinem manuskript unter den titel *The Visions of Petrarch* die notiz *formerly translated*.”

Bellay.<sup>17</sup> Here everything must be recast into the new mold which the master has shaped in the interval. One has but to compare the opening of the two versions, and, with all allowance made for the ragged edges of the blank-verse, it becomes patent to one that a transformation in spirit as well as in outer vesture has taken place. Read first the beginning:

“It was the time when rest, the gift of gods,  
Sweetely sliding into the eyes of men,  
Doth drowne in the forgetfulnesse of slepe  
The carefull travails of the painefull day:  
Then did a ghost appeare before mine eyes  
On that great rivers banke that runnes by Rome,  
And calling me by my proper name,  
He bade me upwarde unto heaven looke.”

And now the newer verses:

“It was the time when rest, soft sliding downe  
From heavens hight into mens heavy eyes,  
In the forgetfulnes of sleepe doth drowne  
The carefull thoughts of mortall miseries.  
Then did a ghost before mine eyes appeare,  
On that great rivers banck, that runnes by Rome,  
Which, calling me by name, had me to reare  
My lookes to heaven, whence all good gifts do come.”

I submit that here,—regardless of all questions of merit or lack of merit in translation—is unimpeded flow of melody, not certainly, great poetry, but very satisfying verse indeed, and, of a surety, better and truer poetry than the very blank verse sonnets from which it is recast. I would be far from affirming, of course, that throughout all the sonnets of the revision there is the same smooth run of the rhythm; yet, while one need not be deaf to a harsh grating that comes at times, one may be ready, none the less, to proclaim the general excellence of the work.

<sup>17</sup> The sonnets of these *Visions* are kept to the same rime as the companion-visions. Besides the recast into regular sonnet form, another change is, of course, the inclusion of the four sonnets that were omitted in 1569. Of this Doctor Koeppl says (*Eng. St.* vol. 27, p. 110): “Bei dieser berücksichtigung des urtextes . . . unterscheidet sich Spenser in auffälliger weise von dem übersetzer von 1569.” Why? See note 37, below.

In view of all the points already considered, the befogged attendant circumstances of the issuing of the volume of *Complaints* have slight significance, as they are far from throwing negative light on the Spenserian authorship. But in the article already referred to, Professor Koepfel advances weightier cavils against the poet's claim to the *Theatre* versions. A brief summary of his contentions, and of the evidence adduced, which unhappily, is sometimes heavy and uninspired, will perhaps be in point here.

Professor Koepfel submits both groups of versions to two important tests: First the manner of translating, and second, the rime-test. He states, to begin with, that the earlier (1569) rendering reveals to him an intimate acquaintance with the French language; there are, all told, few errors. Such is not the case, on the other hand, with Spenser's accredited translations from the French—*there* the work is free and singularly lacking in literalness; mistakes are frequent, and unwarranted inversions abound. Indeed, such are the regrettable slips in classic scholarship,<sup>18</sup> that the learned critic is fain to eye with suspicion even the recasts, and the other Bellay translation, *The Ruines of Rome*, as not the handiwork of Spenser—a man of sound classical training. This *prima facie* evidence gains added color in the light of the rime-test. It seems that the Petrarch series in the *Theatre* is further remarkable for a unique instance of the *oure: ure* rime (floure: endure, *Epigram VI*)—whereas on all other occasions, to the best knowledge of Professor Koepfel, the poet avoids the combination. With all this must be reckoned what he thinks the lack of oneness in the tone of the two groups of renderings. Not only is the philological probe at variance with belief in a single translator, but the language and the flow of the verse, and all those incalculable effects that make for individuality, do not flow from the same fount. Whereas the earlier rendition—such is the belief of the critic—has nothing of the Spenser quality and color, the later bears, beyond all question, his

<sup>18</sup> See in Doctor Koepfel's article the list of mistranslations, pp. 69, ff., and on pp. 77 ff. the classical anachronisms, of no great moment in themselves, found in the *Ruines of Rome*. For a discussion of the latter, see below, note 31.

unmistakable signet-stamp. One wonders that after this admission, Doctor Koepfel can still regard *all* of the translations as possibly by some other hand.<sup>19</sup>

Coming from a scholar so well known as Professor Koepfel, these findings cannot be lightly brushed aside,—so that in the space remaining to me, I shall examine them with some detail. First as to the *tone* of the two renderings. Here the one widely read in Spenser is on safe ground. As already seen, the similarities between the two sets of translations are so decided, as to warrant their being considered as one in their relation to Spenser's original poetry, so that what applies to the later version, is true, perforce, of the earlier. In direct opposition to the view expressed by the German scholar, I find that the *Visions* speak in their own defense—and that convincingly and to the point. Their tone tells us that they *are*

\* In his second paper (*Englische Studien* vol. 27) Doctor Koepfel surrenders all disbelief as to the later versions. As a matter of fact, it is often difficult to tell what this eminent scholar's real attitude on the whole subject is, for many and kaleidoscopic are his shifts of position, so that the mental eye is sometimes dazed in following them, especially when a new turn is made without due regard to the direction of the last. His articles, while expressions of honest and not unnatural doubts, are, if I may presume to say it, warnings as to the unscientific and imaginative application of strictly scientific apparatus. Doctor Koepfel makes much ado, for instance, about the four apocalyptic sonnets inserted by Van der Noot in the *Theatre* (Dodge, p. 767). He says that if we accept Spenser as the early translator, then we must regard these as his versions. He thereupon asks in bolder type: "Was hatte Spenser, falls er wirklich der Übersetzer von 1569 gewesen wäre, abhalten können, späterhin auch diese apokalyptischen sonnette für sich in anspruch zu nehmen?" But Spenser had claimed these sonnets of Van der Noot's, and had borne them in mind (as suggested by Professor Fletcher, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. 13) when portraying Duessa's seven-headed monster (F. Q. I. 7, 16ff.). Why, then, does Ponsonby omit them from his edition? Well, says the scientific imagination, "aus dem einfachen grund, weil die gedichte des 'Theatre' überhaupt nicht von dem jungen, siebzehnjährigen Spenser übersetzt worden sind." To support this, our commentator goes on to picture the younger Spenser, with imagination all afire, gazing rapturously at the wood-engravings of the *Theatre* and at the beloved names of Du Bellay and Petrarch. Thus enamored, he decides to rework the two; but with the accomplishment of the task "war Spenser's interesse an den gedichten des 'Theatre' erschöpft"; nor did he deign to dally with the apocalyptic sonnets, which were "durch keinen berühmten namen empfohlen." (pp. 109 ff.)

Spenser's. It is true that they are translations, yet there are familiar turns, well-known phrases, and above all, a remembered music in them which the reader of Spenser's original work comes to regard as assertive titles to ownership. Such and so close are the correspondences in form and in substance, so clear the echoes in thought and in melody, between the two groups of *Visions* on the one side, and say, *The Ruines of Time* and *The Visions of the Worlds Vanitie* on the other,<sup>20</sup> that likelihood is fain to become aggressive and say: This cannot be the outcome of foreign readings in Bellay's sonnets and in Petrarch's *canzoni*; this comes only when the young poet has filled his mind to overflowing with this imagery and this emotion and this thought in familiar native garb; nay, when he himself, before it had come to be with him after the manner of poets, had toiled with but scant success, to shape it into the strange sonnet-form newly come to his mother-tongue.<sup>21</sup>

It is thus that the "inner" testimony of the color and

<sup>20</sup> From Koeppl's article (*Eng. St.* vol. 15, p. 81, note) I give the following list of echoes, to which others could be added:

*Vis. of Bellay*, Son. X, cf. *Ruines of Time* vv. 8ff.

V. B. VIII, " R. T. v. 71 ff.

V. B. XIV, " R. T. Son. II, v. 505ff.

V. B. I, " R. T. v. 575ff.

V. B. III, " R. T. Son. VI, v. 659ff.

<sup>21</sup> Needless to say, the sonnet,—“that apartment for a single gentleman in verse,” as Professor Gummere aptly calls it,—had not become acclimated to England in Spenser's youth; nor is it often that the untried poet is able to move easily in this compact and highly artistic mode. Thus it is that Spenser, as a youth of seventeen, fails signally in the handling of the very poetic form in which he was to attain such perfect mastery. Of the Petrarch sonnets he succeeds, in his first effort, in rendering but two as full quatorzains, and when he comes to the fifteen in the Bellay series he gives over the attempt as vain, contenting himself with the equally novel, but much more responsive “blank-verse.” That the original transplanter of the foreign medium fared but little better, is shown in the following: “The form he [Wyatt] took from Petrarch, and he translated, either entirely or in part, many of his sonnets, though rarely literally. His attempts to render adequately the master's conceits usually ended in failure; recognizing this, he often began his verse with a translation, and, realizing his inability to go on, developed fresh thought of his own.”

—L. Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England*, 1903, p. 326.

imagery and phrasing of the translated *Visions*—the earlier group as well as the later—corroborates the evidence from external sources already considered. Such would be the plea for the Spenserian authorship of the prior version, if, waiving all philological tests, we were to rest our case at this point—which one is tempted to do. As a matter of fact, I doubt the potency of the philological tests thus far advanced (and they include all the practicable as well as the merely ingenious) to solve the question, for, without underrating the value of this form of research (and no one that makes pretence to scholarship can fail to pay it high homage) there are certain things, I believe, which lie outside of its realm, in provinces where its misfortune is to mislead rather than to guide aright. As Professor Koepfel admits, “Und von einer jugendlichen, in schaffenseifer und schaffensfreude glühenden dichterseele dürfen wir die ‘philologentugend der genauigkeit’ nicht fordern.”<sup>22</sup> Then, too, in the matter in hand, the loss of a large *corpus* of Spenser’s early verse is a circumstance to humble all dogmatism, both of the philologist, and to a less degree surely, of him who puts his steadfast faith in the larger effects. Nevertheless, we must attempt to meet the objections that the philologist advances.

First of all is Doctor Koepfel’s rime-test. As already noted (p. 12 above) the German scholar found in the *Theatre* version of the Petrarch *Visions* what he thought a unique instance in Spenser of the *oure : ure* rime (*floure : endure*, Epigram VI). This question was considered by Professor J. B. Fletcher in his article on *Spenser and the Translations in the Theatre of Worldlings*.<sup>23</sup> He points out that Spenser makes use of the *oure : ure* linking in the *Faerie Queene*.<sup>24</sup> But in

<sup>22</sup> *Englische St.* vol. 15, p. 81.

<sup>23</sup> *Modern Lang. Notes* vol. 13.

<sup>24</sup> E. g. *towre : endure : sure* (II, 9, st. 21); *bowre : haviour* (II, 2, st. 15); *bowre : coniure : recure* (V, 10, st. 26); *bowres : yours* (I, 5, st. 14). See the thesis by K. Bauermeister, *Zur sprache Spenser’s auf grund der reime in der F. Q.*, 1896. Professor Fletcher also takes issue with the German scholar on the basis of the Spenserian “aesthetic” effects and echoes in the 1569 version. In his reply (*Eng. St.* vol. 27, p. 101) to the American scholar, Professor Koepfel still clings to the test, saying that the suspected rime does not occur elsewhere in the

no event, it appears to me, is any hope to be anchored in the negative fact of the non-appearance of this rime in the minor poems. Even if one agrees to waive as evidence *now est* the possibility of the occurrence of this linking in some minor poem now lost, the utter insufficiency of this test is none the less apparent; for what inherent virtue is there, when all is considered, in any rime-probe whatsoever, for Spenser? He who reads through the extant output of Spenser's Muse, and is led to marvel at the prodigality of the poet's rimes, cannot but wonder too, at the looseness of his riming. Here one does not find regularity and absolute submission to those laws of word-linking that have to do with spelling and grammatical form and syntactic relation.<sup>25</sup> I doubt whether scholars will be able to construct for Spenser, rules at all approximating the rigor of the Chaucer canon in this matter. Whether this be due to the greater complexity of Spenser's own stanza, or to his habitual laxity in this regard, (for the shorter poems furnish numerous instances of weak or "eye"—rimes<sup>26</sup>), or

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Minor Poems—a frail thread to hang one's faith on, as if Spenser distinguished between Major and Minor Poems, and had a different rime-canon for each. Professor Koeppel is unchanging in his denial of the Spenserian color of the vocabulary in the 1569 rendition, which Professor Fletcher had asserted, though he adds, incidentally, to the cumulative evidence of Spenserian echoes and "aesthetic" effects.

\* The danger of deciding questions on the basis of rime becomes evident after reading a paper like that of Professor Brander Matthews's, *An Inquiry as to Rime (Parts of Speech)*, 1901 pp. 241 ff.). One shudders at the thought of what future scholars may decide as to Victorian pronunciation from a study of, let us say, the poetical works of Elizabeth Barrett Browning. See, on the same point, an article by A. G. Newcomer, *License in Rhyme* (*The Nation*, vol. 68, pp. 63 ff. and 83 ff.).

\* Doctor Koeppel (*Eng. St.* 15, p. 79 note 4) gives an imposing, but by no means exhaustive list of false rimes occurring in the minor poems. If we had a complete rime-index for Spenser the list would swell to remarkable proportions. The work of Gabrielson, mentioned below, cannot be used as an index. The question of rime is further complicated by the unsettled orthography of the day. "The current heresy on this subject is expressed by Puttenham (1589). 'It is somewhat more tollerable to help the rime by false orthographie then to leaue an vnpleasant dissonance to the eare by keeping trewe orthographie and loosing the rime' (*Arte of Eng. Poesie* Bk. II ch. IX)."—J. C. Smith, ed. of *Faerie Queene* 1909 vol. 2, p. 503.

to a contemporary disintegration and distrust of strict riming-laws due to unsettled conditions of language or pronunciation,<sup>27</sup> or to the heresy of "classic" versifying—I am not prepared to say. Perhaps all these factors are to be reckoned with. At any rate, the rime-test suggested by Doctor Koeppl must, I think, be declared inadequate and even misleading.

Still a further substantiation of the Spenserian authorship of the translations is discussed by Professor Fletcher in the able article to which I have referred. On the basis of a French investigation<sup>28</sup> into a phase of Spenser's metrics, the American scholar argues that the "blank-verse" of the early Du Bellay rendering is the poet's and none other's. The trend of Professor Fletcher's argument is as follows: "Spenser in the *Shepheardes Calender* . . . revived for 'heroic verse' the neglected variety in unity of his self-acknowledged Master—Chaucer. . . . The first printed exception to the fossilized 'heroic verse' universally current in Elizabethan poetry before Spenser is the blank-verse translation of Du Bellay's *Songe* printed in the *Theatre of Worldlings*, 1569. In this blank verse alone is to be found the same nicely calculated variety in the feet and in the caesura which obtains in the *Shepheardes*

<sup>27</sup> On the matter of rime as determining pronunciation, see the introduction to A. Gabrielson's *Rime as a Criterion of the Pronunciation of Spenser, Pope, Byron and Swinburne* (Univ. of Upsala, 1909). On page 2 the author quotes Ellis (*On Early Eng. Pronunciation*, 1869-1889, p. 865), "beginning at least with the XVIth century we cannot trust rhymes to give us information on pronunciation." The opposite view is held—thus did the strife go before the walls of Troy—by Brugger, *Zur lautlichen Entwicklung der Eng. Schriftsprache im Anfang des XVI Jahrh.*—1893; also by Van Dam and Stoffel, *Chapters on Eng. Printing, Prosody, and Pronc.* (1550-1700) (Hoops, *Anglistische Forschungen*, no. 9, 1902). An intermediate position is held by Bauermeister (op. cit. p. 7ff.) and by Luick (*Eng. St.* vol. 26, pp. 271ff.). The last is a very sane statement of the case. Further reference may be made to G. G. Smith's *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, 2 vols., texts passim, and *Intro.* to vol. 1, p. LIII.

<sup>28</sup> E. Légouis, *Quomodo Edmundus Spenserius ad Chaucerum se fingens in Eclogis 'The Shepheardes Calender,' versum heroicum renoverit ac referit*—1896.



*Calender*.''<sup>29</sup> Thus the metrical testimony and that of the vocabulary and "aesthetic" effects, unite with the strong antecedent likelihood and the circumstantial evidence of Ponsonby in proclaiming the *Theatre* translation as Spenser's own.<sup>30</sup>

We have left for attack the one remaining stronghold of Professor Koepfel—his very sinew of proof—namely, the claim that whereas the *Theatre* versions are, in the main, the work of one who brings to the task a precise and sound knowledge of French, the certified translations of Spenser from the same tongue are full of false or inaccurate equivalents; the former are correct and literal, the latter are often faulty and paraphrastic. How, then, can we deem as his the careful workmanship of the early renderings made in 1569, when his acquaintance with the foreign tongue must have been more limited than in later life? A consideration of this question will reveal several irreconcilabilities in critical comment. Recent scholars, taking their cue from Koepfel, have agreed

<sup>29</sup> Professor Fletcher says further (*M. L. Notes*, 13 p. 414), "At 27 hc [Spenser] adheres a little more closely to the norm (4 plus 6) than at radical 17"; that is, he becomes a trifle more conservative in his use of the caesura—but that is all the change.

<sup>30</sup> In his first article Professor Koepfel is led by the many and complicated phases of the question to express a hesitating doubt as to the authenticity of both groups of renderings, as well as of the *Ruines of Rome*, an early translation from Du Bellay. His attitude is based upon two circumstances: first, the classical errors, entirely unworthy of a learned university man like Spenser, (see *Eng. St.* vol. 15 pp. 77ff.); and second, the imperfect knowledge of French revealed by inversions unauthorized in the originals, and by palpable errors. This disenchanting lack of French I discuss in the text, while the first objection—at best not a weighty cavil—can be considered at once and briefly. If Spenser's youth at the time of his early translations is not sufficient palliation and explanation of classical peccability, then one can urge, should further urging be needed, that we are in a fair way to overrate the accuracy of the university training in Elizabeth's age. A few there were, indeed, who knew their classics as not more than a "hantle" know them to-day, but they were then, as they are apt to be now, men whose work in life lay with the learning of Greece and Rome. Greene, and many another university "wit," are given to such inaccuracies as to grieve the humanist's righteous heart; for even in the two mighty seats of learning, the humanities had not been so long at ease as to have sent abroad for all their scrolls and unrolled them for the eager scanning of scholarly multitudes.

on the marked difference between the earlier and the later manner of translating.<sup>21</sup> In his edition (p. 764) Mr. Dodge says, "It has been pointed out that, whereas the translation of 1569 is sound and accurate, the acknowledged work of Spenser in this field ('The Ruines of Rome' and the four sonnets that were omitted in the *Theatre*, but rendered in the later 'Visions of Bellay') is very loose, and reveals at times exceedingly imperfect acquaintance with French, acquaintance so imperfect, that he cannot be thought capable of the excellent versions in the *Theatre*." But in curious contradiction of the heralded "soundness and accuracy," of the *Theatre* translations, the same critic, in the 'Biographical Sketch' prefixed to his edition, says (page XII): "The verse translations in Van der Noot's *Theatre* cannot claim the dignity of an independent volume of juvenilia; they were quite possibly paid for at the classic rate of a penny a line; *they cannot be said to bear witness to the most ordinary knowledge of French*." If this is so, then surely the great stumbling-block to belief in the Spenserian authorship has been surmounted. Yet in order to leave no phase of the question unconsidered, it would seem, Mr. Dodge proceeds to bring forth an array of possibilities against the "fact" he has unhesitatingly denied. Granted the literalness of the 1569 versions, together with the comparative inaccuracy of the Du Bellay rehandling and of Spenser's other translations, and the following construction of events by Mr. Dodge is certainly plausible. He says, "For the prose of the *Theatre* Van der Noot had found a capable translator in Roest; but, he being apparently no versifier, it was necessary to find someone else for the poetry. If this assistant knew French well, so much the better; if he did not, he could be helped by his chief; in any case, his work would be supervised, to secure accuracy. What was chiefly necessary was that he should be able to turn good English verse. For this 'job' whoever had charge of the book em-

<sup>21</sup> Professor Fletcher, for instance, says (*idem*, p. 410) "His [Spenser's] translation of the Petrarch *Visions*, though rhymed, is surprisingly literal. The same literalness is true, *mutatis mutandis*, of the Bellay series of '69." He speaks of the Bellay rehandling as "'improved' for the worse."

ployed Spenser. . . . He was in no way a principal in the main undertaking; when the volume came out, therefore, it nowhere gave his name. He had done his work and received his pay; there was no need to acknowledge his services.'"<sup>22</sup> It would be rash to deny the logical practicality of this. We know, for example, that the old scholar, François Vatable, helped Clément Marot, step by step, to translate the *Psaumes de David* (1545).<sup>23</sup> And if one chooses (as one really prefers to do) to reject the assistance of the learned but shadowy Theodore Roest, one can fall back upon the impersonal, but very tangible and ubiquitous helps in the form of glossaries and other word books. The young Spenser need surely not be unique in scorning these aids to the young; nor should we forget that one's first attempts at translation are apt to be sorry work indeed, but ploddingly literal.

The possible course of events outlined by Mr. Dodge would be acceptable if the student found, on the one hand, the much heralded literalness of the early manner, and on the other, the equally marked inaccuracy and freedom. Let us see what pains the youthful translator took to turn out a letter-bound version. The last four lines of Du Bellay's rendering of Petrarch's first sonnet read:<sup>24</sup>

Qu'au dernier pas en bref temps l'ont menée  
Cheoir soubz un roc. Et la, la cruauté  
De mort vainquait une grande beauté,  
Dont souspirer me fait sa destinée.

This is given by Spenser in 1569, with no notable literalness:

<sup>22</sup> See, as above, Dodge and Grosart; also Vermeulen. In an article, *The French Influence on the Beginnings of English Classicism* (*Mod. Lang. Ass'n. Pub.* Sept., 1911) Miss E. J. Macintire writes (p. 514) "[Mulcaster] was greatly interested in French and Italian as well as in his mother tongue, and encouraged his students to translations. It was doubtless on his recommendation to Van der Noot that Spenser obtained the opportunity to translate for the *Theatre of Worldlings*." See, too, Schelling's *English Literature during the Lifetime of Shakespeare*, 1910, p. 46.

<sup>23</sup> Vd. H. Chamard's ed. of Du Bellay's *Defense et Illustration*, etc., 1904, note 4, page 94.

<sup>24</sup> I quote from Marty—Laveaux's edition, 2 vols.

That at the last, and in shorte time, I spied,  
 Under a rocke, where she (alas!) opprest,  
 Fell to the grounde, and there untimely dide.  
 Cruell death vanquishing so noble beautie  
 Oft makes me waile so harde a destinie.

In the second sonnet he gives,

O great grieve! I say,

for

ô crevecueur trop gref.

In the third sonnet we find,

Le ciel entour commence à varier  
 Et à nourcir, dont la fouldre grand'erre  
 Vint arracher celuy plant bien heureux.

Spenser expands this,

The sky gan every where to overcast,  
 And darkned was the welkin all about;  
 When sodaine flash of heavens fire outbrast,  
 And rent this royal tree quite by the roote.

A similar expansion, even to the making of an alexandrine, is found in the fourth sonnet:

That sweetly in accorde did tune their voice  
 Unto the gentle sôunding of the waters fall:

for,

Qui de leurs voix accordoient doucement  
 Au son de l'eau.

A painstaking translator should have Englished the following more faithfully than Spenser does:

jusque à tant  
 Qu'il vînt à l'arbre en pièces demouré,  
 Et au ruisseau que terre a devoré. (Sonnet IV)

Until he came unto the broken tree  
 And to the spring that late devoured was.

And the following:

Et des humains sur l'heure disparu.

And so forthwith in great despite he dide.

And surely this line is well padded with new elements:

Las! rien ne dure au monde que tristesse.

(Sonnet VI)

las! in earth so nothing doth endure,  
 But bitter grieffe, that doth our hearts anoy.  
 For line comparison of Du Bellay's *Songe* and  
 his earlier version of this, tells ever a more striking  
 of a free and judicious treatment of the original. It  
 take too much space to give the complete array of more-  
 notable inaccuracies, but to clinch the argument I shall  
 mention to a few. In Sonnet II of the *Songe*, we read,  
 Elançoit mille raiz de son ventre profound  
 Sur cent degrez dorez du plus fin d'or d'Afrique.  
 For this Spenser gives

Out of deepe vaute threw forth a thousand rayes

Upon a hundred steps of purest golde.<sup>35</sup>

Spenser's later version of this is more literal, despite the stringent  
 demands of the rhyme:

Out of her womb a thousand rayons threw

On hundred steps of Afrike gold enchase:

In this passage Doctor Koeppl has expended no little wire-drawn  
 enuity (*Eng. St.* vol. 27, p. 104). The two words that serve as his  
 are *rayons* and *enchase*. It will be noted that in the 1569 version  
 ours the word *rayes*, whereas in the recast a French form of the word,  
*rayons*, is taken over into English. On the plea that Spenser is forever  
 and of bizarre neologisms such as *rayons*, Doctor Koeppl thinks that  
 the absence from the *Theatre* rendering of this word and of the gram-  
 matically queer *enchase*, shows a significant difference in the color of the  
 vocabulary. Quoting Nares to the effect that Spenser's use of the word  
 is unique, Doctor Koeppl finds here another and a weighty support of  
 his position. Support thus constructed cannot but break down under  
 the force of the following facts: In Sonnet XI of the recast we find the  
 line

'Of this faire fire the scattered *rayes* forth threw', translating

'De ce beau feu les *rayons* escartez,' which in the *Theatre*, Spenser had  
 given as

Of this faire fire the faire dispersed *rayes*.

Why does not Spenser use *rayons* again in this instance? Evidently  
 because to have done so would have meant a superfluous syllable in his  
 line, just as to have used *rayes* in Sonnet II would bring the line one  
 syllable short. Spenser's taking of the word was probably prompted  
 by the same metrical sense that led a far lesser poet to write,

"The *rayons* of the Sunne we see,

Diminish in their strength."—Alex. Hume: *Day Festivall*, c. 1609  
 (quoted from the *New Eng. Dict.*).

*Rayons* of *Songe* XII is translated in both cases by *beames*. On  
*enchase*, no comment is needed. Note, that *womb* (Sonnet II) is closer  
 to *ventre* than *voute* of the earlier rendering.

In Sonnet IV,

Portant ailes *au doz*, avec habit nymphal,  
is given in 1569 as

With *golden* wings in habite of a nymph,  
evidently an error due to a misreading or misprint of the  
original, for the revision reads, clearly for the metre:

Clad like a nimph, that wings of *silver* weares.

Sonnet V:

L'ouurage ne monstroït vn artifice humain,  
Mais sembloït estre fait de celle propre main  
Qui forge en aguisant la paternelle foudre.

1569. The worke did shewe it selfe not wrought by man,  
But rather *by his owne skilfull hande*  
That forgeth thunder dartes *for Jove his sire*.

This is not more literal in

1591. No worke it seem'd of earthly craftmans wit,  
But rather wrought by his owne industry,  
That thunder-dartes for Jove his syre doth fit.

Sonnet V:

Et puis, ie vy l'Arbre Dodonien  
Sur sept costaux espandre son vmbrage,  
Et les vainqueurs ornez de son feuillage  
Dessus le bord du fleuve Ausonien.

1569. Then I beheld the faire Dodonien tree,  
Upon seven hills throw forth his gladsome shade,  
And conquers bedecked with his leaves  
Along the bankes of the *Italian streame*

1591. Then was the faire Dodonian tree far seene  
Upon seaven hills to spread his gladsome gleame,  
And conquerours bedecked with his greene,  
Along the banks of the Ausonian streame.

One can go on to the very end pointing to passages in the *Theatre* version which are remarkable for a lack of the exactitude that is claimed for them. Nor do I find the reshaping of 1591 distinguished by the bold touch that leads to unwarranted freedom and marked inaccuracy. Not even the translations of the four sonnets that Van der Noot banished from his *Theatre*, nor Spenser's rendering of Du Bellay's *Antiquitez*

*de Rome* ('The Ruines of Rome')<sup>36</sup> do I find noteworthy for excessive liberty in the handling of the original. There is not, in these, an inversion, a transposition, an expanding or a shortening of phrase, that cannot be paralleled by something in the *Theatre* renditions and in the recasts. It is as certain, however as it is natural, that Spenser's later work in translation should show signs of a more elastic conception of the translator's art, should abound not in inaccuracies, or perversions of sense, but in liberties demanded in great part by the stern exigencies of metrical form.<sup>37</sup> What one can grant the other side, and yet find comfort and victory in the admission, is the greater servility, the more painstaking 'text-reading' in the early work. It is ever thus; to the learner the slow, chained, and groping touch, to the master the free hand, and the wide, certain sweep.

In this frank disregard of plodding literalness, in the liberty he permitted himself, in his disdain of purist scanning of words, Spenser stands alined with his fellow-Elizabethans. What is more, his distinction among the workers in the gentle

<sup>36</sup> In the article by Miss E. J. Macintire, already referred to (note 32 above) occurs the following: "Spenser eulogizes them both [Du Bellay and Du Bartas] in the Envoy to his translation of Du Bellay's *Ruines of Rome*, which he made over, from its blank—verse form, into regular sonnet stanzas, with a final rhyming couplet. It has been claimed that this is a free and careless rendering, but a word for word translation of Du Bellay reveals only such freedom in Spenser as the exigencies of the rhyme demand." (p. 517). It is not clear, from the above, which of Spenser's translations the writer has in mind, for as we know, Spenser translated the *Songs* of Du Bellay into the blank-verse sonnets of 1569, and then reworked them into the 1591 *Visions of Bellay*. Du Bellay's *Songs* is a pendant to his *Antiquitez de Rome*, which Spenser also turns into English, calling his work *The Ruines of Rome*. But Miss Macintire is correct in her conclusions, whether intending the one sonnet-series or the other.

<sup>37</sup> Despite the bondage of form, Spenser's work is noticeably literal in places; see for example, Sonnets XIII and XIV found in the 1591 version only. Of the four sonnets first published in 1591, Sonnet VI is Doctor Koepfel's storehouse for inaccuracies, which I cannot discover, and which Professor Fletcher has sufficiently disproved in his article. The sonnet is noteworthy, as is Sonnet VIII, for some original turns, palpably occasioned not by lack of French, but by the restraints of metre and the lack of pedantry.

art of translating is that he is one of the least lax of them all. From the point of view of the Tudor translators his sins are on the side of a more scholarly and conscientious correctness than the greater number of them cared to attain. One has but to acquaint oneself with their conception of the translator's art, and with their practice, to feel certain that literalness is a watchword to them unknown.<sup>38</sup>

It would seem, then, that none of the tests advocated by those who would disprove the Spenserian authorship of the *Theatre* translations succeeds in accomplishing the intention. Far from casting the shadow of doubt upon the matter, the tests—and this is their only virtue—rather strengthen the facts considered in the first part of this paper. I shall be happy if the judicious scholar finds that the review of the question attempted here, has gone some way toward establishing the rightful claimant to the verse translations in the *Theatre of Worldlings*.

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<sup>38</sup> On Elizabethan translators see, *Camb. Hist. of English Lit.* vol. 4, chap. 1. Consult also Chapman's and Harrington's *Prefaces*, given in Smith's *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, vol. 2. For some remarks of general interest on the subject see W. Raleigh's *Tudor Translations* (*Fortnightly Rev.*, Sept., 1895).



## REVIEWS AND NOTES

*elma Colliander*, Der Parallelismus im Heliand. Lund, Gleerupsche Univ.—Buchhandlung, 1912. 565 ss.

Professor Ernst A. Kock, der durch seine trefflichen Arbeiten die Texterklärung des Heliand erheblich gefördert hat, rug sich seiner Zeit mit dem Gedanken, die überaus wichtige Erscheinung der Variation in grösserem Zusammenhange eingehend zu untersuchen. Vermutlich liess ihm seine amtliche Tätigkeit keine Musse, diesen Plan auszuführen, und so übertrug er die Arbeit einer Schülerin, die sich unter seiner Leitung auf das Licentiat—und später auf das Doktorexamen an der Universität Lund vorbereitete. Als die Frucht ihres eindringenden Fleisses liegt uns jetzt ein ansehnlicher Band vor, in dem das Material in grösster Vollständigkeit vorgeführt, und der Gegenstand, wenigstens nach einer Seite hin, durchaus erschöpfend behandelt ist.

Eine besondere Schwierigkeit lag bei der Überfülle des heranzuziehenden Materials darin, ein angemessenes Einteilungsprinzip zu finden. Im Gegensatz zu Pachaly, der in seiner wenig befriedigenden Arbeit *Die Variation im Heliand und in der altsächsischen Genesis* (1899) eine ziemlich schablonenhafte Anordnung nach synonymischen Gesichtspunkten vornahm, geht Frl. Colliander von syntaktischen Erwägungen aus und berücksichtigt in erster Linie die Stellung der Variationsglieder im Satze oder Satzgefüge. Semantische, stilistische und metrische Gesichtspunkte kommen daneben kaum zur Geltung, wenngleich es der Verfasserin, wie sich des öfteren zeigt, keineswegs an Verständnis für dieselben mangelt. Auch auf eine genauere Begriffsbestimmung der behandelten Erscheinung, wie sie z. B. von Paetzel versucht wurde, hat sie verzichtet und nach Massgabe des gewählten weitherzigeren Titels 'Parallelismus' viele Belege mit aufgeführt, die der eigentlichen Variation kaum zuzuzählen sind.

So finden wir denn nicht selten eine Reihe innerlich ungleichartiger Fälle äusserlich zusammengestellt. Z. B. *the nako furðor skrêd*, / *höhhurnid skip* 2265 f., *hwand al an is gieweldi stâd*, / *himil endi erða* 2166 f. (s. 114); *ant that sie thō gisāhun*, / *sīwōrige man* 660, *harda stēnos klubun*, / *felisos, aftar them felde* 5665 f. (s. 119); *ēr than thō gibōknida barwīrīg gumo*, / *Simon Pētrus* 4599 f., *thō frāgoda Pētrus*, / *allaro thegno betset*, *theodan sīnan* 3242 f. (s. 133) (das superlativische Epitheton steht bezeichnender Weise regelrecht an zweiter Stelle). Logisch betrachtet, würde *that sie farstandan iuwan mōðsebon*, / *iuwa werk endi iuwan willeon* 1401 f. nicht in eine Reihe mit *that hē forlēt eldeo barn*, / *mōdag*, man

dröm 762 f. (s. 269 f.) gehören, obschon die Inkongruenz der Glieder in dem letzten Beispiel vielleicht vom Dichter kaum empfunden wurde; vgl. z. B. Beow. 497 f. *pær was hæleða drēam, / duguð unlytel Dena ond Wedera*, und die Bemerkungen in Mod. Phil. III, 239 f. Bei den durch *endi* verbundenen Gliedern liegt ohne Zweifel vielfach wirkliche Variation vor, z. B. *biliði wārun endi bōkno filu* . . . 373 (s. 125); es kann sich aber auch um gewöhnliche Addition handeln, wie in *ordos endi eggia* 3698 (s. 266), 'Speere und Schwerter'; oder aber es wird vom allgemeinen zum besonderen übergegangen, wie in *sōhta imo that hōha himilo riki endi thena is hēlagon stōl* 5977 (s. 264), ähnlich in Metod . . . *endi maht Godes* 128. Ganz auszuschliessen wären Beispiele nach Art von: *thea stedi wissa Jūdas wel, / hwār hē thea liudi tō lēdean skolda* 4817 f. (s. 292); *nū ik thi sulika giwald fargaf, that thū mīnes hīwiskes hērost wāris* 3254 f. (s. 294), denn hier ist der zweite Satzteil nicht als ein 'varians,' sondern als notwendige Ergänzung des sonst unvollständigen ersten aufzufassen. Nicht Variierung, sondern Aufzählung findet statt in *hwanda hie habda starkan hugi, / mildean endi guodan* 29 f. (s. 403).

Die von der Verfasserin gewählte Einteilung beruht vornehmlich auf der Stellung der Parallelglieder und ihres sogenannten Beziehungswortes, d. h. des zu den ersteren in einem wechselseitigen Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse stehenden Satzgliedes. So gilt beispielsweise das Verbum finitum als das Beziehungswort des Subjects (und umgekehrt), desgleichen des Infinitivs, Prädikativums, u. s. w. Aus den verschiedenen Stellungsmöglichkeiten — z. B. 1) die beiden parallelen Glieder stehen vor dem Beziehungswort a) nicht getrennt, b) getrennt; 2) die parallelen Glieder stehen zu beiden Seiten des Beziehungswortes, a) hinter dem 2. Gliede keine Bestimmung, b) hinter dem 2. Gliede eine Bestimmung — ergibt sich nun eine Anzahl von Typen, die in 28 Tabellen mit insgesamt 411 Abteilungen (Unterabteilungen nicht mitgerechnet) dargestellt werden. In solcher Gruppierung wird dann das gewaltige Material in 13 nach der syntaktischen Funktion gegliederte Abschnitte (z. B. Subjektsparallelismus, Verbum finitum-Parallelismus, Prädikatsphrasenparallelismus, Objektsparallelismus, Satzparallelismus) eingereiht ('Text': ss. 105-448). Mit wahrhaft bewunderungswürdiger Konsequenz wird das komplizierte Schema von Anfang bis zu Ende durchgeführt. Es wäre ein leichtes gewesen, mit geistreichen Bemerkungen über den ästhetischen Wert des Parallelismus zu glänzen, aber zielsichere Beschränkung und Entsagung kennzeichnen diese gediegene Arbeit.

In einer längeren Einleitung gibt die Verfasserin Rechen-

schaft von ihrer Methode und verbreitet sich in sachkundiger Weise über verschiedene zu besonderer Erörterung einladende Erscheinungen, z. B. den Gebrauch der Epitheta, die entweder als reine oder als substantivierte Adjektiva aufgefasst werden können, denn Parallelismus der Verba des Sagens, die Verwendung von artikellosen Adjektiven mit Beziehung auf Pronomia (wie *hie . . . sundiōno lōs*).

Den Beschluss bildet ein Register der im 'Texte' angeführten Stellen nebst einer grösseren Reihe von Anmerkungen (ss. 449-564). Letztere sind als höchst wertvolle Beiträge zur Textkritik und Interpretation zu bezeichnen, an denen künftig kein Heliandforscher vorübergehen kann.

Wer zwischen den Zeilen zu lesen versteht, könnte noch vielerlei aus dem Buche herausholen, worauf die Verfasserin gelegentlich durch mehr oder weniger geschickt versteckte Fingerzeige hindeutet. Zur Illustrierung diene der sehr bemerkenswerte Konstruktionswechsel (im weitesten Sinne verstanden), der sich in ähnlichen Formen im Altenglischen nachweisen lässt. Es lassen sich etwa die folgenden Gruppen unterscheiden. 1. Kasuswechsel. a) Akkusativ, Genitiv. *than ālātid iu Waldand God . . . . . frinwerk mikil, / managoro mēnskuldeo* 1620 ff. b) Dativ, Genitiv. *that gi sind eðiligiburdiun, / kunnies fon knōsle gōdun* 557 f. c) Präposition mit verschiedenen Kasus. *the iu wið thesumu sēwe skol / mundon, wið thesan meristrōm* 2931 f. (Cf. Beow. 424 f. wið Grendel . . . . . wið pām āglæcan . . .).—2. Präpositionalverbindung, Adjektiv (Partizip). *thia giwester twā . . . . . an muodkarun, / sēraga, sātun* 4014 ff.; *hio-bandi thār aftar / gengun wif, mid wōpu* 5516 f.—3. Präpositionalverbindung, Partizip mit Objekt. *the an erðu was, / foldu bifolhan* 4132 ff.—4. Dativ, Präpositionalverbindung. *heftun herubendiun handi tesamme, / faðmos, mid fitereun* 4919 f. (Cf. Beow. 975 f. in nýdgripe *nearwe befangen, / balwon bendum.*) — 5. Wechsel von Präpositionen. *te staðe quāmun . . . . . an land* 2964 f.; *elkor bifelliad sia ina ferne te bodme, / an thena hētan hel* 2511 f. (Cf. Gen. B 330 f.). *te: under* 4838 f., 3526 f.; *aftar: an* 2850 f. Dazu adverbialen *tō* wechselnd mit der Präposition *te*. *that sie im tō selbun, / te them Godes barne, gangan mahtun* 428 f.; ähnlich *tegegnas: wið* 2554 f., *angegin: wið* 269 f.; *angegin: te* 1588 f.; *tegegnas: for* 4946 f. — 6. Adverb, Nominalverbindung. *hwand sie sō lango lihtes tholodon, / managa hwila* 3552 f. (Dazu etwa: *the thār ne willean gilōbean tō, / wāroro wordo* 1735 f.).

Nur ganz wenig sei noch zu strittigen Punkten der Texterklärung angemerkt. 127 f. *so hæbed im wurdgiskapu / Metod gimarkod endi maht Godes*. Es ist richtig, dass

‘Schicksal’ verschiedentlich auf eine Stufe mit ‘Gott’ gestellt wird (z. B. 367 f.), aber die Form *habed* (M), *habit* (C) zeigt deutlich, dass das plurale *wurdegiskapu* nicht als Subjekt, sondern als Objekt zu verstehen ist; die Auffassung ist demnach analog der aus Beow. 1056 bekannten: *nefne him wítig God wyrd forstöde*. — 281 ff. *Thō warð thes wídes hugi / aftar them ārundie al gihwordan / an Godes willeon*. Am nächsten liegt es doch m. E., *afstar them ārundie* mit ‘nach (Verkündigung) der Botschaft’ (temporal) zu übersetzen; ebenso 330 *afstar them wordun*. — 1395 ff. Es geht tatsächlich nicht an, *hōh holmklīðu* zu einem zu *an berge* parallel stehenden Instrumental zu machen; die Parallelsetzung der inkommensurablen Ausdrücke *thū burg*, *hōh holmklīðu* lässt sich wohl vergleichen mit Beow. 2212 f. *hord, stān-beorh stēapne*. — Nicht überzeugend ist die subtile Erörterung von v. 1590 ff. Es scheint mir nicht zweifelhaft, dass *thínoro huldī in ūs is thínoro huldī tharf* wirkliches Genitivobjekt ist. (Beiläufig sei erwähnt die entsprechende Verbindung *pā hēō āhte mæste þearfe / hylðo þas hēhstan Dēman Jud. 3.*) — Ein nur alzu lange fortgeschleppter Fehler, den zuerst Trautmann (Bonner Beitr. z. Angl. XVII, 134 f.) aufdeckte, kommt in dem Zitat *thār siu iro nīðskepies, / wítodes, wānit* 1879 f. wieder zum Vorschein. — In vv. 2034, 2116 (s. 256) dürfte *wiht* adverbial sein, so dass der Parallelismus wegfiel. — 2779. *hē nī mahta is quidi liagan*. Das Verbum *liagan* heisst nicht eigentlich ‘Lügen strafen’, sondern (wie *ālēogan* in Beow. 80 *hē bēot ne ālēh* ‘täuschen, unerfüllt lassen’ (Heyne)). — 2907 ff. Die Deutung von *hluttron ūðeon* als Akkusativ, parallel mit *swīðean ström* und *skir watar* liesse sich nur dann halten, wenn man annähme, dass die Endung von *hluttron* nach dem folgenden *ūðeon* verschrieben ist. — 3235 ff. Ein zwingender Grund zur Einsetzung von *werean* für *weread* ist nicht vorhanden. — 3955. Die Erklärung Pipers, der *fan theson kunnie* auf die Juden bezieht, ist in diesem Zusammenhange die natürlichste. — 4147. Die Lesart von C, *obar hwarf wero* ist aus metrischen Gründen geboten; vgl. auch 4138, 5071 (5134, 5373). — 4452. *thār is lif ewig, / gígarewid Godes riki gōðaro thíodo*. Es lässt sich *gōðaro thíodo* als Genitiv rechtfertigen, vgl. Beow. 1004 ff. und Mod. Phil. III, 457.

Unter den Literaturangaben vermisst man W. Paetzel, *Die Variationen in der altgermanischen Allitterationspoesie*. Teil I. (1905); F. Pauls, Beitr. XXX, 165 ff., 194.; O. Behaghel, *Der Heliand und die altsächsische Genesis* (1902), s. 25 ff.; F. Panzer, *Das altdeutsche Volksepos* (1903), s. 9 ff. Die Besprechung von Sievers’ Heliandausgabe, Anz. f. d. A. V, 268 ff. rührt von Roediger her.

In der Einleitung erfahren wir, dass das vorliegende Buch eine zweifache Absicht verfolgt, nämlich einerseits zur Beleuchtung und Feststellung der grammatikalischen Formen und dadurch zum Verständnis schwieriger Textstellen beizutragen und andererseits Material zu weiteren Untersuchungen zu liefern. Der erstere Zweck ist ohne Frage voll erreicht worden (wobei noch namentlich die Genauigkeit der sinngemässen Interpunktion hervorgehoben sei). Zum zweiten Punkte möchte man wünschen, dass recht bald einmal die Probe aufs Exempel gemacht wird, dass also andere westgermanische, d. h. natürlich vorzugsweise altenglische Dichtungen in ähnlicher Weise gründlichst untersucht werden. Die systematische Vergleichung der Variationstechnik könnte eine wertvolle Handhabe zur Beurteilung der schwierigen Verfasserfragen liefern. Zugleich würde durch ein solches Verfahren das eigentlich Charakteristische an dem Parallelismus im Heliand noch deutlicher in die Erscheinung treten.

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*Althochdeutsches Lesebuch für Anfänger.* Von Joseph Mansion, Professor an der Universität Lüttich. Heidelberg, 1912. Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung. Paper, 2 M 40. Cloth 3 Mk. X + 173, with two facsimiles.

This little volume appears in Streitberg's Sammlung germanischer Elementar- und Handbücher, III. Reihe: Lesebücher. The author endeavored primarily to furnish his students with a manual which should take into account the unusual difficulties encountered by foreigners in the study of Old High German. For this purpose he has compiled a brief Grammar, including a chapter on Syntax, following in general the plan of the series in which the book appears. Compared with Braune's monumental Old High German Grammar, or also with that of Armitage, this part of the work must be called meager. It is rather on a level with Sweet's well known primers. Yet also Braune did not disdain to compile an Abriss, and for beginners the brevity and lucidness of statement have their advantage.

At the same time, Old High German as well as Gothic will be studied exclusively by students interested in the more purely philological side of our work, and the author could have rendered them an invaluable service by references to Wilmanns's inimitable work. Beginners, for whom the work is professedly written, find in it no light on the meaning of such terms as Umlaut, Lautverschiebung, Grammatischer

Wechsel, etc. A few references to Streitberg's *Urgerm. Grammatik* are tantalizing, in view of the fact that for several years we have been eagerly waiting for the appearance of the promised revised second edition. As I know German students, I make bold to assert that they also would be grateful if authors of Grammars and text editions in our field would consent to be a little less sparing with their help. Might we not with profit emulate the example of Wilmanns in his *German Grammar*, or also of Wright in his "*Grammar of the Gothic Language*" and Armitage in his "*Old High German Grammar*", though these English scholars, Armitage particularly, are possibly inclined to lay undue emphasis upon the comparative side of the work. Our author evidently considers brevity a cardinal virtue, and we must admit that he gives a large amount of information in the short space of less than fifty pages.

Besides, he does not see the chief value of his book in the treatise of the grammar, but rather in the selections of the Reader, the second part of the book. I confess, I do not quite see why. Very helpful for the beginner is the concise statement of the peculiarities of every author represented. The selections are illustrative of the three chief OHG. dialects: Franconian: Tatian, Würzburger Beichte, Isidor, Ludwigslied and Otfrid; Alemannian: Benediktinerregel, Murbacher Hymnen, Notker; Bavarian: Wessobrunner Gebet, Muspilli, Petruslied. An appendix brings the Hildebrandslied and a few Incantations.

The student welcomes a few notes on the texts, very concise but helpful as far as they go.

A glossary and two pages of the Hildebrandslied in facsimile conclude the book.

The book wants to be regarded as a primer, an introduction to the study of OHG., and it is well suited to that purpose. But, having expected a companion to Streitberg's Gothic, Michel's MHG., Holthausen's Old Saxon and Old Norse treatises in the same series, we are for the moment somewhat disappointed at the author's shifting of the emphasis from the grammar to the reader.

TOBIAS DIEKHOFF.

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*Siuts, Dr. Hans*: *Jenseitsmotive im deutschen Volksmärchen*. (Teutonia, 19. Heft), Leipzig, E. Avenarius, 1911, 313 pp., M8.

*Löwis of Menar, Aug. Von*: *Der Held im deutschen und russischen Märchen*. Jena, E. Diederichs, 1912, 139 pp. M3.

Siuts's investigation is the enlarged form of a prize essay on the "Hades-Journey" type of the German popular tale. The purpose is to show the great importance of the popular ideas of the "other world" (fairyland, the land of wonders in whatever form) for the proper understanding of the Märchen and for the appreciation of its value for the history of Teutonic religion.

The bulk of the book consists of direct quotations from the texts of Volksmärchen (in the strict sense); thus the author is able to make his work clear to the reader at once. These passages are arranged according to an elaborate system, following the hero of the Märchen step by step on the journey from the land of the living. First we are informed as to the situation of the "Beyond" ("realm of the departed"), the distance to it as stated in various tales, the way thither, the border regions (great forest, waters, or mountains, etc., the inhabitants and their abode, etc.). Next we have the description of the other world itself which may be conceived as under the earth or water, within or upon a mountain, or, rarely, "Hades" may be in heaven (p. 58, 245; or p. 302, as in "Marienkind," Grimm No. 3, through the influence of Christian legend). We get a view of the castle or other dwelling, its exterior, interior and surroundings. The inhabitants of that world are discussed under the headings of theriomorphism, transition to anthropomorphism and from that in certain cases to spiritualization. Ritualistic and other chthonic motives are likewise considered. The last seventy-five pages contain the essay proper, parallel in arrangement to the material of Part I. By comparing the variants of various tales Siuts attempts to arrive at the origin of the motives. A few examples follow. Food on the table in the enchanted dwelling is interpreted as pointing back to offerings once made for the departed; the treasures there are objects once buried with the dead; a connection is assumed (p. 257, Note 1) between the glass or flask containing the strengthening potion, of which the hero partakes in some tales, and the drinking-vessels found in ancient graves; seven-league boots go back to the shoes once placed in graves; etc.

Of course S. is careful to state that not all the numerous other-world conception he discusses are still understood as such, and that there has been a continual process of fading and

modernization. But in my opinion he often goes too far in identifying other-world motives and does not allow enough for what the imagination of story-tellers has added; variants arising in this way may easily be more widely spread than he assumes. Just here there is need of comparison with the Volksmärchen in other languages which could not be done in this work. The unique classification of the motives is somewhat overdone. One feels that very many confident assertions in the essay proper should have been qualified by a "probably."

Löwis of Menar limits his study to the hero (or heroine) of the popular tales of wonder and magic in Germany and Russia. In general he finds the Russian tales more consciously artistic than the German; the language is archaic to a greater degree; there is a fondness for dialog; details are presented so fully as to leave much less for the imagination of the hearer than in the German stories. The Russians like to ascribe to their hero a superhuman origin and to give him a fanciful name. In both countries the hero of the Zaubermärchen is most often a prince, a peasant's son or a soldier but outside of these types there is much less variety in Russian stories. In the latter, sons or daughters of priests are not seldom the chief figures,—not so in Germany, owing no doubt to the influence of the Roman church during the formative period of the German Märchen. The church is however scarcely ever mentioned in the German stories considered here but the Russian hero is strict in religious matters in not a few tales. There is a much greater variety of subordinate figures in the Russian stories, making the action rather too complex.

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C. A. WILLIAMS.

*Das Inzest-Motiv in Dichtung und Sage: Grundzüge einer Psychologie des dichterischen Schaffens.* Otto Rank. Deuticke, Leipzig und Wien, 1912. Pp. viii, 685.

Rank's name is well known to students of psychoanalysis. He is a disciple of Freud. Among his numerous publications upon Freudian topics are "Der Künstler: Ansätze zu einer Sexualpsychologie" (1907) and "Der Mythos von der Geburt des Helden" (1909). In the present huge volume Rank applies Freud's principles of unconscious repression and release to the creative arts of literature.

An intelligent appraisalment of Rank is impossible without a general knowledge of psychoanalysis and of the theoretical background on which it rests. The doctrine itself is not very old. In the eighties, two Viennese physicians, Joseph Breuer



and Sigmund Freud, discovered in the course of their clinical observations that certain cases of hysteria were relieved when the clinicians had succeeded in eliciting from the patient an account of painful or distressing events of earlier occurrence. They concluded that the hysterical symptoms were due to the "unconscious" remnants of unpleasant memories, and their conclusions seemed to be verified when they managed to bring these memories into clear consciousness, thereby relieving the symptoms. Breuer, in his earlier practice, used hypnosis to reinstate the distressing memories; but Freud, finding hypnosis to be of doubtful therapeutic value, later gave it up for a process which has since become famous as "psychoanalysis." This process is a form of mental catharsis. The patient is placed in a quiet state of dreamy reflection, and he is then encouraged to report whatever occurs to him, — memories, imaginations, fragments of thought, opinions, comments, and the like. He is only warned against holding back the most trivial fact: everything is to be confessed. Out of the material which thus emerges, the psychoanalyst divines the nature of the events which are pathogenic, i. e., those emotional experiences which he deems responsible for the mental disorder. Freud's success with the method of clinical divination has been extraordinary. Moreover, through its use he has evolved an explanatory psychology which has been applied, in the hands of his school, to the most diverse problems of science, art, and culture.

The first advantage of the method lay in the fact that it revealed matters which were unknown both to the patient and to the physician. These facts, connected with the emotional situation which first started the disease, had suffered, in Freud's phrase, "repression" (*Verdrängung*). They had been driven to the "unconscious," and there they remained as an irritating agent to annoy the organism. Although the patient had "forgotten" the unhappy cause of the trouble, the submerged "memories" continued to make themselves felt in the form of bodily symptoms (paralyses, contractures, anaesthesias, seizures, and the like).

Now, in the development of his practice of psychoanalysis, Freud came to believe that the pathogenic experiences which the clinical procedure brought to light were of a sexual character; and, moreover, that the roots of neurotic disorder reached below adolescence into early childhood. He believes that sexual impulses and excitements exist long before the sexual functions are directed toward the ends of reproduction. From "infantile sexuality" (which may concern only the child's own organism) develops, through many stages, the normal sexuality of the adult. It is owing to the social and

cultural inhibitions of these impulses and excitements that perversions and "repressions" occur. Against the charge of exaggeration in matters of sex, Freud defends himself, first, by the consideration that his clinical practice has led him, contrary to his former beliefs, to acknowledge their pathogenic import, and secondly, by making the countercharge that the average *Kultur Mensch* is himself full of repressed impulses and ideas and that he therefore resists the doctrine of psychoanalysis as the patient resists the impulse to express his concealed wishes and desires. "It is not difficult to substantiate in our opponents," writes Freud in a clever riposte, "the impairment of intelligence produced by emotivity which we may observe every day with our patients."

Just as the "unconscious repression" leads to the development of the neuroses of hysteria and psychasthenia, so also does it express itself as a "wish-fulfillment" in the normal dream and in the creations of the poet. Both expressions have a cathartic and therefore a therapeutic value. The great poet is a person who suffers more than most normal men from the repressions of childhood and adolescence. His life is therefore a life of inner conflict and turmoil. His creations of phantasy are means of objectifying the conflict, and the objectification, in literary form, furnishes a substitutive or surrogate creation (*Ersatzbildung*) for his latent wishes and desires. The creative process relieves the poet precisely as the psychoanalyst relieves the hysterical. Just because the life of sex (the term is to be broadly interpreted) looms so large in the inner conflict of the poet, we find,—and this is the text of Rank's work,—great literary creations developing, in open and veiled forms, the themes of sex; and just because the passionate life of the child begins, as soon as it embraces other persons (*Heteroerotik*) in the family, the incestuous impulses, at first perfectly normal to the child, are the first to be repressed by moral tradition and prohibition. The average healthy child makes its social adjustments without accident and without abnormal repressions, though, as the Freudians maintain, every adult consciousness reveals traces of the trying process of social adaptation: the unhealthy child, or the child brought under untoward cultural conditions, may develop a neurosis; and the delicate and passionate child of large endowment may mitigate the inner conflict by artistic creation. The two great poetic themes which reflect, in creative form, the individual history of the conflict are the child-parent theme and the brother-sister theme. Rank's ambition is to trace the development of these two themes down through the history of legend and of literature and to explain their appearance from the biography of the author.

The first of the two themes is known to the psychoanalysts as the "Oedipus" theme. It contains two moments; first, affection for the mother, and secondly, jealous hatred of the father. Three typical examples of this form of the Incest Drama are worked through at length; the "King Oedipus" of Sophokles, Shakespeare's "Hamlet" and the "Don Carlos" of Schiller. These dramas are said to exhibit different degrees of repression in the author, and also to indicate a progressive tendency to veil the ultimate facts in deference to a growing cultural abhorrence of the human relations suggested. In Sophokles, the "child-wish" is fulfilled (under cover of ignorance of the blood-relationships), in Schiller, it is unfulfilled, while in Shakespeare's Hamlet it is half-fulfilled by the death of the father. The treatment of the Oedipus theme (or of its father-daughter counterpart) Rank follows through myth and fable and legend, through Old Testament story, through the writings of the Greek tragic poets, into the works of Racine, Molière, Corneille, Voltaire, Lope de Vega, Alfieri, the Elizabethan dramatists, Byron, Shelley, Grillparzer, Tieck, Lessing, Hebbel, and down to Ibsen and our own times.

The Fraternal Complex (brother-sister theme) is taken up in the same way, with the remark that the infantile inclination toward brother or sister is apt to be less violent than the inclination toward parent or child because it is likely to come later and to be a substitutive form. As a consequence, it shows less repression and less resistance, and it lies therefore, in the case of the poet, nearer the surface of consciousness. The "Ahnfrau" of Grillparzer is chosen as typical, though the same theme is discovered in Calderon's "Die Andacht zum Kreuze," Voltaire's "Mahomet," Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister," "Die Geschwister" and "Iphigenie," as well as in the life and writings of Byron, Shelley, Schiller, Richard Wagner and Ibsen.

After allowing for a certain natural eagerness, on the part of an author with a theory to substantiate, in turning up relevant instances, the reader of Rank's book is left with the impression that improprieties and irregularities in family life have had an enduring fascination for the tragic poets. The effect of this fascination upon the whole product of literary achievement can be judged, of course, not from the present book, but from an unprejudiced survey of the entire history of literature. But apart from the possible results of such a survey, it is surely a service to have swept together the tragedies of kinship and to have attempted an outline of their causes. To say that the poet writes out of his own mind and that he colors his characters, whenever drawn, to suit his needs, is a commonplace: to say that this is the proper work of

Genius is a second commonplace; but to have uncovered, in human nature and in human tradition, some of the roots of poetic talent is surely an achievement. Another achievement lies in disclosing common factors in things which seem to be so widely separated as seem the normal consciousness, the dream, the mechanism of wit, the disorders of the hysterical, and the creative work of the poet. And the magnitude of the achievements is but little reduced when we realize that the discoveries and the explanations would scarcely have been possible had it not been for Aristotle, and Lombroso, and Charcot, and for contemporary psychology and bionomics. Both achievements lie, of course, behind the book. Rank's task has been to make, in a difficult and extensive field, a painstaking application of Freud's doctrine. The task might have been done more critically; but then it would very likely have lost in ardor. It is the work of the intelligent disciple.

The principles of psychoanalysis remain for discussion; but the appraisal of them lies outside the province of this review. One's admiration for the constructive talents of Freud, for his unusual clinical insight, and for his ability to conceive large problems and wide integrations, does not blind one to the difficulties of the "unconscious," to the limitations of purely logical constructions, and to the dangers of over-statement and exaggeration. The strength of the doctrine lies in part in its clinical and therapeutical usefulness and in part in its brilliant illumination of natural phenomena otherwise hidden in obscurity. For twenty years, psychoanalysis has grown in spite of bitter denunciation and unreasoning prejudice. Now it deserves candid and intelligent criticism.

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*The New Realism. Comparative Studies in Philosophy.* By E. B. Holt, W. T. Marvin, W. P. Montague, R. B. Perry, W. B. Pitkin, E. G. Spaulding. The MacMillan Co., New York, 1912. Pp. xii, 491.

This work has been hailed in various quarters as a notable book. To the frivolous minded the spectacle of six philosophers co-operating in the production of a book having a common fundamental doctrine and aim and thereby refuting the calumny that philosophers are constitutionally incapable of agreeing with each other, is mainly a brilliant exception that proves the rule: to others it is a significant formulation of the new movement known as realism, and as such is destined to mark a new epoch in philosophic thought. At all events the virility and extent of the movement are such as to give to this book a more than passing interest.

With regard to the standpoint defended in this volume, it is stated in the Introduction that "the new realism is, broadly speaking, a return to that naïve or natural realism which was the first of our three typical theories of the knowledge relation; and as such, it should be sharply distinguished from the dualistic or inferential realism of the Cartesians. But the cause of the abandonment of naïve realism in favor of the dualistic or picture theory was the apparently hopeless disagreement of the world as presented in immediate experience with the true or corrected system of objects in whose reality we believe. So the first and most urgent problem for the new realists is to amend the realism of common sense in such wise as to make it compatible with the facts of relativity." (p. 10.)

In pursuance of this end, the realistic authors attempt to dislodge epistemology from its bad eminence, to show that it is necessary and consistent to think of our environment as existing in entire independence of the consciousness to which it is revealed, and to eliminate the difficulties which are raised by the apparent discrepancies in our sensuous experiences. Throughout the whole of the book one single *motif* dominates the discussion, viz. that the relation of consciousness or experience to its objects is such that the experiencing of things involves no change whatsoever on the part of the things experienced. In this doctrine the writers are in fundamental agreement, and it is this doctrine which gives to the book so much coherence. The essay by Professor Marvin on *The Emancipation of Metaphysics from Epistemology*, prepares the way by demolishing the traditional doctrine, according to which the constitution of the mind is a determining factor in experience. Then follows, *A Realistic Theory of Independence*, by Professor Perry, which discusses various meanings of independence and sets forth the meaning which is intended by the new realism. *A Defense of Analysis* by Professor Spaulding attempts an exposition of analysis which is intended to substantiate the standpoint of realism. The remaining essays are, *A Realistic Theory of Truth and Error*, by Professor Montague; *The Place of Illusory Experience in a Realistic World*, by Professor Holt; and, *Some Realistic Implications of Biology*, by Professor Pitkin.

To attempt a discussion of each of these essays in turn would scarcely be appropriate within the limits of this review; and, moreover, this would involve the danger of making all the contributors responsible for views that may be peculiar to the writer that sets them forth. On the question of independence, however, the general agreement seems to be unmistakable; and this doctrine of independence is, in a sense, a summary of all that is presented. It is here that the dis-

tinctive and significant feature of the book must be sought. And, it may be added, that the conception of independence which seems to be intended by the six realists constitutes the natural point of attack for those who belong to a different philosophic household.

In making prominent the question of independence the writers are motivated chiefly by the desire to offer an alternative to the views which hold that consciousness in some way or other constitutes its own objects. To argue that in our everyday perception of things we are not dealing with the things directly, but with some mental replica or substitute is not only an offense to common sense but is also of dubious logical merit. The "man in the street" is essentially correct in his assumption that our intercourse with things is conducted without the aid of and such intermediaries. That things are occasionally perceived is, in a sense, purely accidental. Things undergo no change in being perceived; the relation which is involved in the act of perception is what the realist is wont to call an "external relation." Objects enter into the field of perception and pass out again, with no change whatever in their status as constituents of this universe, barring the fact that at one time they are perceived, while at another time they are not.

That present day philosophy is moving in the general direction indicated in the preceding paragraph can scarcely be doubted. In the form, however, in which the question is raised by realism there is involved an issue of fundamental importance. If we do not permit ourselves to explain the experiencing of things by resort to a psychical somewhat, called mental states, we are evidently obliged to assume that when we experience things, this event or act is something that happens to the things experienced. The things in question, it seems, undergo some sort of change. What sort of a change is this? To say with realism that the change is merely a change in the relations of the object, a change which leaves the character of the object wholly unaffected, is to leave the matter enveloped in a certain mystery. Our experience of things undoubtedly arises from the things themselves; it is an event or process in which the things experienced take a hand or have a share. The experience, even when construed as a certain type of relationship among things, does not drop down upon the things from out of a fourth dimension, but is produced by the things. In view of this fact, the insistence that the relations which constitute what we call our experiences of things are "external" seems to lose much of its force. To say that the experience springs from the things and is yet

wholly "external" to them looks very much like a contradiction.

To put the matter in a different way, the question at issue is whether the "independence" of things is a type of relationship which is discovered when we compare different experienced situations with each other, or, on the other hand, a relationship which may be affirmed of things independently of all experienced situations whatsoever. Are we obliged to maintain a thoroughgoing relativism, or is there an avenue of escape? Does independence have a meaning apart from such relative meaning as is involved in the comparison of different situations? The object presented in one situation may be independent of that situation in that it is able to figure in other situations as well, and in some sense as the identical object, but is it possible to give to independence any other intelligible meaning than this? The discussion of realistic analysis is not conclusive. It does not show that we can start with "independent" things and get experience out of them, but begs the question by taking things as presented in experiential situations and hence as already endowed with the very attribute or character which is to be explained.

We come upon essentially the same difficulty if we ask on what grounds the relation of experience is said to be external. It is evident that we are unable to compare the experienced with the unexperienced, in order to ascertain the nature of this relation, for the sufficient reason that merely to think of a thing is to bring it within the circle of experience. The comparing, therefore, is not between the experienced and the unexperienced, but lies wholly within the field of experience. To speak of a thing as existing independently of our momentary observation is not to follow it beyond the reach of experience, but is rather a shift in our experimental standpoint. "When me they fly, I am the wings." Since any assertion we may make involves an experiential standpoint of some sort, the assertion that experience is an external relation seems to be peculiarly lacking in foundation.

That things are in some sense independent of our experience of them is undoubtedly true. This fact is verified as completely as we can hope to verify anything. But this circumstance does not settle the question how this independence is to be interpreted. And it is precisely in its interpretation of this matter that the new realism seems to fall short. The book, however, offers much that is suggestive and stimulating, and it is unquestionably a book which must be taken into serious account by all who are interested in the development of present day philosophic thought.

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B. H. BODE.

*Arthurian Chronicles Represented by Wace and Layamon.*  
With an Introduction by Lucy Allen Paton. London: J. M. Dent & Sons. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. [1912.] Small 8vo, pp. xxiv, 264. Everyman's Library, no. 578. Price 35 cents.

*Le Morte Arthur.* A Middle English Metrical Romance. Edited by Samuel B. Hemingway. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1912. Small 8vo, pp. x, 166. Riverside Literature Series, no. 213. Price, linen, 40 cents, net.

These handy and inexpensive volumes make accessible to students material which was either difficult to get at or intelligible only to the expert in French. It is to be hoped that the publishers will add other volumes in medieval literature to these series, which already reflect most creditably the breadth of view and catholicity of taste of their general editors.

Miss Paton's introduction to the Everyman volume, while perhaps too brief, is a good summary of the chief points involved. We comment on one or two matters. Following Madden, she takes Layamon's statement that he read books (v. 10) "to mean that he read the services of the church."<sup>1</sup> This seems a strain on the commonly accepted meaning of "reading books." From his mention of dwelling at the noble church at Ernley, one may safely infer that he was a reading clerk; the point we make is that this is not to be gathered from the clause "where he read books." This describes rather, we think, the occupation of his leisure, which, as in the case of many another priest all along the way down, may have been the really serious business of his life.

We hesitate, too, to follow Miss Paton in calling Geoffrey of Monmouth "a scholar." We find no evidence that he was anything more than an ambitious and highly skilful editor and romancer, who made a great popular hit with a work by which he hoped not so much to advance knowledge or benefit scholarship as to secure preferment. One need not admire him the less for refusing him the epithet of scholar; it simply does not fit him.

In the bibliography, the implication is that Giles was the author of the translation of Geoffrey which he edited in his *Six O. E. Chronicles*. The original translation was made, of course, by Aaron Thompson in 1718, and was merely revised by Giles. Cf. S. Evans, Epilogue to the Temple Edition of his translation, London, 1903. The following titles should be ad-

<sup>1</sup> Professor Hales (*D. N. B.* xxxii. 301) is non-committal: it may mean, he thinks, "read the service or simply studied."



ded: A. Zessack, *Die beiden Hss. von Layamon's Brut*, Breslau, 1888; K. Regel, *Spruch u. Bild im Layamon*, *Anglia* i. 197-251; R. Imelmann, *Layamon, Versuch ueber seine Quellen*, Berlin, 1906; Adolf Luhmann, *Die Ueberlieferung von Layamon's Brut*, Halle, 1906, rev. by B. S. Monroe with a bibliography of Layamon, *JEGP.* vii. 136-41; A. C. L. Brown, *Welsh Traditions in Layamon's Brut*, *MPh.* i. 95-103.

With the remainder of the book we assume that Miss Paton has had nothing to do. The *Brut* of Wace, it is well known, has been only once edited—by LeRoux de Lincy, Rouen, 1836-8. It is somewhat surprising that no second editor has appeared, since a good deal of profitable work remains to be done on this interesting poem. The first editor knew of eighteen mss., nine of them in Paris; but he made little use of the foreign mss., and cites comparatively few variants. His notes are somewhat meagre and in many cases antiquated. It is time some one prepared a critical edition; and it is perhaps unfortunate that the present translation is based on a text about which modern scholars will continue to have their doubts until modern scholarship is brought to bear on the textual problems involved.

The present translation of the Arthurian part of the *Brut* (vv. 6,570-13,706) is, it seems to us, marred by some incorrect and misleading expressions. We shall mention a few as typical: Page 1, l. 1 f. b. "Varlets" as a trans. of *mescins* "young man" is questionable; the word in the sense of "young nobleman" is obsolete, and the modern word means something quite different. 2:4 "Sorrow . . made above their king": "above" in this connection is unidiomatic; why not "over"? 2:18 "A strong knight of his body" (for *un fors hom*): why add "of his body"? 3:17 For *senescaucie* would not "seneschals" be more intelligible than the wholly unfamiliar "senarchy"? 3:4 f. b. Why not "thee" for "you"? 5:8 f. b. A more literal rendering would be, "For what do we serve this false monk and why have we suffered him so long?" 5:11 "From off his shoulders": strike out either "from" or "off." 6:11 "Be they whom they might" is an unwarrantable violation of grammar. 6:4 f. b. "Came" (for *naissent*): the preterite is no more necessary than would be "pastured" for *paissent*. 6:2 f. b. "Putting our trust in Mercury, the god has led us to your realm": the participial construction is inelegant and hardly renders *Et Mercurus nous governa* (6923). 9:10 f. b. "Washael": bearing in mind that this is for modern readers, should not the translator have separated these words, as does the French editor himself, following the Colbert ms. (7115)? 13:20 "He was lain to his rest": wholly ungrammatical and unjustifiable. 14:19

"Nimad covre seax": this is nonsense; the translator has apparently borrowed the editor's bad OE. The reading of Cangé 73 would be better: "Nim eure sexes." A note should explain that this is a Norman corruption of *Nimað eowre seax*. 19: 17 f. b. "Be certified of this": we know of no such idiom. The original has, *de ce te puis faire certain* (7747). 21: 11 "Got her living from that pyre": ambiguous and a poor rendering of *remest* (7847). 21: 14 f. b. "Pilled": an obsolete word; why not "pillaged" (for *orent tot escillié*, 7871)† 21: 11 f. b. "He testified that this should not endure, so he returned in safety": the original (7873f.) has, *A tos pramist estorement Se il repairoit salvement*. If the translator meant "returned" to be pret. subj., as we suppose, the construction is ambiguous and "if" is needed before "so". 23: 3 "Clamouring on" is a poor rendering of *lor fax Dex apeloient* (7961). 23: 9 "Like children" is not in the original (7969f.). 23: 12 "To the hunters": a misleading rendering of *a siens* (7974). 24: 9 f. b. "Whom these Jews so greatly desired for their king": wholly misrenders *qui dont estoit rois coronés* (8068). 26: 14 "In his hour": a too free rendering of *a cel jor* (8158). 26: 15 "So let not death deceive them in their hope": the original (8160) has, *D'or en avant morir ne doivent* "then they ought not to die prematurely." 26: 14 f. b. "Churches": rather "monasteries" (*mousters*, 8180). "Such chapels": why render thus *yglishes* (8181)† 26: 5 f. b. "To attend the service of God": the original has, *repairier As lois qui en soloient estre* (8192f.). At this point three lines are omitted. 27: 3 "Tremenius": the original has *Tremorius* (8207). 27: 10 "I have never been": a vulgarism for "have never been there" (*n'onques n'i fui*, 8219). 27: 10 "On itch to hear" is certainly much less dignified than the original, *Mult en voloît par lui oïr* (8228). 27: 18 f. b. "Brag" is incorrect; the original has, *dont a tos jors soit parole*, "men will talk about" (8245). 27: 17 f. b. "A giant wrought": the original has *Que gaïant firent* (8247), and "every schoolboy knows" that the verb is a plural form. So at 28: 1. 40: 16 "His prison" is ambiguous; the original (9066) has *Qui la chartre garder devoient*.—In short, so numerous are these blemishes that we cannot regard this translation as in any way satisfactory. In style it is neither ancient nor modern; in substance it is untrustworthy.

From Layamon's *Brut* the editor gives us Sir Frederick Madden's translation of vv. 12,300-28,651, generally from Calig. A. ix. It is to be regretted that he has not seized the opportunity to correct a number of inaccuracies in Sir Frederick's spirited and generally happy rendering. On the other hand, he has not even made use of Madden's own revisional

notes (iii. 437-514). We append a few illustrations and comments. 117:9 "In fen": the older ms., if we may trust the editor, has *uærne* "fern", rhyming with *wildérne*. The change to "fen" seems unwarranted. Cf. Smollett, *H. Clinker*, "A brown desert. . . that produces nothing but heath and fern" (quoted in *NED.*). 117:3 "Wood": should be "woods" (*þan wuden*). 117:14 Should be "by streets [better "roads"] and by wealds" (for *bi straten & bi walden*). 117:10 f. b. "Active men": the original (12,862) has *snelle* "speedy, fast." 118:12 "Well disposed": the editor has here adopted the reading (*wel itowe*) of the younger text in defiance of the rhyme. The older text has *wel icoren* (: *iboren*) "very choice", which makes perfect sense. 118:2 f. b. "The yet" (for *þa ȝæt*, 12,981) should be "then yet" or "still"; so also at 121:5 (cf. 13,194). 120:1 The original (13,087) has *ich þe swerie*, pres. tense. "That I will not deceive thee": again the younger text is preferred without warrant; the older text has, *þis ich wulle uorien* (< *fortien*) "further." 120:2 "How else it were": the older text (13,091) has *al*, the later *alles*, both adverbial; read, how it all were." 120:7 "Secret discourse": (for *rune*, 13,103); there is no need of the word "secret." 120:10 "By the way": (for *bi þan weien*, B-text *wowes* "waves", sg. *waj wæj*); read probably "walls." 122:14 "Danish": the original (13,321) has *Densemonne*; read, "king of the Danish men." 122:18 "Frise": read, "Frisia." 226:2 "Covered with": the original, corr. by Madden, iii. 503, has *irinen* "adorned with" or "enclosed with." 226:12 f. b. "Brutus": amended by M. to "the Britons" (for *þa Bruttes*, 24,573). 226:1 f. b. "Things": amended by M. to "viands." 229:6 f. b. "Little men": amended by M. to "few men" (for *lute men*, 24,922). 230:5 "In swoon": amended by M. to "asleep" (for *aswunden*, 24,948). 230:8 "Walwain the good" (for *þe sele*, 24,954): "brave" (= ἀγαθός) would come nearer the meaning. 230:9 "Are not good": the original, 24,956, has *beoð noht idon* "not to do, to carry out." 230:17 "My barons": the original (24,977) has *beornes* "warriors." 230:22 "Well skilled" (for *wel irad*, 24,990): changed by M. to "of good counsel." 231:14 "Britain's darling": changed by M. to "the Britons' darling." 234:10 f. b. "Of Britain": read "Brittany" as in 1. 4 f. b.; the original has *Brutaine* in both places (25,434, 25,449). 234:8 f. b. "Completely provided": rather "thoroughly trained" or "experienced"; cf. v. 24,669 and B. S. Monroe, in *Studies in Lang. and Lit.*, the Hart Mem. Vol., New York, 1910, p. 388. 235:7 f. b. "Hoist": the original has *tuchten* "hoisted" (25,545). 235:6 f. b. "Right": the orig. has *rehtten* "righted" (25,546). "Softest of all" (for

*alre selest*): should be "best of all." 235:2 f. b. "Frightened": too strong for *idræcched*; read "disturbed."—It should be evident, then, that this reprint from Madden is quite unsatisfactory. This sort of thing will do no good to the reputation of the series.

Dr. Hemingway's volume calls for little comment. It is an edition of the fourteenth century romance in eight-line stanzas found in Ms. Harl. 2252 and admirably edited by Bruce in 1903 for the EETS. (Extra Ser. lxxxviii). The editor has frankly attempted no original work, but has based his text on that of Bruce and has written a seven-page general introduction and more elementary and sometimes fuller notes. We have failed, however, to find evidence of a "fuller" glossary, though in some few instances more references are cited than in Bruce. We have even noted some omissions from the glossary, as, for example, *bare* "boar", 229, 951; *bente* "stretched", 990; *felly* "fiercely", 3391; *fyfty*, probably "fifth", 3896; *gleme*, 3492; *pamylon*, 2623, 2627; *pomelles*, 2625; *worche*, 3683. Under *worthe*, OE. *weorþan* means rather "to come into being" than "to be." On p. 133, for 2254 read 2255, and on p. iii for *Douglass* read *Douglas*. In the note on v. 3250 it would be more correct to say that IHC are the Greek letters themselves; Σ was often written C. The question whether the C is the third or the last letter of the Greek name of Jesus is a nice one; but as the editor has carefully stated that it is the last, we remark that it may quite as possibly be the third. On the whole, however, the book is well adapted to its purpose, and will be welcomed by many students who cannot afford the fifteen-shilling edition of Bruce.

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*The Political and Ecclesiastical Allegory of the First Book of the Faerie Queene*, by Frederick Morgan Padelford, Ph.D.  
University of Washington Publications in English, volume II. Ginn & Co.

Everybody who reads the adventures of the Redcross Knight with attention must of course be aware that allegorically they have some reference to the course of Protestantism in England. Spenser himself makes this intent clear when he identifies the hero of his first book with 'Saint George of mery England' (X, 61), by which he must surely mean that the quest after holiness in which the Knight is engaged represents

<sup>1</sup>*Transactions of the American Philological Association*, vol. 19 (1888) p. 40.

to some degree the quest of the nation. Various commentators have at various times, therefore, interpreted this or that incident as referring to this or that historic event. Since they almost all, however, have worked without system, according as imagination and the sense of probability guided them, the total result of their suggestions is not unaptly described in the preface to the present monograph as 'a *pot-pourri* of history'. The aim of this monograph is to provide a thorough and coherent historical interpretation of the whole action of the book.

The basis or point of departure of Professor Padelford's plan is the well-known article<sup>1</sup> of J. E. Whitney on 'The "continued allegory" in the first book of the Faery Queene', according to which the Redcross Knight, with his shield of faith, represents the *Fidei Defensor*, i. e. the sovereign of England as representative of the national church, and Una religious truth, that truth with which the English Church was in the end, under Elizabeth, made one. Whereas Whitney, however, contented himself with tracing only a very general and imperfect correspondence between the action of the book and history, Professor Padelford will have correspondence at all the main points. His plan of interpretation, which includes suggestions by Whitney and others, but which is in bulk entirely original, may be outlined as follows:

*Canto I.* The storm at the beginning, by which the Knight and his lady are driven into the Wood of Error, is the tempest of the Reformation with its natural consequences of confusion and error and strife. Archimago, by whose wiles the pair are separated, is an embodiment of the papal influence, by which England was alienated from the true faith.—*Canto II.* The encounter of the Redcross Knight with Duessa, and his taking her for his lady, is Henry's championing of the Catholic faith. In Sansfoy, the Saracen champion of Duessa whom the Redcross Knight kills, we are to recognize an embodiment of Wolsey, arrogant, worldly, and ambitious—especially of the papal throne.—*Canto III.* The adventures of Una with the Lion represent the fortunes of Protestantism in the period immediately following the downfall of Wolsey. The Lion is Cromwell, whom Foxe and the Elizabethans seem to have regarded as a Protestant champion and martyr; his killing of Kirkrapine in the house of Corceca and Abessa is the suppression of the monasteries; his death at the hands of Sansloy is the ruin of Cromwell by the machinations of Gardiner, under whose active influence Protestant doctrine fared as ill in the later days of Henry as Una at the hands of Sansloy.—*Cantos IV and V.* The Redcross Knight with Duessa at the House of Pride is in the main a 'purple patch', though it does

in a way represent the sinfulness, public and private, of the King's conduct at this time. Sansjoy, third of the Saracen brothers, with whom the Redcross Knight fights the indeterminate duel, cannot be satisfactorily identified: he may perhaps stand for Cardinal Pole.—*Canto VI.* Una among the Satyrs is Protestantism kept alive by the common people. Sir Satyrane, who succeeds the Lion as champion of Una, and who is able to protect her, as the Lion was not, against Sansloy, may probably be Cranmer, who, according to Foxe, succeeded Cromwell as champion of Protestantism against the Romanizing influence of Gardiner.—*Cantos VII and VIII.* The captivity of the Redcross Knight to Orgoglio and his rescue and restoration to Una by Prince Arthur represent the history of the English Church from the days of the Six Articles, in 1539, to the establishment of Protestant Anglicanism at the outset of Elizabeth's reign. Orgoglio is 'the power of Rome that, save for the brief years of Edward's reign, had the upper hand in England' during this period. Prince Arthur embodies 'the national spirit of England'.—*Canto IX.* The Cave of Despair is a 'purple patch' without definite historic significance, except 'the reactionary discouragement which followed upon the overthrow of Roman Catholicism'.—*Canto X.* The House of Holiness represents in a general way 'the spiritual training which the national church enjoyed after the chains of Roman Catholicism were broken'.—*Canto XI.* The fight with the Dragon is the long struggle between Elizabeth and the Catholic forces that centered about Mary Stuart, the struggle which ended with the execution of Norfolk and the close imprisonment of Mary.—*Canto XII.* The letter of Duessa which interrupts the wedding of the Redcross Knight with Una represents, in double allegory, the claim of Mary to the throne and the claim of Rome to ecclesiastical supremacy. The treatment of Archimago represents the harsh suppression of the Roman Catholics.

A bare outline such as this can of course do no justice to the care with which Professor Padelford has worked his problem out or to the plausibility of his conclusions. He has fortified many points of his theory by citations from Foxe and other Protestant writers and has kept steadily in view the essential facts of the religious history of the time. Yet since he himself confesses that he has 'necessarily worked in the realm of conjecture', not in that of proof, the total omission of this evidence and the consideration of his theory in skeleton only may not be unfair. 'If', he writes in the epilogue, 'my conclusions are refuted . . . .'. But one cannot easily refute what is 'necessarily in the realm of conjecture'. The final

test of a theory of this kind is its probability, and on that no two critics need feel obliged to agree.

Considered in its main outlines, then, this theory seems open to one objection, that it does not give due prominence to the reigns of Edward and of Mary. Surely, an Elizabethan, looking back over the previous history of English Protestantism, would find his eye resting upon the temporary triumph under Edward and the apparently hopeless overthrow, just afterward, under Mary, and if he were to record his survey in an allegory, he would assuredly make each of these periods a distinct stage in the action. But according to Professor Padel-ford's scheme they are both embedded in one conglomerate episode, which covers the years from the Six Articles (1539) to the establishment under Elizabeth (1559). Edward's achievement, in fact, appears in only one detail of the action, the cutting off of Orgoglio's left arm, in which we are supposed to recognize the suppression of the mass. Since the restoration of the mass, under Mary, is supposed to be equally recognizable in Duessa's sprinkling of the Squire with the liquor of her cup of abominations, one is driven to wonder what the standards of allegorical intelligibility may be. Surely, the book furnishes a more natural division of matter. The reign of Edward, on which, under any interpretation, the poet seems to have been unwilling to dwell at length, is better represented by the temporary and ineffectual escape of the Redcross Knight from the House of Pride and Duessa.<sup>2</sup> As for the Terror under Mary, the whole episode of Orgoglio does not seem too much for that; and if one takes Orgoglio to be, not 'the power of Rome', but the power of Spain in England, in the person of Philip II, Mary's husband, this episode seems sufficiently distinct.<sup>3</sup>

Another objection may be raised against Professor Padel-ford's theory, that it is too thoroughly systematic, that he reads history into all the main characters and incidents of the book, hardly excepting even those 'purple patches', the House of Pride and the Cave of Despair. This thoroughness, to be sure, he professes to find warrant for in Spenser's own words, for he points out that in the invocation (which serves for the whole poem, though it necessarily stands in the prologue to Book I) Spenser addresses, not Calliope, the muse of epic poetry, but Clio, the muse of history—whence we are apparently supposed to infer that the main allegory is his-

<sup>2</sup> This is the interpretation of Henry Morley: *English Writers*, vol. IX, p. 332. The Redcross Knight could not be conveniently restored to Una at this point, only to be separated from her again so soon.

<sup>3</sup> The power of Spain is commonly represented in the poem by giants: see Geryoneo and Grantorto in Book V.

torical. But Spenser means no such thing. He addresses Clio, simply because his story is to be what, in the letter to Raleigh, he calls 'an historical fiction', 'the historye of King Arthure'. Nowhere in the letter does he speak of epic (or heroic) poetry, always of 'historical'.<sup>4</sup> That is, the history of which he writes is in the poetical narrative, not in the allegory. Of course, there is plenty of historical reference in the allegory, particularly in that of Book I, and a careful reader or critic will always be on the watch to detect it; but the allegory is also in good part moral (Spenser's aim being 'to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline') and the two cannot always work together. To hold, then, that every main character and incident of Book I has historical significance is to leave no fair room for the allegory of the moral life; for one may reasonably maintain that the poet never lived who could have driven both kinds of allegory side by side, without a break, through twelve long cantos of varied action.<sup>5</sup>

The difficulties of this theory are perhaps best exemplified in Canto XI. The combat with the Dragon, in which the quest of the Knight is brought to a triumphant close, seems to be clearly moral (or spiritual) in intent. It sets forth, not any particular peril to holiness, but, in a kind of summary of the Christian life, the struggle of the Christian soul with the enemy of mankind, the Devil. The Well of Life and the Tree of Life, without the quickening power of which the Knight must have perished, represent the two sacraments, 'generally necessary to salvation', baptism and the Lord's supper. As moral allegory it is perfectly adequate. Professor Padelford, however, seems bound by the nature of his theory to interpret it historically, and since the death of Orgoglio brought the history down to 1559, he quite naturally sees in this fight with the Dragon the troubles, partly religious, of the first quarter of Elizabeth's reign. These troubles, as he points out, centered in Mary Stuart, and Mary Stuart, he informs us, is represented in the allegory by Duessa. It does not seem to have occurred to him that, in that case, Spenser would have taken pains to bring Duessa into this combat, as, in her other rôle of the Roman Church, he brought her into the combat with Orgoglio. But this is perhaps a point of no great consequence. More important is the consideration that the de-

<sup>4</sup> His opinion of the diverse functions of Clio and Calliope may be found in the first of the *Mutabilite cantos*, stanza 37.

<sup>5</sup> By Whitney this idea of historical continuity seems to be based in part on Spenser's use of the phrase 'continued allegory', by which, however, the poet probably meant no more than that his work was, in one fashion or another, continuously (or always) allegorical—not that any one kind of allegory was maintained unbroken through a whole book.



tails of the combat in no way correspond to the facts it is supposed to shadow forth.<sup>6</sup> For the Well of Life and the Tree of Life, which are its main incidents, Professor Padelford ventures no historical explanation whatever: he confines himself to such hints as that 'the journey through the air may refer to the Northern rebellion'—and so forth. If this be historical allegory, then surely Spenser was no great master of it.

Why, one asks in conclusion, should a poet who aims at both historical and moral allegory feel obliged to labor at either or both all the time? Book I is unquestionably in part moral, in part historical. The moral allegory, to be sure, is worked out more or less steadily, yet even in this the critics have been at some pains to discover a subtle difference between the pride of *Lucifera* and the pride of *Orgoglio*,<sup>7</sup> when, to the plain reader, it would seem as if, for moral purposes, one Pride might have been sufficient. Why should the historical allegory be more thorough? why, that is, having brought his history of Protestantism down to the establishment under Elizabeth, should Spenser not have dropped it and have proceeded to a conclusion altogether moral? The reason does not appear, nor does Spenser's own practice, as revealed in Books III and IV, encourage one to believe that he would be allegorically very thorough in any book.

A theory, however, may be elaborately unsound and yet contain various contributions to knowledge—or, to use Matthew Arnold's figure, there may be at least one good egg at the bottom of the orderly heap. Professor Padelford has given us several. How long they will escape the damaging action of time, which is very hard on such products, remains to be seen. He must be an unimaginative critic, however, who does not feel a glow of interest, if not of conviction, at the identification of the Lion with Cromwell. That guess, if it may be called such, is very happy. The suggestion that Sansloy represents Gardiner, though not in itself convincing, seems to follow upon the first by not unreasonable inference; that which identifies Sir Satyrane with Cranmer would capture the imagination if a candid footnote did not put forward, only to withdraw, the much more plausible Latimer;<sup>8</sup> and although

<sup>6</sup> An allegorical interpretation may be true, though nobody has happened to think of it before; but it should at least fit the story. If the only argument in its favor is that it helps round out an ideal scheme, it will always be distrusted.

<sup>7</sup> Had the allegory of the book been purely moral, or spiritual, would Spenser have thought of doubling?

<sup>8</sup> Latimer is rejected on considerations of chronology, which, in a poem like the *Faery Queen*, are a somewhat doubtful argument.

there is at least this objection against taking Sansfoy to be Wolsey, that Wolsey and the King never quarrelled about Romanism, still, the figure of Sansfoy would make an excellent allegorical sketch of the proud Cardinal. Whether or not these interpretations will stand is, after all, a matter about which we need not trouble ourselves; they cannot be proved, each critic will accept or reject them according to his ideas of poetic evidence, and the future will decide for itself. Their excellence lies in the fact that they really do appeal to the imagination and in the further fact that the evidence by which Professor Padelford seeks to recommend them (citations from Foxe and other Elizabethan Protestants) is gathered from a virtually new field of inquiry.

As might have been expected, the scholarship of the volume is accurate. One solitary slip may be set right: the passage quoted in the note on page 4 is not from the letter of October 5, 1579, but from that of April 2, 1580.

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*The Syntax of the Infinitive in Chaucer.* By John Samuel Kenyon, Ph.D. Professor of English in Butler College, Indianapolis. London: Published for the Chaucer Society 1909.

Professor Kenyon's monograph is the condensation of a Harvard thesis which he refers to in his preface as "an attempt to classify the syntactical categories of Chaucer's use of the infinitive" aiming "to describe his practice rather than to explain the origin of particular constructions." His thorough analysis of the examples gives rise to the following chapter-headings: I-II, The Infinitive of Purpose, III The Infinitive with Nouns, IV The Infinitive with Adjectives, V The Infinitive of Result, VI The Infinitive of Cause, VII The Concessive Infinitive, VIII The Absolute Infinitive, IX The Conditional Infinitive, X The Complementary Infinitive, XI The Object Infinitive, XII The Infinitive as Subject of Personal Verbs, Nouns, etc., XIII The Infinitive with Impersonals, XIV The Infinitive as Predicate, XV Nominative with Infinitive, XVI The Infinitive in Questions, XVII The Infinitive in Apposition, XVIII The Infinitive after *But* and *about*, and appendixes I-V on miscellaneous questions.

The extremely varied and frequently loose employment of the infinitive in Middle English presents an unusually difficult problem in arrangement at the same time that it makes a systematic ordering of some kind highly important. In try-

ing to avoid the danger of an unnatural precision, Professor Kenyon's classification seems to result in a greater incoherence than is necessary. His system has a certain convenience for reference, such as a good index should afford, and this is no small advantage in a descriptive monograph, but it often conceals the connection between closely related categories which a different grouping would have clearly revealed. A glance at the titles of the chapters discloses the two-fold nature of Professor Kenyon's classification. Chapters I-II, V-VII, IX, and to a certain extent X, describe the meanings which the infinitive may have, *purpose, result, cause*, etc.; the other chapters describe the functions of the infinitive in relation to other members of the sentence. Neither of the viewpoints is subordinated to the other. The first two chapters deal with the primary purpose-meaning of the infinitive. The ideas of purpose, result, cause, means, etc. become the sub-heads in the next two chapters, the emphasis in these being placed on the infinitive connected with a noun or an adjective. In the sixth chapter the causal meaning again becomes the criterion, with subdivisions on the use with verbs, nouns, or adjectives. Many of the chapters describe only grammatical function. Particularly noteworthy is the writer's difficulty in ascertaining under what category of meaning many of his examples are to be placed, and this difficulty suggests what is possibly the chief fault in his arrangement.

Though the primary use of the inflected infinitive to denote purpose is sufficiently precise, the extension of the infinitive in Middle English resulted in constructions the meaning of which is hazily indefinite. We say that the infinitive may denote cause, or condition, or attendant circumstances, sometimes attributing to it a meaning which is really suggested by another word in the sentence or by the general context, sometimes reading an idea into the phrase far more definite than was felt by the writers who used it. Professor Kenyon has realized some of these points clearly enough. He says, for instance, that it is not necessary to regard the conditional infinitive as an independent construction, as "it is often possible to substitute a conditional clause for certain infinitives which belong at bottom to other constructions, such as purpose, means, and the like" (p. 83). In the chapter on the Infinitive of Cause he lists the greater number of examples as ambiguous (p. 70). Equally significant is his care in stating that in "*an ax to smyte the corde atwoo*" the noun (*ax*) denotes the means of the infinitive action (30), which is quite different from saying that *to smyte* is the infinitive of means. So also in "*space for me to stonde*", (31) "*tyme to you for to telle*", (32) "*resoun to hopen*" (32),—in each case the

ideas of place, time, cause, are expressed in the noun to which the explanatory infinitive is attached. And yet in chapter IV Professor Kenyon inverts his own phrasing of the previous chapter and says that "*the infinitive depending on an adjective denotes the purpose, direction, or application of the quality of the adjective*" (p. 44) in such a phrase as "an axe *fit to cut with*." The inconsistency may be only apparent, for we are told a little further on that, just as in the other category, "the noun to which the adjective belongs sustains to the infinitive various relations besides that of subject or object, expressing means, time, place, or depending (logically) on an expressed proposition," (57) so that the determining factor in the meaning is again ascribed to the governing word rather than to the infinitive. What we should like to point out in the last statement is the parallel use of terms which belong to different categories: *subject* or *object* in this connection have reference only to a grammatical relation, leaving the logical to be determined, while the relations of *means, time, and place* indicate the logical connection without particular reference to the grammatical. The frequent crossing of the two classifications seems to us productive of needless complication, especially as it suggests interpretations which do not seem inherent in the constructions. An illustration may be taken from the infinitive of cause:—"In connection with the infinitive such words [as *glad, delight, rejoice*] are capable of three classes of meaning, according to whether the infinitive points to the future, is contemporaneous with the state or action of its governing word, or represents an action or state previous to that of the word it depends on. E. g. *glad to go* may conceivably refer to a journey not yet taken, to one in progress, or to one completed. In the first case the infinitive is fundamentally that of purpose. In the second, it may simply specify the application of the governing word. In the last, the infinitive action is the cause of the action or state of the governing word." (68). Perhaps the illustration is not well chosen, but the reviewer fails to distinguish any difference in the force of the infinitive in such phrases as "I shall be glad to go", "I am glad to go", and "I was glad to go"; the idea of cause may be ascribed to one as readily as to another. The logical purport is to be gathered from the entire expression aided by the context, rather than from the infinitive phrase. It is exactly as if in a sentence like "the journey pleased me," we were to analyze *journey* as the nominative of cause, and to consider *cause* as a function of the nominative case parallel to its function as subject of a finite verb. The objection is that it leads to a classification somewhat beyond the domains of formal grammar and results in the

treatment under various heads of constructions that belong together. (cf. p. 70, note 1).

Another danger lies in attributing to the infinitive a value which it did not have for the persons who used it. As has been already remarked, the chapter on the Conditional Infinitive merely cites examples of other uses of the construction in which the idea of condition also may be logically felt; e. g., "I recche nought to dye, 'I don't care if I die,'" is an example of a complementary infinitive passing over into a conditional sense (85-86). But we may question to what extent such interpretations are justifiable. In Shakespeare's sentence, "to do this deed, promotion follows," *to do* is construed as the conditional infinitive, equivalent to *if I do*. But suppose we were to substitute for the infinitive an expression which in feeling approximates it more closely than the *if*-clause, "Let me but do this deed, promotion follows," and we should have a hortatory instead of a conditional infinitive. One substitution is no truer than the other, and neither is faithful to the original construction. I doubt whether the infinitive ever exactly expressed the ideas of cause, concession, condition and so on, as these are expressed by prepositions and conjunctions. Its very free use in Middle English as a substantive and as a modifier of verbs, nouns, and adjectives resulted in making its application very vague and thus enabling one to supply any meaning which the context required. Instead of a crystallization of the various meanings such as might have been expected if they had been distinctly felt in the infinitive, we witness the gradual disappearance of all save the primary force of purpose—result (reinforced by *to*) in favor of precise conjunctive constructions. The student of grammar should always keep in mind the difference between what might be said and what actually is said. So, if we may quote one more example, Professor Kenyon says, "The infinitive may be joined to another element of the sentence by a co-ordinate conjunction in such a way as to give a unit co-ordinate in form; but the infinitive in some way modifies the other members of the phrase so as to denote a condition, result, purpose, etc." (86). "*Wepyng and not for to stynt to synne*, may not avaylle, that is, weeping, *if one does not cease sinning*." To us this seems like imposing a syllogistic constraint upon language. It is perfectly natural to conceive of the two ideas as coördinate in the speaker's mind because they exist at the same time. The point which the speaker wishes to emphasize is the *simultaneousness* of the weeping and sinning, therefore the conjunction *and*, joining the parallel subjects, is the correct representation of his

thought. To interpret the infinitive here as conditional is to adopt a non-grammatical criterion.

In all that has preceded we would not be understood to say that the scientific student of grammar should disregard the meaning of the construction that he is studying. What we believe is that a primary classification of the material according to function in the sentence, and secondarily an analysis of every functional class according to meaning will be productive of the most satisfactory results. Such an arrangement is at hand in Einkenel's *Streifzüge* (231-247), and it seems to us to bring out the essential features in the use of the infinitive and the close connection between the various categories, without having constant recourse to cross-references. Einkenel takes up in succession the infinitive as subject, predicate, object, complement, adverbial modifier, modifier of adjectives and substantives. In its adverbial use he distinguishes the meanings of purpose, result, concession, cause and the like, and discovers the same categories of meaning in its function as a modifier of adjectives or nouns. In this way he gains the advantage of a strict grammatical system that brings closely together the categories between which the boundary line is a very vague one, as for example the various degrees of adverbial modifier. And, moreover, he avoids in a great measure the difficulties arising in a classification from the standpoint of meaning, by grouping all the meanings compactly in a sub-heading so that the resemblances and distinctions between them are made much more apparent, and more freedom is left to the student in interpreting the individual cases.

This matter of classification has seemed to us sufficiently important for detailed consideration, but we would not be understood to imply that Professor Kenyon's work is invalidated by the arrangement which he chose to adopt. His analysis of individual constructions is excellent throughout. He makes many valuable suggestions to illuminate the meaning of difficult passages. His improvements in interpretation are too numerous to record here. Every student of Chaucer will have to give the monograph a diligent and thorough perusal.

But we feel called upon to violate all proportion and to run the risk of obscuring the real value of Doctor Kenyon's work by devoting our attention to certain details which happen to be at issue between us. In his chapter on the Nominative with Infinitive, Professor Kenyon takes occasion to point out certain shortcomings in the present reviewer's treatment of the same subject. The reviewer has no desire to claim perfection for his treatment, but wishes to defend himself against charges of which he feels that he is innocent. Professor Ken-

yon would imply, for example, that we have neglected one important source of the construction "in the isolation from its governing verb of an accusative with infinitive which has changed by loss of inflection into a nominative, as in the change from the personal to the impersonal construction." We beg to refer him to pages 130-34 and 136 of the monograph in question. We are next charged with giving "too little importance to another very probable source of the construction, viz., the infinitive depending directly on a noun (in any case) as an adjective modifier, together with the related construction of the predicate infinitive. *Though it is doubtless true that the construction with omitted copulative verb became so stereotyped that no need of a copula was felt* [the italics are ours], still both forms are interchangeable. . . . His example from Massinger aptly illustrates the omission of the copula:

Consider he's the prince, and you his subjects,  
And not to question or contend with her  
Whom he is pleased to honour.

Here the copula is clearly omitted in *and you [are] his subjects*, and if supplied with the infinitive gives perfectly natural sense." Now in our opinion the interpretation here is not beyond controversy. When it comes to supplying words, it is possible to make any construction conform to any other, natural or unnatural. If the construction has really become stereotyped so that no omission of a copula is felt, there is some justification for considering it as syntactically distinct from the construction with the copula. Finally, in this connection, Professor Kenyon remarks that "the last set of examples, of the infinitive of direct command in the second person, is perhaps least convincing,"—presumably because not all of the examples are convincing. In trying to account for such unquestionable cases as that from Berners, "*and also thou to brynge me thy handful of the here of his herde*," we gathered as many passages as might possibly be associated with the construction in question. Professor Kenyon indeed remarks that "though it may be true that the infinitive in its normal use may often be equivalent in general sense to what might be expressed by an imperative, that is a very different thing from saying that the infinitive as an imperative was a productive category in M.E." All that we actually said was, "We even find in English instances of the use of an infinitive in direct commands of the second person," (p. 154) and we looked upon this as a conservative statement of the facts, meaning approximately the same as if we had said that the infinitive, "may often be equivalent in general sense to what might be expressed by an imperative."

In an appendix on the *Accusative with Infinitive*, Professor Kenyon treats with even greater severity our interpretation of "inorganic *for*", in which we confess we took some pride. He observes that our explanation "assumes unnecessarily and without proof the sudden origin of the full-fledged nominative with infinitive." Of the necessity for our assumption we do not wish to speak, but for its proof and the suddenness of its origin we should like to refer to pages 118-130 of the work cited. We are not quite clear as to what Professor Kenyon means to prove when he declares that inorganic *for* appears "once to have been, and often still to be, in a varying degree, *organic for*; and it seems unnecessary to explain it as added to the construction of the nominative with infinitive, in order to bring the latter into formal similarity with that of *organic for*, with which it admittedly never had any connection." If he means that originally *for* always expressed and in many, or even most cases, still expresses some degree of relationship between an adjective and the noun which it introduces, he will find no one to dispute with him. But if he literally means that inorganic *for*, by which we understand a *for* syntactically dissociated from any adjective or verb in the sentence, may still express some such relationship, he is either employing contradictory terms or is denying the existence in English of any such construction as that of inorganic *for*. Perhaps we ought to make our position clearer. In the sentence from Hamlet, "*for me to put him to his purgation would perhaps plunge him into far more choler*," we can find no word on which *for me* seems to depend, and so we call the *for* inorganic. Such a completely independent use of the prepositional phrase could be developed only by degrees, and we can find plenty of examples to illustrate the intermediate stages in which the relationship of the *for* is doubtful; e. g., "when it shal not be lawfull *for their bodies to be seperate agayne*" (Utopia). The example from Hamlet simply represents the completion of a syntactical shift. Now it happened that Middle English had a very common construction, (of which we have given numerous examples in our monograph) exactly parallel to this one from Hamlet, except that it omitted the *for*; e. g. "*a man to pryde him in the goodes of grace is eek an outrageous folye*" (Parson's Tale), "*men to say well of women, it is the best*" (Occleve). This use of the noun + infinitive as subject of a verb is prior to the use of *for* + noun + infinitive in a similar manner (for which we again refer to our examples). Confronted as we seem to be by the phenomenon of a construction, the relation of which to the sentence remains unchanged while in form it is assimilated to a *for* phrase which grows more common as the phrase without *for* disappears, we



still remain strongly inclined to the opinion that there was an assimilation of form. We also feel confident in maintaining that the syntax of the phrase, taken as a unit, remains unaltered.

Before closing I wish to repeat that though these points bulk so large in the present review, they are only incidental details in Professor Kenyon's thesis, and my disagreement with him in a few particulars does not detract from the respect in which I hold his work as an important contribution to the study of grammar. It will help to clear up one of the most difficult parts of Middle English syntax.

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## HAS ENGLISH A FUTURE TENSE?

When the writer was a schoolboy in the grades he had great difficulty in applying the rules for the use of *shall* and *will*, as found in his grammar. He laid the blame on his faulty English and his imperfect education, but this difficulty did not decrease in the following periods of high school and university training. At first he often avoided these difficult words, for at certain points it gave him pain to follow the prescribed rules. Later he violated this formula wherever it conflicted with his own feeling, for he felt there must be something wrong with rules that one who lives in the atmosphere of good books and learned men cannot follow without a distinct sense of pain. The frequent violation of these grammatical rules in daily life and choice literature makes it plain that the grammarians have at this point imperfectly formulated English usage. The present study is the outgrowth of the feeling that a careful investigation of the current meanings of *shall* and *will* and their historical development is much needed.

Only the barest outlines of an extensive study is presented here in the hope that the vision may not be obscured by useless details and full presentation of materials. In this particular discussion mere fullness of materials has little value, for they are so abundant that there is no book large enough to record even a small part of them. Moreover, diligent scholars have already gathered of them abundantly and have demonstrated great patience and mathematical ability in counting the number of times *shall* and *will* occur in various authors in the various meanings of these words. As the writer does not feel that mathematics are of much value in a difficult piece of work like this, he desires rather to direct the attention to the few characteristic phenomena which clearly mark the development.

The results reached in this treatise rest upon a study of representative English works from the oldest period to the present time. The differences between English usage in England and in America are pointed out and explained. The

two forms of speech are at this point in somewhat different stages of development. Tendencies that have been manifest for many centuries in the language have reached the final stage in their development a little quicker in this country than in England. Only a few representative books are employed in this study, in order that the cited passages may be actually examined in their context. The writer begs his readers to glance over the discussion to see what books are used and then to arrange these books on the table before them for constant reference. These sentences are amputated limbs from living bodies. In marked contrast to physical limbs those limbs will again throb with life when restored to the places from which they were taken. It is a delicate piece of work we have before us, where we must think and feel, but it's worth all the pain and effort. We shall get an insight into an earnest struggle of over seven hundred years, where the English people with its characteristic dogged persistence has striven for a finer and more accurate expression for its thoughts and feelings that have reference to future action. The successful issue of this long struggle is an eloquent testimony of its active inner life, here as so often elsewhere restless and uneasy until it adjusts its language more perfectly to its thought and feeling. We now turn to the history of this interesting development.

In oldest English as in other Germanic languages there was no special form for the future tense. The present tense served for both a present and a future. The older use of the present for the future is still occasionally found where an adverbial expression of time makes the reference clear: "*We sail tomorrow for England.*" After the Germanic family had separated into different peoples they felt the lack of a distinctive form for the future and this common desire for clearer expression led in the different languages to the creation of a new tense, or more accurately led to the pressing of other forms with similar meaning into service as a future. Among the words employed for this function in all the Germanic languages were *shall* and *will*. In German also *werden* was used. In German *werden* finally gained the ascendancy over the other forms for general use, but the simple present tense

and *will* are still not infrequently employed. The Scandinavian languages still make liberal use of the simple present for the future. They also employ auxiliaries for this purpose, the most common of which are probably *shall* and *will*. The different Scandinavian languages make quite different use of *shall* and *will* just as the Middle English dialects. Swedish like Dutch uses only *shall*, while Danish-Norwegian, like modern literary English, employs both *shall* and *will*. In modern Icelandic *shall* has been replaced by *Mun*, which also occurs occasionally in Middle English dialects. In Scotch English *shall* has been entirely replaced by *will*. In Irish English *will* is often improperly used for *shall*, and *shall*, on the other hand, often improperly employed for *will*. In American English both *shall* and *will* are used, but they are at one point, as will be explained below, more finely differentiated than the literary English of England. As American English and the literary English of England are practically identical they are here treated as one, aside from the one point where they differ.

As in English both *will* and *shall* are here employed and are used with different shades of meaning, it is necessary to examine closely the original force of these words. Originally *will* indicated a desire of the subject, while *shall* indicated that an act was due in accordance with the will of someone other than the subject of the verb. The meaning of both of these verbs suggested their use to denote the idea of futurity. It is natural to infer that if one *desires* to do something that the act will soon follow. Likewise it is natural to infer that if an act is due in accordance with the will of another that it will be forthcoming if this foreign will is powerful. This constraining force is usually the will or plan of God, fate, destiny, nature, the force of circumstances, or the will of the speaker. The use of *shall* to indicate the will of the speaker was originally only employed in the second and third persons, and could not be used in the first person, for Germanic *shall* never indicated the will of the subject. Early in Middle English, however, it acquired an extension of force so it could indicate not only the speaker's will with regard to others, but also his decisions and plans with regard to his own

course of future action. Thus such expressions as "He *shall* (*I intend that he shall*) pass the winter here" led to "I *shall* (*intend to*) pass the winter here." The old Germanic meaning in the first person *am to* did not disappear, but was retained alongside of the new meaning: "I cannot yet tell whether I *shall* (*am to* under the circumstances) pass the winter here." The context usually distinguishes the two meanings.

Sometimes even in Old English *shall* and *will* seem to have future force. In Early Middle English they have already in large measure replaced the present tense in future function in all the many dialects that sprang up after the Norman invasion. As each section of the country used its own dialect for literary purposes there was a great difference with regard to the use of *shall* and *will*: "Cumeð to me alle ðe swinkeð mid euele werkes, and ȝeheueȝed bieð mid manikennes sennes, and ic eu *wile* ȝiue reste to ȝeuer saule" ("Vices and Virtues," p. 71, about 1200 A.D.) "Come unto me all you who labor with evil works and are heavily laden with all kinds of sins and I *will* give you rest." "Alle ȝe that traueilen and ben chargid, come to me and Y *schal* fulfille ȝou" (John Purvey, Matth. 11.28, about 1388 A.D.). The one author uses *will* where the other employs *shall*. The difference in date here is not the determining factor. The language in "Vices and Virtues" represents a section further to the South than that found in Purvey's translation. In the North there was a pronounced tendency to use *shall* for the future to the exclusion of *will* as in modern Sweden. The North has had an important influence upon our literary language, but it is fortunate that at this point southern usage has prevailed, and thus preserved to our language the finer differentiation that arose out of the use of the two forms. As the North here in spite of its rich literature has left no lasting impression on present usage it is entirely excluded from our discussion.

The use of *will* and *shall* in future function as we know it today is already in all essential features fixed in "Vices and Virtues." Thus it is quite evident that in this section where both forms were in constant use a gradual differentiation had been going on a long time before the composition of this very

interesting linguistic document. We turn now to a careful examination of the state of things at this early period.

The following sentence throws a bright light upon the meaning of *will* at this time in this region: " 'Andswere me nu þu unjesaelie saule,' he *wile* seggen, 'Hwat hafst þu swa lange idon on ðare world?' " (p. 17) " 'Answer Me now, thou unhappy soul,' He *will* say, 'what hast thou done all this long time in the world?' " The *will* here has lost every vestige of its original meaning of desire, for the author does not surely imply in his use of *will* here that God is fond of condemning a poor soul in the day of judgment. Even at this early date the people of the South had decided upon *will* as a clearer form than *shall* for the idea of simple futurity. It seemed to these people that if someone desired to do something the act would certainly soon follow. The idea of certainty became very early associated with *will* and is even common in "V & V." The example from p. 71 quoted above illustrates this usage. The desire to do the act was felt as the earnest of fulfilment. The precious promises of Christ are usually in Southern biblical literature translated by *will*, not *shall*. On the other hand, the other conception of regarding a future act as due in accordance with the will of the speaker is also found in "V & V": "Ouer litel þing du ware trewe; ouer michel þing ic ðe *scal* setten" (p. 17) "Thou hast been faithful over a few things, I *will* make thee ruler over many things" (Matth. 25.21, King James version, 1611 A.D.). Here the *scal* represents the future act as the will or intention of the speaker, while *will* indicates rather the certainty of fulfilment. The language of the version of 1611 has not replaced the older one. The two points of view are still in active use today and both are useful.

A close study of "V & V" shows clearly that altho *will* and *shall* have the distinctive meanings that mark them today, the latter is much more frequently used than at present. This is not so noticeable where, as in the last example in the preceding paragraph, *shall* indicates the will of the speaker, but becomes apparent, especially in the second and third person, where the future act is represented as the will or plan of someone other than the subject, i. e. as the will or

plan of God: "Of ðesere godes dradnesse springþ ut an oðer godes giue, ðe is swiðe niedful auriche manne de iborejen *scal bien*" (p. 63) "From this fear of God springs another of God's gifts, which is very needful to every man who *will* be saved." The *scal* (*is destined to*, in accordance with God's plan) of "V & V," the older point of view, is now replaced by *will*, which points to a future act as an actual result. We prefer today in the second and third person to regard the future act or state as a result rather than as a mere plan. In spite of the steady spread of the newer conception, however, the older view is still much used, especially in the first person: "In the sweet by and by, we *shall* (*are destined to*) meet on that beautiful shore."

The struggles of these two tendencies in the English mind can be clearly traced in the literature of the different periods. Altho the tendency to use *will* to denote simple futurity has steadily spread, it has as yet not even in our own time come into use in England at one particular point. In England *will* can be used freely to denote a future act or state only in the second and third person. In the first person it can be used here only where the future act or state is to be determined by a *free moral agent*: "Starve me, keep me from books and honest people, educate me to love dice, gin and pleasure, and put me on Hounslow Heath with a purse before me, and I *will* (free future act) take it." (Thackeray's "Henry Esmond," Book I, Introduction.) "If you *will* (desire) have me stay now, I *will* (free future act performed for love but against the natural inclination of the subject) (ib. Book I, Chap. IX). But *shall* is used to indicate a future act or state that results in the course of nature or events: "There are signs of the times which make me think that ere long we *shall* (future act resulting from a natural development of things) care as little about King George here and peers temporal and peers spiritual as we do for King Canute or the Druids" (ib. Book III, Chap. V). "Some day when my dear mistress sees my heart, I *shall* (future condition resulting from the natural development of events) be righted" (ib. Book II, Chap. I). In American colloquial speech there is a strong tendency here to use *will*, i. e. we are struggling for an absolute future with-



out any respect to free moral agent or natural law, a future tense which only indicates simple future time, such, as is found in the classical languages: "Doctor Morgan, *will* (future act) I ever get up? (Eggelston's "Circuit Rider," p. 302.) "Patty, I tell you I am wretched and *will* (future condition) be till I die" (ib. p. 290). This new American usage is the felicitous outcome of a long struggle of over seven hundred years. In England this same usage is also found in the second and third person, but the final stage in the development, its use in the first person, has not yet been reached. Some English grammarians, however, speak slightly of this American usage and speak of their own defective arrested development as if it were a mark of superiority. More about this later.

If we take up a copy of the King James version of the Bible (1611 A.D.) we will find an exceedingly large number of cases where in all parts of the English speaking territory we today use *will* instead of the older *shall*. The following example will illustrate this change of usage: "If we let him thus alone all men *will* believe on him and the Romans *shall* come and take away both our place and nation" (John 11.48). In the revised edition of 1881 the *shall* here has been changed to *will*. The authors of the edition of 1611 and elsewhere usually followed Tyndale's version of 1525. Tyndale here represents the Romans as constrained by circumstances to move against the Jews: "the Romans *shall* (*are to, must*) come." Notice how capricious usage here seems to be. In this same sentence a few words before *shall* we find *will*: "all men *will* believe on him." This thought seemed more certain of becoming an actual fact and hence the author Tyndale felt impelled to use *will*. Let us take a still more typical example: "But I say unto you, That it *shall* (*is to* in accordance with my plan) be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment than for thee" (Matt. 11.24). In ordinary conversation we would be inclined to use *will* here as we regard all these many acts as actual future facts rather than as mere plans for acts. Thus in an exceedingly large number of cases we would today prefer *will* to the *shall* of Holy Writ. On the other hand, the use of *shall* and *will* in the Bible of 1611 differs little from that in "V & V." In the latter work the



present is still very often used for the future. Later this present was usually replaced by the form with *will* and in general there is a small increase of the use of *will* elsewhere, but there is no marked change. The increase of the use of *will* continues after 1611 slowly but surely.

There is here at present a very great difference in individuals. Some use *shall* very little indeed. Only the poet has a strong predilection for *shall*, for he prefers visions to simple facts. Hence often in the best prose of our time poetic natures like the seers of old unfold their visions of the future development of things, or visions of the better things destiny has in store for us: "Your peculiar faculties, as I *shall* (*plan to*) direct them, are capable of being so wrought into this enterprise that not one of them need lie idle. Strike hands with me, and from this moment you *shall* (*are to* in the natural course of events) never again feel the languor and vague wretchedness of an indolent or half-occupied man. There may be no aimless beauty in your life; but, in its stead, there *shall* (*is to* in the natural order of things) be strength, courage, immitigable will,—everything that a manly and generous nature should desire! We *shall* (*are destined to*, here a lively confidence that destiny will favor their endeavors) succeed! We *shall have done* (in the end it will become manifest that this course has enabled us to do) our best for this miserable world; and happiness (which never comes but incidentally) *will* (final result) come to us unawares" (Hawthorne's "Blithedale Romance," Chap. XV). Here again the prosy mind prefers to regard these things as accomplished facts and hence uses *will*. We must not forget, however, that this is only the present aspect of the situation. It was quite different in 1200. Then *will* did not stand out as clearly over against *shall* as it does today. In the first stages of the development *shall* offered the best means of indicating the future, but in the South its original meaning clung to it so tenaciously that in the course of time *will* by losing its original meaning proved to be a better expression for simple futurity. The practical man grasped the fitness of *will* for the plain purposes of actual life, but the poet clung to the older *shall* as he appreciated its concreter force, its

picturesque beauty. Altho *shall* has thus lost some of its former territory in principal propositions, it has still kept its old distinctive meaning there and has become, perhaps, a greater favorite in the subordinate clause than it has ever been. This point will be discussed in detail a little further on.

We often hear a stressed *will*: "Well now—I won't go on (worrying you). Yes, I *will*, unless you kiss me" ("Henry Esmond," Book III, Chap. III). "I never *will* forgive this fellow!" (Hawthorne's "Blithedale Romance," Chap. VII). "I'm all right here, or *will* be pretty soon, I reckon" (W. D. Howells's "A Woman's Reason," Chap. XX). "Look here, Marsh: didn't you promise me you'd stop that?" "Yes," "And *will* you?" (Id., "A Modern Instance," Chap. XIV). If the writer understands the few grammarians who have treated this point, they regard *will* here as an independent verb rather than as an auxiliary and ascribe to it the idea of intention. The writer thinks this a very grave error. In "V & V" we often find a simple present tense in such cases: "ðe richeise ðe *scal* trukien, ic ne truke ðe naure" p. 75) "Riches will forsake you, but I never *will*." The simple present here is the old future form. The context clearly indicates that the idea of futurity is here stressed. The stressing of the future idea occurs a number of times in this book, but not a single time with *will*. This idea is usually expressed by the present tense, but in several instances we find here *wurð*, which corresponds to German *werden*, the usual future tense auxiliary in German: "ðies dai haueð aure ibien mid me and æure ma *wurð*" (p. 117) "This day has ever *beén* with me and always *will* be." The use of the simple present tense here to express the idea of an emphatic future, while elsewhere *will* is employed as an unemphatic future is a common older Germanic usage. Even in modern German the simple present tense is still the regular emphatic future, while the form with *werden* is the regular unemphatic future. The occasional use of stressed *wurð* here indicates the beginnings of a new construction which was destined to become one of the most common and characteristic features of our colloquial speech, namely the use of a stressed auxiliary to emphasize

some particular idea: "he *is* working;" "he *dóes* work;" "he *hás* done it;" "it *isn't* done, but it soon *will* be."

The use of *wurð* in "V & V" here to express the future idea raises the question why this form, which has become so useful in German, was later replaced by *will* in English. The rather rare use of *wurð* shows that it was not a natural word. In 1200 a stressed *will* here would have conveyed another idea. Its original force was still felt. Later as the idea of futurity became more intimately associated with it the unnatural *wurð* was replaced by the natural *will*. The clear idea of futurity which was couched in *wurð* occasionally impressed English minds of this older period, but it did not impress them as strongly as the future force of *will*, which for centuries had been growing strong in English feeling as it gradually crowded out the original meaning of the word. *This crowding out of the older meaning here and in all the other cases discussed above is a great gain rather than a loss, for there are other words that can express the idea of desire, but there is no other verb in the language that can give clear expression to the idea of simple futurity.*

Altho *will* is not used in "V & V" in lively, emphatic statements of future actions, *shall* is freely used in lively statements disclosing plans and resolutions with regard to future actions, for it was originally not a future tense, but an independent verb, which was in constant use long before the creation of a special form for the future: "Ic habbe ifoljed his iwill eaure to longe; swo ne *scal* ic næure mo eft" (p. 93) "I have followed its (i. e. the body's) will too long; I *shall* never do so again." This usage is still very common: "Then Patty, since you make me choose, I *shall* not give up the Lord even for you" (Eggleston's "Circuit Rider," p. 182). The *shall* is often stressed: "The King! he is no king of mine—he never *sháll* be" (Henry Esmond, Book II, Chap. II). "But I *sháll*, I *sháll* some day be revenged!" (George B. Cable's "The Grandissimes," p. 95, Chap. XIV). As *will* and *shall* have a different meaning they can both be used in the same sentence: "When the king comes back . . . for come back the king *will* and *sháll*" (Henry Esmond, Book III, Chap. IV). Here *will* denotes *certainty* of the result, while

*shall* indicates a plan or determination to help bring this result about. Here Beatrix first represents the result as certain, and then seeks to render this rather improbable result more probable by the declaration that she will make a little history by bringing back the king herself. The words are well arranged here for this special case, but usually *shall* precedes *will* here, as a plan usually precedes a result: "I *sháll* and *will* do it." On the other hand, *sháll* in lively language often has quite a different meaning, for in accordance with the very common conception that *shall* indicates the constraint of circumstances the issue often in case of difficult circumstances becomes very uncertain and indefinite: "What *sháll* I do?" ("What *ám* I to do? What *cán* I do?") "I don't know what in the world I *sháll* do?"

In comparing the first example in the preceding paragraph with those that follow, it will at once become evident that the meaning of *shall* has not changed in the least since 1200, while *will* on the other is fast losing its original force. Some time before 1200, however, *shall* must have changed its meaning at one point. It originally, as *soll* in modern German, indicated the plan of some one other than the subject, but, as in this first example in the preceding paragraph, it later acquired the additional power of indicating a plan conceived by the subject. Thus it enlarged its meaning and increased its usefulness. It became a sort of an auxiliary, a future tense form. As it appears in "V & V" in a number of instances where *will* by virtue of its original meaning was avoided at this early date it seems almost sure that it was the first distinctive future tense form in English. In the South, however, its original meaning was always so distinctly felt that it never developed into a pure future. In this new field of usefulness *will* gradually became established and English acquired two future tenses instead of one, two future tenses with finely differentiated meaning.

We have heretofore considered *shall* only in connection with *will*. We now desire to make it the special object of study. It has much more color to it than *will*. The latter has only two meanings—its original meaning of desire and its newer force to express simple futurity. Of these the latter

is gradually overshadowing the former. On the other hand, *shall* has a large variety of shades, some of them becoming fainter and fainter, some of them still very vividly felt. All these shades, however, are comprised in one meaning, for *shall* always indicates that an act is due. This act is due (1) in accordance with the will or plan of the speaker; (2) under the constraining pressure of circumstances or in the course of nature or events; (3) in accordance with the will or plan of some one other than the speaker, or the will or plan of God, fate, destiny. Of these different shades the first is the most common and most vividly felt. We now take up each one in turn.

It is very common to use *shall* to indicate the will of the speaker, especially in colloquial language: "He *shall* do it!" "You *shall* do it!" "I *shan't*!" In such short positive utterances the *shall* is often stressed, but in most cases the stress disappears as *shall* is felt as forceful enough: "No man *shall* (I shall not suffer any man to) say damned awkward to me" (Henry Esmond, Book L, Chap. XIV). "'You *shall* do no such thing, Mr. Moodie,' said Hollingsworth bluffly" (Hawthorne's "Blithedale Romance," Chap. X). "'I *shall* open to no one,' says the man, shutting the glass window as Frank drew a pistol" (Henry Esmond, Book III, Chap. XIII). "Then Patty, since you make me choose, I *shall* not give up the Lord even for you" (Eggleston's "Circuit Rider," p. 182, Chap. XIX).

Above in the discussion of the use of *will* to express the idea of simple futurity attention was called to the use of *shall* here with a distinctly different shade of meaning. We now desire to return to this important point. As in the above examples, *shall* may often be associated with violent emphasis, boisterous outbursts of feeling, and loud expression of a firm determination to carry out one's will or plan. There is in the very nature and origin of the word *shall* a bit of feeling, and in the course of time it has become charged with emotions of all kinds. The tone of the voice is often so firm that it leaves the impression that the speaker will have his way, but the word in every instance calls attention to the speaker's attitude rather than to the final outcome, the future result.

On the other hand, in *will* the original meaning of desire is quite overshadowed by the newer force of futurity, final arrangement, final outcome. The future act is represented as absolutely certain, the proposed future action is submitted as a finality: "You *will* wait on the Bishop of Rochester early, you *will* bid him bring his coach hither" (Henry Esmond, Book III, Chap. XI). "I *shall* (*intend to*) see you in London before very long, Mohun, when we *will* settle our accounts together" (ib. Book I, Chap. XIV). "These are new notions," said the old gentlewoman, shaking her head. "I *shall* (*am destined to*) never understand them; neither do I wish it." "We *will* cease to speak of them then," said the artist with a friendlier smile than his last one" (Hawthorne's "House of Seven Gables," Chap. III.) The tone may be quietly firm as in the first example or friendly as in the second. On the other hand, it may be very firm and very impassioned, but even here the basal element is no longer inner decision, passionate temper, excited feeling or subjective emotion of any kind, but rather *conviction* that the proposed future action will be absolutely carried thru: "I *will* be revenged on him, as God's in heaven, I *will*" (H. E. Book I, Chap. XIV). Compare this example with the following one, where *shall* points, not to the final outcome, but to the *determined will* of the speaker: "I would give this right hand off at the wrist to catch Agricola Fusilier where I could work him a curse! But I *sháll*, I *sháll* some day be revenged" (G. W. Cable's "The Grandissimes," p. 95).

*Shall* often denotes a milder expression of the will of the speaker in the form of a promise: "He *shall* have it," "You *shall* have it." These promises also frequently occur in the first person: "We *shall* take care not much oftener to offend in that particular" (Henry Esmond, Book III, Chap. XIII). "They can't bear it, Miss Phoebe, so be sure to come back." . . . "I suppose, people never feel so much like angels as when they are doing what little good they may. So I *shall* certainly come back" (Hawthorne's "House of Seven Gables," Chap. XIV). It is likewise common in threats: "I *shall* thank (spoken ironically) you when I have the means" (Henry Esmond, Book III, Chap. XI). Also *will* is used in

promises and threats but with clearly differentiated meaning. Here *shall* represents the future act as something resolved upon, as intended, while *will* vividly represents the future act as an absolute certainty. Thus very often in the Bible of Tyndale and the King James translators Christ cheers the spirits of his followers by clothing His most precious promises in the most definite form possible, i. e. in the form with *will*: "I go to prepare a place for you. I *will* come again and receive you even unto myself" (Tyndale, John 14.3). In our older Bibles, as explained above, Christ employs *shall* a great deal as he is represented as revealing his intentions to us, but often, as in this example, he employs *will* to represent particular future events as certain. This use of *will* in our Bibles is already clearly foreshadowed in "V & V." Likewise in modern English the *will* of promises and threats represents a future act as certain: "When you need me again I *will* come ever so far" ("Henry Esmond," Book II, Chap. VI). "Fare you well; be sure I *will* (threat expressing certainty of the ultimate accomplishment of revenge) remember you" (ib. Book III, Chap. XI).

In such sentences the original idea of desire is quite overshadowed by the idea of futurity or a future act. Even where there is a decided outburst of feeling the emphasis is not to indicate determination so much as the idea of the absolute certainty of the result: "By G—! my Lord, I *will* not leave you this night" (ib. Book I, Chap. XIV). If we substitute *shall* for *will* in these sentences we can feel distinctly how the thought has been changed, can feel that *shall* indicates determination; i. e. the speaker's point of view, while *will* points to the future, to the ensuing act. For years the writer's attention has been repeatedly drawn to this fine differentiation. It is a pleasure to him to observe the mind at work fashioning for itself clearer forms of expression. So strong is the natural tendency of the mind to speak accurately that it will never cease struggling for more accurate expression and will recognize no higher law in language than fitness and effectiveness. Formal grammatical rules may help a weak or stupid mind, but a vigorous intellect creates new and more accurate forms and less gifted thinkers intuitively accept without a thought



these beautiful creations as they accept without a thought the countless creations of nature with which they are surrounded. Thus our language is growing richer from generation to generation.

*Shall* is not only employed to denote the will of the speaker but is frequently also used to denote his *plans*: "My boys *shall* (*are to*, according to my plans) first study in this country and then *shall* go abroad." Often the ideas of will and plan may be mingled: "How they *will* (simple future) scold and what a rage they will be in, when I come to take the head of the table! But I give them only a month to be angry; at the end of that time they *shall* (*are to*, in accordance with my carefully laid plans and firm determination to carry them out) love me every one, and so *shall* Lord Arran, and so *shall* all his Grace's Scots vassals and followers in the highlands" (Henry Esmond, Book III, Chap. IV). The speaker can thus unfold his plans concerning someone else, but it is more common for him to speak in the first person of plans in which he himself is the actor: "I *shall* (*am to*, *must* in the natural course of events) come of age in 1709. I *shall* (*I intend to*) go back to Castlewood: I *shall* (*intend to*) live at Castlewood: I *shall* (*intend to*) build up the house. . . . I *shall* (*intend to*) marry early" (Henry Esmond, Book II, Chap. VIII).

This is a common and valuable use of *shall*, but here as elsewhere *will* is also employed, usually with sharply differentiated meaning. *Shall* indicates a plan for a future act, while *will* heralds the future act itself, which without any planning will promptly ensue as a natural outcome of the given circumstances. *Shall* gives expression to the idea of the carefully planned, the premeditated, while *will* expresses the conception of the spontaneous. Thus the well known florists E. G. Hill & Co. of Richmond, Indiana, announce in their catalog of 1913 concerning a new rose novelty of the great French rosarian M. Pernet: "We *shall* send it out in this country simultaneously with M. Pernet." On the other hand, we use *will* almost exclusively and quite persistently in lively conversation where the thoughts of future actions rise spontaneously from within in response to feelings that spring up out of the

given circumstances, be they cheerful or gloomy, gay or serious: "I say, Harry, *I'll* show thee my horses after breakfast, and *we'll* go a bird-netting tonight" ("H. E." Book II, Chap. VII). "Go to Cambridge, boy. *We'll* furnish the dining room and buy the horses another year" (ib. Book I, Chap. IX). "I'll take my fun. *I'll* enjoy for the next three years every possible pleasure. *I'll* sow my wild oats then and marry some quiet, steady Viscountess. Perhaps *I'll* represent the county" (ib. Book III, Chap. L). In this category *will* is usually contracted to *'ll*. This contraction cannot be construed as a reduction of *shall*, for the full form *shall* never occurs here, while the full form *will* is often used as seen by the examples in the next two paragraphs, where the examples all belong to this same general category.

*Will* is freely used here even where acts are of a very unpleasant nature and will be performed with a heavy heart, which shows that the idea of futurity has triumphed completely over the original conception of desire: "If she wants my life I would give it to her. If she marries another I *will* say, God bless him" (ib. Book II, Chap. XV). "As those mistrust me that ought to love me most, let me leave them; I *will* go, but I *will* go alone. You three can stay and triumph over my unhappiness and I *will* bear it as I have borne it before" (ib. Book III, Chap. X).

Notice the especially frequent use of *will* here in the domain of pure fancy, in a fanciful picture of future events where the thoughts arise spontaneously and capriciously from within: "I am thinking of retiring into the plantations and building myself a wigwam in the woods, and, perhaps, if I want company, suiting myself with a squaw. We *will* send your Ladyship furs over for the winter; and when you are old, we *will* provide you with tobacco" (ib. Book III, Chap. III).

The examples in the three preceding paragraphs are worthy of the most careful study. It will become clear upon reflection that the statement of the English grammarians that *shall*, not *will*, expresses futurity in the first person does not hold. Here as elsewhere *shall* does not approach this idea as closely as *will*. *Shall* represents the speaker as planning in present time for a future act, while *will* breaks the connection

with the present and in lively tone directs our attention to the future. We have here two futures, each with a distinct and useful meaning, the result of a long historical development.

One of the commonest uses of *shall* is to inquire after the *will* of another: "Harry, *shall I (do you want me to) tell you a secret?*" ("H. E." Book I, Chap. XII). "When *shall it (do you want it to) be?*" (W. D. Howells's "A Modern Instance," Chap. XIX). Also in stressed form: "*Shall I (do you really want me to) do it?*"

Sometimes *shall* is used to inquire after the *plan* of another: "*Shall you (are you to, do you intend to) put in (your newspaper report) about those people coming to see our camp? . . . Shall you put that Montreal woman in?*" ("A Modern Instance," Chap. XIV). This usage is very much less common today than formerly. We now usually employ *are you going to* here.

An act is often due under the pressure of other acts or circumstances, or in the natural course of events: "I was but two years old then, but take forty-six from ninety, and how old *shall I (am I to, must I) be?*" ("H. E." Chap. I). "I fear we *shall (are to, must) have to call you unreasonable?*" (G. W. Cable's "The Grandissimes," p. 14, Chap. V). "How *shall I (am I to, can I) show my gratitude to you?*" ("H. E." Book III, Chap. X). "Who *shall (is to, is able to, can) say, how far sympathy reaches?*" (ib. Book III, Chap. 7), "Who *shall (is to, ought to, is the proper one to) take the news to her?*" (ib. Book I, Chap. XIV). It is especially common to indicate the course of nature and events: "These rapping spirits that little Phoebe told us of the other day, what are these but the messengers of the spiritual world knocking at the door of substance? And it *shall (is to) be flung wide open!*" ("House of Seven Gables," Chap. XVII). "And God will not let you do the thing you meditate!" " 'We *shall (are to, in due course of time) see,*' said the judge unmoved" (ib. Chap. XV). "Soon *shall (is to, in the course of nature) the winter's foil be here; soon shall (are to) these icy ligatures unbind and melt—A little while and air, soil, wave, suffused shall (are to) be in softness, bloom, and*

growth" (Whitman's "Leaves of Grass," "Sands at Seventy"). This last author is a man of visions, who sees the great possibilities of life. His book literally teems with *shall's*, even in the third person where this form is here little used in plain prose.

In colloquial language *shall* is here common only in the first person: "Yes, *we shall* (*we are to, our train is to*) soon be at Pittsburg" ("A Modern Instance," Chap. XXXVIII). Altho, as can be seen by the examples in the preceding paragraph, *shall* is frequently found in poetic language in all persons it is in recent literature avoided in the second and third person on account of the ambiguity that usually arises. Thus if we put the sentence from "A Modern Instance" into the third person—"They *shall* soon be in Pittsburg"—it would quite generally be interpreted as equal to: "I intend that they shall soon be in Pittsburg." The use of *shall* to indicate the will of the speaker has in modern English become the most common one, so that we naturally give it this meaning when we hear it in the second or third person. This modern usage is the basis of the famous rule that *shall* is used in the first person and *will* in the second and third. It is a very unfortunate rule, for it does not apply at all to the very large category discussed about, i. e. the use of *shall* and *will* to indicate the plan or will of the speaker, where both *shall* and *will* with differentiated meanings are used with equal freedom in all three persons.

Thus the use of *shall* to indicate the future idea where there is a reference to a constraint of circumstances or the natural course of events has been gradually replaced in the second and third person by the use of *will*. The modern trend is to crowd *shall* here also out of the first person. This tendency is a perfectly natural one, for the use of *shall* here was originally only a rough attempt at expressing the future idea. It was gradually discovered that *shall* had other, much stronger meanings, so that it was not a fit form for the expression of the future idea. As *will* gradually acquired this simple future force *shall* began to be felt as an inferior form for this purpose and slowly lost ground. Altho the original force of *shall* to indicate the constraint of circumstances or

the natural course of events still appeals to the poetic nature it has lost favor with the plain practical mind, which demands a form that will express facts rather than pictures and will be perfectly clear. The ambiguity of *shall*, altho not so great in the first person as in the second and third, is nevertheless so marked in American English that the tendency to replace it here by *will* is constantly growing stronger. Notice the various meanings of *shall* here in the following examples: "We may rest certain that our friends of today will not be our friends of a few years hence; but if we keep one of them, it will probably be at the expense of others, and most probably we *shall* (*are to*, in the natural course of events) keep none" ("Blithedale Romance," Chap. IX). "Well, Doctor Frowenfeld, I hope to meet you soon again." "Indeed, I thank you sir, and hope we *shall* (*are destined to*)" ("The Grandis-simes," p. 49). "If you do not cease your disturbance I *shall* (*am to, must*, constrained by circumstances) be obliged to vindicate the majesty of the law by ordering the constable to arrest you" ("Circuit Rider," p. 224). "I can't bear that life and *shall* (decision, will of speaker) leave it." ("H. E." Book III.). "But I *sháll*, I *sháll* some day be revenged" (T. G. p. 95). "'I certainly *shall* (lively confident utterance) entertain no manner of apprehension with my father at hand,' said Alice with maidenly dignity" ("T. H. of S. G." Chap. XIII). "'I *shall* (sharp decisive utterance) not bandy words with you,' observed the foreign-bred Mr. Pyncheon with haughty composure." "I *shall* (promise) say nothing to anyone else" ("T. G. "). "*Shall I* (*do you want me to*) go on, sir?" ("H. E." Book I, Chap. VI). "'Tis arranged thus: We *shall* (*intend to*, plan of speaker) go to the theater in Duke Street, where we *shall* (plan of speaker) meet Mohun, and then we *shall* go sup at the 'Rose'" (ib. Book I, Chap. XIV).

A careful study of these examples should make it plain that *shall* is here too much charged with thought and feeling to serve as a form to express in a plain objective manner the idea of a simple future act or state. In earlier periods *shall* was used for this purpose, as a crude first attempt to express this idea. England still uses it, but in America the feeling is quite

general that *will*, which is used for this purpose in the second and third person, should also be used in the first person: "Doctor Morgan, tell me the truth? *Will* (future act) I ever get up?" ("Circuit Rider," p. 302). "I 'low *we'll* (contraction of *will*) have the fever in the bottoms this year" (ib. p. 6). "O Morton, I am oppressed with responsibility! I *will* (future state) be glad when God shall say, It is enough" (ib. p. 292). Likewise in Canadian English: "What do you propose?" "Organizing a little congregation here in Black Rock." "How many *will you* (for European English *shall you*, i. e. *are you to*) get?" "Don't know." "'Pretty hopeless business,' I said" (Ralph Connor's "Black Rock," p. 132). "A dozen men in Black Rock with some real grip of Him would make things go. *We'll* get them too. I believe in my soul *we'll* get them" (ib. p. 133). "All right, Slavin; *we'll* perhaps understand each other better after this" (ib. p. 131).

These simple sentences aptly illustrate colloquial language among educated and uneducated Americans. Such utterances are not ugly violations of a good rule, but the natural continuation of a development that has been going on for centuries. He who wants to know how well adapted this colloquial form is to literary use, let him read many times the following beautiful passage from Chapter XVI of Hawthorne's "Blithedale Romance": "It (i. e. the heart) incessantly remonstrates, tho most of the time, in a bass-note, which you do not separately distinguish; but now and then with a sharp cry, importunate to be heard, and resolute to claim belief: 'Things are not as they were!' it keeps saying, 'you (i. e. the understanding, which tries to persuade itself that Zenobia and Priscilla's coolness is meaningless and does not portend the loss of their friendship) *shall not* (*are not destined to, cannot in the very nature of things*) impose upon me! I *will* (inevitable future state) never be quiet! I *will* (inevitable future activity) throb painfully! I *will* be heavy and desolate and shiver with cold! For I, your deep heart, know when to be miserable as once I knew when to be happy! All is changed for us! You are beloved no more!'"

The American feeling here is that *shall* with its general

indefinite meaning is to in the course of nature is too indefinite to express the swift inevitability of the working of nature, that in certain definite cases is clearly manifest. Hence it is quite natural to employ *will* here, which is universally used to express this idea in the second and third person with all verbs and is also similarly used in the first person with verbs indicating a free act of will, where the idea of the absolute certainty of the future act is prominent. The *will* is not only used to express the swift inevitability of the working of certain natural laws, but it is also often employed to indicate the certainty of the outcome of certain events or developments: "When you prove to me that your story is true—and we *will* find some way to prove it, if it is true—that amount will be yours at once" (Bret Harte's "A Millionaire of Rough-and-Ready"). While there is thus a strong tendency in lively language to regard a future act as certain and thus use *will* the evident advantages of the vague, indefinite *shall* in the domain of the vague and indefinite are still vividly felt in American English, even in colloquial speech where *will* is most strongly entrenched: "I'm bad enough, God knows, and I'm afraid I *shall* find my way to hell some day" ("Circuit Rider," p. 323). The result of the American development is not the destruction of older, better usage, but the retention of it where its indefinite meaning is appropriate, and its replacement by *will* only for the sake of greater accuracy of expression. Thus this result is a finer differentiation of meaning—the goal of all higher linguistic development. This must not be confounded with the development in Irish and Scotch dialect, where the valuable distinctive meanings of *shall* have been lost—a most unfortunate result indicative of less accurate thought and feeling.

This defense of American English is based upon the facts of the language and will influence unprejudiced scientific minds, but it will not shake the faith of many who believe implicitly in the inviolability of grammatical laws, which are a formulation of older usage and hence particularly revered. Of these laws this one concerning the use of *shall* and *will* is the most sacred. Recently in a widely read monthly a lady earnestly warned young women to beware of the ugly common use of

*will* in the first person. Many thousands are teaching and practicing this sacred commandment. In all ages the things of long ago, hallowed by long usage have found zealous and fanatical defenders, who are at the same time foes of the new and unhallowed. These new things of today, however, need no organized defense, for they are born of universal needs and will be supported by the resistless forces of life that created them.

Similar to the use of *shall* to indicate the constraint of circumstances or the natural course of events is the use to denote the will or plan of God, fate, destiny: "*Shall you (are you destined to, or are you to, can you in the natural course of things)* be hungry,—*shall* you lack clothes, or a roof to shelter you,—between this point and the grave?" ("House of S. G." Chap. XV). "*Shall we (we are destined to)* never get rid of this Past?" (ib. Chap. XII). "All the separate action of woman is, ever has been, and always *shall* (*is destined to*) be false, foolish, vain, destructive of her own best and holiest qualities" ("Blithedale Romance," Chap. XIV). This point has also been treated above in connection with the study of *will*, which now often replaces it in colloquial speech, especially in the second and third person. It is now in most cases more natural to use *will* here as the future act is regarded as certain. Where, however, we distinctly feel the future act as belonging to the uncertain and indefinite domain of destiny it is still quite natural to use *shall* here in all three persons.

We have seen above that *shall* has lost ground in the principal proposition. It remained there only when its several distinctive meanings were clearly felt. As *will* gradually developed the idea of simple futurity or inevitability the fitness of this form for plain objective speech gradually became clear to the practical mind and led to the displacement of *shall* in the principal proposition. Only the poet clung to the older conception. In all kinds of temporal, conditional, relative, especially general indefinite relative clauses, and indirect questions, the issue is usually more or less indefinite, uncertain, and the use of *shall* with its indefinite meaning is *to* in accordance with the constraint of circumstances or



the will or plan of God, fate, destiny, is peculiarly fit, with a much more palpable force than the older potential subjunctive. On the other hand, the common meaning of will, determination, plan found in *shall* made it peculiarly appropriate after verbs of demanding, decreeing, proposing, resolving, planning, arranging, etc. Here it corresponds closely to the older optative subjunctive. It has, however, absolutely no historic connection with the older subjunctive, for it cannot at all be used with past tenses and can only be employed where there is some future force. It is thus a survival of the older universal usage. As *shall* gradually disappeared from the principal proposition by reason of the feeling for the greater fitness of *will* there, it was retained in the subordinate clause because of its eminent fitness for use here. Its fitness becomes more obvious when we remember that the subjunctive is identical with the indicative in the plural and hence in a very large number of cases is absolutely useless. Its fitness has been fully appreciated, for it is in the future sphere much more widely used than the older subjunctive.

This use of *shall* in subordinate clauses is so common that only a few examples will suffice: in temporal clause: "When our pastoral *shall* be quite played out, Priscilla, my worldly wisdom may stand you in good stead" ("Blithedale Romance," Chap. IX). "And you will look with a knowing eye at oxen and feel of the hogs and give a guess how much they will weigh after you *shall* have stuck and dressed them" (ib. Chap. VIII). "General Stead said: 'I am of the opinion that under the law the officers now in office must hold until the general assembly *shall* in the manner prescribed by the constitution declare who are elected as their successors'" ("Chicago Tribune," Jan. 18, 1913). Conditional clause: "If ever the time *shall* come when government by dynamite shall be attempted," etc. ("Chicago Post," Jan. 6, 1913). "He is in no danger of death unless he *shall* be persecuted to death" ("House of the Seven Gables," Chap. XV). Relative clause: "I will send a copy of this record to him or her who *shall* first set me right about this column and its locality" (O. W. Holmes "Autocrat," p. 330). Likewise in a general, indefinite relative clause: "Heaven help her husband, who-

ever he *shall* be" ("H. E." Book III, Chap. III). Indirect question: "I am not yet sure what *shall* be done" (Ralph Connor's "Black Rock," p. 39). This same indefinite potential force is also found in the subject clause: "It is a matter of life and death to another that I *shall* go. It is a matter of life and death to another that it *shall* not be known that I went" (Eggleston's "Circuit Rider," p. 283, Chap. XXIX). To denote an expression of will: "One of the most revolutionary changes in the rules urged by the Progressive leaders provides that committees *shall* be named," etc. ("Chicago Evening Post," Jan. 6, 1913). "The Progressives demand that this committee *shall* be," etc. (ib.). Clause of result: "Will Judge Pyncheon above all make due apologies to that company of honorable friends and satisfy them that his absence from the festive board was unavoidable, and so fully retrieve himself in their good opinion that he *shall* yet be Governor of Massachusetts?" ("T. H. of S. G.," XVIII). Purpose clause: "I will make a song that there *shall* be comity by day and by night between all the States" (Whitman's "Leaves of Grass," "Starting from Paumanok").

We have taken a great deal of time and space to say a very little. It is very difficult to explain the simple self-evident things which without the slightest premeditation we say a thousand times a day. The little words *shall* and *will* convey to us as accurately as could be indicated by a delicate scientific instrument the finest shades of thought and feeling, and yet when we try to grasp these meanings analytically they become very elusive. It takes a good deal of fine historical and psychological knowledge to reveal all the processes. Our grammarians have gone to work too mechanically and have failed. The better course is to recognize the great simplicity and the unerring accuracy of natural feeling here and not try in elementary books to analyze these intricate processes. The child knows these things much better than the thousands of inexperienced teachers who try to teach them, for to the former speech is related to thought and feeling, while to the latter unfortunately speech has become a mechanism regulated by little formulas. If something must be said on this subject it will suffice to say that *will* sometimes still retains its

original meaning of desire, but is now more commonly employed to denote simple futurity, while *shall* indicates the will or plan of the speaker, the will or plan of God or destiny, or the natural course of events. The less said the better, for the whole question is wonderfully simple to the child. The English people has worked out these fine shades independently of the grammarian and his help will not be necessary to preserve them. Some day when our school-teachers shall have learned to penetrate into the spirit of their native language the grammar recitation will be the bright spot in the children's daily experience. The teacher will unfold to them the thrilling story of the English people's long and constant struggle to create a full and accurate expression for its inner life.

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## GERMANIC WORD STUDIES

1. German *gehen*; *stehen*.

Two opinions are current as regards the etymology of the Germanic correspondents of the modern word *gehen*. Fick, Brugmann, Prellwitz refer it to the root of Skr. *jī-hi-te* 'goes forth'. But Kluge<sup>1</sup>, doubtless in opposition to this comparison, casts doubt on a root *ghai* 'gehen'. Herein his skepticism is justified. Whitney in his *Verb-Forms*, etc., properly speaks of  $2\sqrt{hā}$  as the middle voice of  $1\sqrt{hā}$  'relinquere' with the signification slightly weakened or generalized. The reply would be, of course, that German showed the same "weakening" of meaning. The time of the weakening may have lain in the proethnic period, or the shift may have independently come into being in Sanskrit and Germanic.

Kluge's really strong objection lies in the statement that there are no nominal derivatives to the root of *gehen* in Germanic. It may also be noted, though one may fall back of course on the root-sorist, that this root in Sanskrit forms the reduplicated present only. But the force of this statement, also, may be countered by noting the evanescence of reduplication in Germanic. Another circumstance of value in determining the etymology is that *gehen* forms the present system only in Germanic, and this perhaps makes against its cognation with Skr. *jīhīte*, but surely does make for the suggestion I am about to advance.

It has often been noted how the flexion of *gehen* runs parallel with the flexion of *stehen*. On this point Paul expresses himself at some length in his *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, and it is pointedly condensed by Brugmann as follows: "In jeder Beziehung ging mit (OHG.) *stām stēm* das Verbum *gām gēm* 'gehe' Hand in Hand" (*Grundriss*: II 2, p. 1066), and I assume that Crim-Gothic *geen* presents no conflict to that statement. For the flexion of *stēm* we seem to be in possession of pretty adequate knowledge, viz.: that 2d sg. *stēs* is from *sthāyesi* and 3d sg. *stēt* from *sthāyti* (see the paradigm in Streitberg's *Urgerm. Gram.*, p. 310), while 1st sg. *stām* is from *sth(ə)-ē-mi* (cf. Brugmann, l. s. c.).

What I assume to have happened, using Old High German for an illustration, is that, having the infinitive *stantan*: 3d. sg. *stēt*, they created to infin. *gangan* an analogical *gēt*. The pair *stēt* and *gēt* are counter terms, and liable to analogical influence, the one from the other, cf. French *rendre* 'to give, render' (from Lat. *reddere*) which has picked up its nasal from *prendre* 'to take' (Lat. *prendere*).

Such a merely analogical origin for the paradigm of 'gehen' accounts for the lack of derivatives from a root \**ghai-* (i. e. *ghay-*), and this must be the controlling factor in a decision. On the other hand I feel great doubt as to the form *sth-ē-t* which must be assumed as the startform for OHG. *stāt*, whereas, if we had a startform *ghē-t* (cf. Skr. aor. *a-hāt* 'reliquit') the source of *gā-t* is manifest. The interplay of the counterterms *gāt* and *stēt* would then have yielded *gēt* and *stāt*. But the *ā/ē* variation may all be due to imperatives, e. g. 1st plur. *stāmēs* whose *ā* corresponds to the *ē* of Lat. *stēmus* (1st plur. subj.).

If beside Eng. *stand* we set *στα-θερός* = *στάδιος* 'standing', whence 'steadfast, firm', we may infer a secondary root *stha<sup>n</sup>dh-/d-*. Note the *n*-infix in Skr. *ā-sandī* 'sessel' (:OBulg. *sedq* 'ich setze mich') : *ā-sāda'-s* (for the long vocalism cf. Lat *sēdes*) 'sitzkissen'. These traces of *n*-flexion for the root *sed-* 'to sit' may be referred to the influence of the *n*-flexion exhibited in Goth. *gaggan* 'gehen' and in Eng. *stand* 'stehen'.

## 2. Gothic *spillon*, Eng. *spell*.

Readers of this Journal (see 6, 247) may be interested to know that Professor F. A. Wood quite independently advanced the same etymology in Mod. Lang. Notes 26, 167, just as I proposed, meo Marte, the same explanation for *δαρ-δάπτει*: that Professor Wood had proposed long before (see A J Ph. 32, 408<sup>1</sup>). It may also be worth noting that Feist's report of my etymology of *spillon* makes me deny root-cogitation—as I did question any common semantic history—between *spillon* and Lat. *ap-pellare*.

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## ZU GOETHES WEISSAGUNGEN DES BAKIS

In Nr. 38, Sp. 1240 des Literarischen Centralblatts sagt R. Petsch in Bezug auf meine Arbeit<sup>1</sup> über die Bakissprüche: "Was die Methode seiner Deutung im allgemeinen angeht, so kann sich der Leser aus der Gleichsetzung der "Tauben, die nicht hören" und der "Tauben die der Saat vorüberfliegen" ebenfalls sein Urteil bilden." Ich darf die Retourkutsche wagen: Und an diesen Satze über die Befähigung P.'s zur Kritik.

Im mehrfachen Sinne. Erstens kommen die in Anführungsstriche gesetzten "Tauben, die nicht hören" nicht auf meine, sondern auf P.'s Rechnung. Ich nehme nicht an, dass ich lächerlich gemacht werden sollte: P. hat gewiss—ob mit Recht, ist die Frage—vorausgesetzt, dass die Leser aus meiner a. a. O. der seinigen voranstehenden Erklärung entnehmen würden, dass "Tauben" im einen Satz *surdi*, im andern *columbae* bedeuten sollen. Und weiter, hoffe ich, wird er auf der einen Seite den Relativsatz, obwohl er auch ihn in die Anführungsstriche einschliesst, explikativ und nicht dem auf der andern parallel gemeint haben. Aber man weiss, wie Rezensionen gelesen werden: Die Mehrzahl der Leser fasst "Tauben" beidemal im Sinne von *columbae* und erkennt in der Gleichung, die mir P. anhängt, vollkommenen Unsinn, oder sie erblickt zwei logisch inkongruente Sätze und urteilt dementsprechend über mich, ihren angeblichen Urheber. Ich verbessere also: "Menschen, die das sich ihnen bietende Glück nicht ergreifen, die hören und doch taub<sup>2</sup> sind" und "Tauben, die das Futter nicht fressen, sondern daran vorüberfliegen". So sieht die Sache auch äusserlich annehmbar aus.

Denn innerlich ist sie vollkommen in Ordnung. Mit Recht hat P. dies zur neunten Weissagung gehörige Beispiel als

<sup>1</sup> Goethes Schatzgräber und die Weissagungen des Bakis, Leipzig 1912 in Kommission bei Adolph Weigel, Wintergartenstrasse 4.

<sup>2</sup> Das Glück bietet sich ihnen auf dem Wege durchs Ohr, in einer Mitteilung. Sonst würde man sagen: die "blöden", wie in jener vierten Römischen Elegie oder in dem durch Gellerts, meiner Arbeit vorangestelltes, Gedicht "Der Schatz" angeregten Faustparalipomenon No. 19: vgl. diese Zeitschrift p. 31.

typisch für meine—übrigens *nicht* bei allen, sondern nur bei einigen Sprüchen angewendete—Methode der Deutung herausgegriffen: Keine andere wird und kann ihnen bekommen. Diese Weissagungen müssen mit ihrem eignen Masstabe, dürfen nicht mit einem bei höheren geistigen Erzeugnissen gebrauchten oder abgebrauchten gemessen werden. Der Jäger der auf Spatzen schiessen will, nimmt dazu keine Kanone, sondern die ordinäre Schrotflinte mit: Wenn ich bei der Deutung von Sprüchen, die Goethe *insgesamt* als Unsinn bezeichnet hat, *mitunter* das primitive Werkzeug anlege, dessen man sich zur Lösung von Silben- und Silbenversatzrätselfn, Rösselsprüngen und ähnlichem Zeug bedient—welcher Mensch mit einigem Sinn für Proportion wird etwas darin finden?

Gönnet immer fort und fort  
Bakis eure Gnade:  
Des Propheten tiefstes Wort  
Oft ist's nur Charade!

Ich werde P. zeigen, dass ich in der gedruckten Arbeit noch nicht alle Munition verschossen und sie seitdem bei derselben Firma ergänzt habe.

In seiner Anzeige hatte er gesagt, Morris's "Methode" sei die wissenschaftlich allein mögliche. Ich möchte wissen wodurch anders als durch bodenlose Sorglosigkeit in ihrer Handhabung sie sich von der meinigen unterscheidet: M. sucht die Anlässe zu den Weissagungen in Goethes Lektüre und in ein paar Theateraufführungen, ich in Goethes Lektüre, und nur darin sehe ich M.'s Bemühungen als grundsätzlich verfehlt an, dass er glaubte, die einzelnen Vers'chen könnten Ergebnisse immer und immer wiederholter Rückkehr zu dem "tollen Einfall" sein; dass er damit Goethes eigne Notiz, er habe ihn nur kurze Zeit unterhalten, tatsächlich ignoriert obwohl er sie selbst erwähnt; dass er nicht bedacht hat, wie denn bei solch sporadischem Formen der einzelnen Sprüche, bei der von ihm angenommenen Art ihrer Anregung auch nur der Gedanke an eine Sammlung von 365 Stück habe entstehen können und wieviel Jahrzehnte dazu erforderlich gewesen wären; wie Goethe am 27. Januar, also zu einer Zeit für die M. eine einzige (No. 28) Weissagung als sicher entstanden

nachzuweisen *versucht*, mit Schiller von einem die durch *beide* Dichter geschaffenen Xenien an Umfang weit über-  
treffenden, durch *ihn allein* in ungleich kürzerer Zeit, bis  
zum Spätsommer des Jahres,<sup>3</sup> auszuführenden Unternehmen  
hätte reden können, wenn er an eine Entstehung der Sprüche  
gleich der von M. vermuteten gedacht hätte! Und wie kann  
man glauben, dass ein Mann, der es häufig vergessen hat, die  
Arbeit an wichtigen poetischen Werken ins *Tagebuch* zu  
notieren, beim Rückblick auf die Arbeit eines ganzen *Jahres*  
ein paar kleiner Strophen mit den Worten gedacht habe:  
"Von meinen eigenen poetischen und schriftstellerischen Wer-  
ken habe ich so viel zu sagen, dass die Weissagungen des  
Bakis mich nur einige Zeit unterhielten." Nein, solche Nach-  
richten und Äusserungen lassen nur den einen Schluss zu,  
dass die ganze Reihe von 32 Sprüchen in der zweiten Hälfte  
des Januar 1798 entstanden war, und dass Goethe erwartet  
hatte, mit derselben Schnelligkeit werde er die noch fehlenden  
elf Zwölftel des ganzen Projekts fabrizieren. Wer nicht blind  
ist, weiss schon Bescheid wenn er sich M.'s Datierungen an-  
sieht. Nicht weniger als zehn Nummern (2. 5. 6. 8. 12. 13.  
17. 23. 25. 31) weist er in die Zeit von Ende November 1799  
bis Anfang Januar 1800 und leistet sich daraufhin die folgen-  
den Bemerkungen: "Das Auftauchen der Weissagungen in  
Schillers Papieren muss Ende 1799 erfolgt sein, denn bei  
meinen weiteren Bemühungen ergaben sich Anregungen vom  
Dezember 1799 und Januar 1800 als Veranlassung einzelner  
Weissagungen (5, 6, 8, 12). Die Methode für die Behandlung  
der Weissagungen ist also . . . . Besonders zu berück-  
sichtigen ist die Zeit vom 11. Januar bis Herbst 1798 und die  
Jahreswende 1800." Nun, die Bemerkung, das Manuskript  
der Sprüche müsse sich Ende 1799 unter Schillers Papieren  
gefunden haben, wird meines Erachtens durch Goethes Brief  
an Schiller vom 16. April 1800 eher widerlegt: "Da sich  
die Weissagungen des Bakis so wunderbarerweise bei Ihnen

<sup>3</sup>für den neuen Musenalmanach, wie aus dem Brief vom 27. 1.  
1798 deutlich hervorgeht: "Für den Almanach habe ich einen Ein-  
fall, der noch toller ist als die Xenien . . . indem ich mir die  
Redaktion dieses abermaligen Anhangs vorbehalte . . . vielleicht  
entdecken Sie etwas ähnliches zum Gebrauch *künftiger* Zeiten."



gefunden haben, so möchte ich fragen, ob nicht auch etwa das kleine jugendliche Gesellschafts- oder Schäferstück von mir bei Ihnen zu finden ist." Mit diesen Worten *beginnt* der Brief, und das verstärkt den Eindruck, den man überhaupt hat: dass Goethe damit an eine ihm jüngst, wahrscheinlich erst gestern oder gar heute gewordene Mitteilung anknüpft. Sonst hätte er unfehlbar geschrieben: "Da sich *damals*"—es müsste nach M. vor dem 30. November 1799, also vor etwa fünf Monaten geschehen sein!—"die Weissagungen . . . bei Ihnen gefunden haben", besser noch "hatten". Doch davon abgesehen: Jene zehn Sprüche können nach M.'s Meinung in dem Schillern "im Sommer oder Herbst 1798 kommunizierten" Manuskript nicht gestanden haben; von den übrigen zweiundzwanzig weiss er mit andern neun (4. 9. 10. 14. 18. 20. 22. 24. 27) nichts anzufangen; vier (1. 3. 15. 16) bedürfen seiner Meinung nach der Interpretation nicht; es bleiben acht, von denen er einen (8) mit Zuversicht auf den 26. Januar 1798, einen (26) mit starkem Zweifel auf den 3. März 1798 datiert, zwei (7. 11.) auf in demselben Jahre gedruckte Bücher zurückführt und die vier übrigen (21. 29. 30. 32) gleich jenen andern zeitlich ganz unbestimmt lässt. Da er nun selbst sagt: "Die Tagebücher enthalten durchaus nicht alle Schriften, die Goethe in die Hände genommen sind . . . das Verzeichnis der von Goethe in der Weissagungszeit aus der Weimarer Bibliothek entlehnten Bücher ist mir . . . zugänglich geworden; dagegen sind Ausleihebücher der Bibliothek zu Jena, wo Goethe sich während der in Frage kommenden Zeit mehrfach aufgehalten hat, nicht mehr vorhanden. So bleibt ein Rest von Weissagungen, die durch methodische Forschung nicht zu lösen sind,"<sup>5</sup> so erhalten wir, wenn wir *entgegen*

‘Sie können darin auch nicht nach der Rückgabe hinzugefügt sein, weil sie durch die ganze Reihe von 32 hin verstreut sind—sonst müsste Goethe die Handschrift nochmals und in andrer Anordnung haben abschreiben lassen.

<sup>5</sup> Eine merkwürdige Folgerung: Wären die Ausleihebücher noch vorhanden, dann hätte M. also sicher den Rest gelöst! Und will er behaupten, dass ihm sonst nichts entgangen sein kann? Und hat er nicht selbst gesagt, auch aus Briefen, Zeitungen, Gesprächen, Vorgängen im Weimarer Kreise, in der Literatur und Politik könnten Anregungen gekommen sein?

*Goethes eigner Bemerkung*, die Sprüche hätten ihn nur kurze Zeit unterhalten, die nach Abzug jener zehn übrigbleibenden zweiundzwanzig auf die von M. so genannte Weissagungszeit verteilen, bestenfalls acht, die in dem an Schiller gegebenen Manuskript gestanden haben können!

Mir ist es unverständlich, wie M. solche Bedenken nicht haben aufsteigen oder wie er sie hat unerwähnt lassen, wie er hat glauben können, kein Wort über das in Schillers Hände gegebene Manuskript nötig zu haben, das vielleicht mit dem WA i, 468 die Signatur H 63 tragenden identisch ist;<sup>6</sup> wie ihm nicht der Gedanke gekommen ist, dass Goethe durch Schillers Ablehnung, die Sprüche in den Almanach aufzunehmen, vollends habe nüchtern werden müssen und nicht noch Ende 1799 *mindestens* zehn neue bauen können.<sup>7</sup> Vor allem aber verstehe ich nicht, wie jemand, der angibt, M.'s Untersuchung kritisch gegenüberzustehen,<sup>8</sup> und, zumal er

<sup>6</sup> Dass Goethe eine Abschrift behalten hatte, ergibt sich aus dem Brief an Schlegel vom 30. März 1800. Denn dass der Spruch "Die Burg von Otranto" den Zusatz "Fortsetzungswissagung" erhielt und auf einem einzelnen Zettel notiert wurde, war nur der unvollkommenen metrischen Gestalt zuzuschreiben: Wäre er zu einem Distichenpaar ausgefeilt worden, so hätte er dann auch in die Reinschrift Eingang gefunden, natürlich ohne die Überschrift. Schlegels Änderungsvorschläge wurden in geringem Betrage in der Hs. H63 für den ersten Abdruck, in grösserem für den zweiten befolgt.

<sup>7</sup> Auch von der Hellen (Jubiläumsausgabe I, 363) widerspricht sich, indem er zuerst sagt: "Bald aber verlor G. die Lust an dieser wunderlichen Produktion, zumal Schiller durchaus kein Verlangen danach für seinen Almanach bewies, und bestimmte die wenigen fertigen Nummern (32) . . . zur Aufnahme in die Gedichtsammlung," und dann trotzdem das Ergebnis von M.'s Untersuchung akzeptiert, das die grössere Anzahl der angeblich gedeuteten Sprüche *nach* Schillers Ablehnung ansetzt.

<sup>8</sup> Freilich ist so eine Angabe ohne genaue Namhaftmachung der beanstandeten Deutungen und Begründung wertlos: Wie kann man bei der Art den Kritiker fassen? Und dann noch eine Frage. P. bemerkt, er könne mir auf den labyrinthischen Pfaden meiner Parallelenjagd nicht folgen (und liefert mit der Wiedergabe meines Gedankengangs in der Deutung des neunten Spruchs alsbald einen unfreiwilligen Beweis dafür). Mich kränkt nun zwar das Wort Parallelenjagd, das gewöhnlich von denjenigen im Munde geführt wird, die nie etwas rechtes dabei geschossen haben, nicht im geringsten, und ich werde demnächst den Beweis führen, dass sich mit Parallelen z. B.

Arbeiten darüber rezensiert, selbst über die Sprüche nachgedacht haben muss, Erwägungen der genannten Art in den Wind schlagen und apodiktisch entscheiden mag: "M.'s Methode ist die einzig wissenschaftlich mögliche". Ich denke also, man kann P. mit gutem Gewissen bei M. alleine lassen.

Und nun zu der einen Deutung, die P. als für meine Methode typisch heraushebt. Da Goethe die kleine Sammlung mit dem Namen Bakis in Verbindung gebracht, die erste Anregung dazu aus der Lektüre eines antiken Werks geschöpft, ja selbst bekannt hat, dass er in den Weissagungen des Bakis "zu antik", d. h. für das Verständnis seiner Leser zu antik gewesen sei, so wäre es schon darum erlaubt, ein paar antike Omina, Prodigien, Augurien o. ä. zum Vergleich herbeizuholen. Ich hatte umfangreichere Vorstudien gemacht als meine Arbeit verrät, dann freilich—wie ich allgemach eingesehen habe, zu Unrecht—geglaubt, auf solche älteren Beispiele, die doch jedem von der Schule her geläufig sind, verzichten zu können.

Bei Musäus—gewiss habe ich S. 150 nicht Recht daran getan, dem blossen Namen Musäus, den Goethe in demselben Satz fand, wo er auch dem des Bakis zum ersten Male begegnete,<sup>9</sup> keine Bedeutung beizumessen: das Jahr vorher hatte er (in andern Gedichten) des zweiten Musäus Hero

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die völlig im argen liegende Chronologie des Urfaust einigermaßen feststellen lässt—ich frage aber: Trifft auf eine Arbeit im ganzen Bereich der Goetheforschung das Wort Parallelenjagd eher zu als auf die in Rede stehende und von demselben P. der meinigen vorgezogene M.'sche? Der grosse Unterschied zwischen M.'s Art Parallelen heranzuziehen, und der meinigen besteht darin, dass ich grundsätzlich nur da Parallelen verwende, wo ich zugleich die verbindenden Glieder aufzuweisen in der Lage bin oder dies wenigstens glaube, während M., wie fast jede Seite seiner Studien beweist, in den allermeisten Fällen darauf verzichtet. Ein typisches Beispiel ist M.'s Behandlung des Faustparalipomenon No. 20: Er verweist auf einen Passus aus Goethes Winkelmann (Goethe-Studien<sup>1</sup> 1, 161); welche Parallele bei ihm völlig in der Luft schweben bleibt—ich erweise sie in einem demnächst erscheinenden Aufsatz als eine wirkliche Parallele, decke die Fäden auf, die die beiden Stellen miteinander verbinden.

\* "Die Athener hatten einen starken Glauben an gewisse angebliche Weissagungen, die der Sibylle, dem Musäos . . . zugeschrieben wurden."

und Leander mit den Volksmärchen des dritten *zusammen* benutzt, und es läge in der Art dieser Sprüche wenn er absichtlich zu dem schon vorhandenen neuen Musäus einen neuen Bakis geschaffen und die beiden Weisen beisammen gelassen hätte—ich sage, bei Musäus 3, 126 erhält ein Reisender von dem ihm erschienenen Geist die typische Weissagung: Konkurrieren in deinem Leben einst gewisse Omina, so wird das und das geschehen. Ausführlicher: Wenn du zu einer bestimmten Zeit (beim nächsten Aequinoctium) an einem bestimmten Orte (auf der Bremer Weserbrücke) auf einen bestimmten Menschen (einen Freund) wartest, so wird dir dieser etwas bestimmtes (deinem Glücke dienliches) mitteilen. Der Geist bedient sich dabei der Ausdrücke “dass es dir wohlgergeh’ auf Erden” und “aus dem güldnen Horn des Überflusses quillt dir Segen.” Der Reisende richtet sich nach der Weisung, aber bei der Hauptsache, die in der Prophezeiung durch ein *zweideutiges* Wort ausgedrückt war, versagt er vorerst: Der Geist hatte einen *Freund* im moralischen Sinne gemeint, der andere, obwohl seine Freunde sich nicht als solche an ihm bewiesen hatten, an einen im gesellschaftlichen gedacht. Infolgedessen tritt eine kleine Verzögerung ein, bevor er seines Glücks teilhaftig wird. Und dies Glück liegt zunächst nicht auf Erden, sondern unter der Erde; es zeigt sich weiter, dass die Phrase “güldnes Horn des Überflusses” nicht im gewöhnlichen, bildlichen Sinne, sondern im wörtlichen gemeint war: Der Mann erhält einen in der Erde vergrabenen Schatz von Goldmünzen. Diese *Weissagung* also—es wird mir schwer zu glauben, dass P. das verkennt—is das Vorbild zu Goethes neuer *Weissagung* gewesen:

Mäuse laufen zusammen auf offnem Markte; der Wandrer  
Kommt, auf hölzernem Fuss, vierfach und klappernd heran.  
Fliegen die Tauben der Saat in gleichem Momente vorüber:  
Dann ist, Tola, das Glück unter der Erde dir hold.

Es war nun meine Aufgabe, nachzuweisen wie Goethe zu der eigenartigen Einkleidung der drei Omina gekommen ist, und ich vermochte dass fast ausschliesslich mit Hilfe des von Musäus selbst gebotenen Materials zu tun: das kräftigste Argument für die Richtigkeit der ganzen Quellenuntersuchung! Ich ging davon aus, dass auch in ihrem syntak-

tischen Aufbau sich die beiden Weissagungen entsprechen, und ich versuchte dann, die Gedankenfolge, deren Resultat die Gestaltung des Spruchs war, möglichst geschlossen vorzuführen. Ich mache Petsch den Vorwurf, einzelne distante Momente dieser Rekonstruktion und zum Teil grade die dazu ungeeignetsten weil nebensächlichen, willkürlich heraus gegriffen, noch willkürlicher mit einander verbunden und in dieser monströsen Gestalt den Lesern seiner Anzeige als mein Eigentum vorgesetzt zu haben, und gleich ihm überlasse ich es dem Urteilsfähigen, zu entscheiden, ob ich mit diesen Vorwurf recht habe oder nicht. Man vergleiche also meine Arbeit S. 35-46 und P.'s Anzeige Sp. 1132 des Centralblatts 1912, Zeite 13 ff. Mir mache ich nur einen Vorwurf: die weniger wichtigen Momente nicht in Anmerkungen verwiesen zu haben. Denn dann wären wenigstens diese Irrtümer P.'s unmöglich gewesen. Um ihnen nicht zum zweitenmal zum Opfer zu fallen, fasse ich die Sache von einer andern Seite her an.

Drei oder vier Omina sollten konkurrieren: Auf offenem Markt Mäuse zusammenlaufen, der Wanderer vierfach und klappernd herankommen, Tauben an der Saat vorbeifliegen. Die *Mäuse*, denke ich, sind die Bettler in Musäus' Erzählung, die aus ihren Winkeln und Löchern kommend an der verkehrsreichsten Stelle in der Stadt Posto fassen, ihre Beute zu erhaschen. *Der Wanderer*—ihn so zu nennen, nicht etwa ein Wanderer, hatte Goethe, wie weiter unten nachgewiesen werden wird, noch eine ganz bestimmte Veranlassung!—ist der Stelzfuss mit zwei Krücken, der nicht wie die andern Bettler auf demselben Fleck stehen bleibt, sondern hin und her wandert, dann zu dem Reisenden herantritt, sich mit ihm unterhält und schliesslich einen Traum erzählt. Dieser Traum und die auf die Frage des Reisenden, wie er sich zu dem Traume verhalten, ob er ihn ernst genommen, erteilte Antwort ergeben die Deutung des letzten Omen. Den Stelzfuss hatte sein Schutzengel aufgefordert, einen Schatz zu ergraben, aber er bekennt, gegenüber dieser Mahnung taub geblieben zu sein. Da endlich fällt es dem Reisenden wie Schuppen von den Augen: Die Tauben, die der Saat *vorüberfliegen*—ich nehme einen Augenblick an, er hätte die Weissagung

in der Goetheschen Umschmelzung erhalten!—diese Tauben, merkt er, gleichen den Menschen, die bei sich ihnen bietendem Glück nicht zugreifen, und so einer ist der "Wandrer" da vor ihm! Man lese doch die Stelle bei Musäus nach: "Jetzt wurde ihm der Stelfuss auf einmal höchst interessant, da er merkte, dass eben dieser *der Freund* war, an den ihn das Nachtgespenst adressiert hatte. Gern hätte er ihn umarmen, und im ersten Entzücken Freund und Vater nennen mögen; doch hielt er sich zurück, und fand rathsamer, sich gegen ihn über die mitgeteilte Nachricht nicht weiter auszulassen. Darum sprach er: Aber Alter, befolgest du nicht, wozu der Schutzengel dich anmahnte? Ei wie sollt ich, antwortete *der Träumer*"—ebenfalls ein im doppelten Sinne gemeintes Wort!—"vergebene Arbeit thun! Es war ja nichts als ein leidiger Traum . . . " Und nun geht der *andere* hin und hebt den Schatz, der dem Stelfuss zgedacht war: *er* versteht zu hören! Ich denke etwas simpleres als diese Deutung gibt es nicht.

Goethes Weissagung gleicht in ihrer Art den von manchen römischen Autoren wengleich in Bruchstücken so doch für die allgemeine Orientierung hinlänglich überlieferten sibyllinischen: Sie würde—die auf Grund der Quelle gegebene ist nur *eine* davon—unzählige Deutungen vertragen, auf unzählige Fälle gepasst haben, je nachdem die von ihr Gebrauch machenden Gelegenheit und Fähigkeit zum deuten gehabt hätten. Wäre sie also sibyllinisch gewesen, dann konnte sie ganz oder teilweise, im symbolischen oder wörtlichen Sinne, so wie sie gemeint war oder wie sie der Empfänger haben wollte, akzeptiert oder abgelehnt werden; die Mäuse hätte man als Mäuse oder Ratten, Marder, Krebse, Schal- und anderes Getier, oder als Bettler, Dirnen—wie Goethe *lacerta* und *lacertus* Juvenal 3, 23<sup>1</sup> und Ovid Her., 19, 103—Verbrecher, Kinder, Pioniere usw. auffassen, in ihrem Zusammenlaufen gemeinsames Fressen, Abwehr, Angst oder Vorsicht, Kampf gegen einander u. s. f. sehen können; das alles würde auch auf die anderen Omina zugetroffen sein, und vor allem die Namen und Epitheta wären—was hätte man nicht alles aus *Tola* gemacht!—der willkürlichsten Deutung preisgegeben gewesen. Servius, in seinem Kommentar zur Äneide 5, 30,

macht eine Bemerkung, die alles knapp und klar zusammenfasst: *Nostri arbitrii est visa omnia vel improbare vel recipere*. Caesar hatte also, da er vom Schiff ans Land springend hinfiel, vollkommen recht wenn er, das böse Omen in ein gutes zu verkehren, rasch und entschlossen ausrief, er fasse hiermit das Land. Flogen die Tauben an der Saat vorbei, so wäre das an sich ebenfalls ein ungünstiges Zeichen gewesen: aber der, dem es zugebracht, hätte es durch Interpretation in das Gegenteil verwandeln können, und selbstverständlich durfte er, im Falle ein Wort zwei oder mehr wenn noch so verschiedene Bedeutungen hatte, die ihm genehme festhalten, es kam ja lediglich auf die *vox*, ja nur auf den Laut, nicht auf das *verbum* an. Die bekanntesten Beispiele stehen bei Valerius Maximus 1, 5, alle unmittelbar auf einander folgend (auch bei Cicero, De divinatione): *C. autem Mario observatio ominis procul dubio saluti fuit, quo tempore hostis a senatu iudicatus, in domum Fanniae Minturnis custodiae causa deductus est. animadvertit enim asellum, cum ei pabulum obiceretur, neglecto eo also wie die Tauben ad aquam procurrentem. quo spectaculo deorum providentia quod sequeretur oblatum ratus, alioquin etiam interpretandarum religionum peritissimus a multitudine, quae ad opem illi ferendam confluerat, bei Goethe: Mäuse "laufen zusammen" inpetravit ut ad mare perduceretur: ac protinus naviculam conscendit eaque in Africam pervectus arma Syllae victricia effugit.* Vorher geht das Beispiel: *Caecilia Metelli, dum sororis filiae, adultae aetatis virgini, more prisco nocte concubia nuptiale petit omen, ipsa fecit, nam cum in sacello quodam eius rei gratia aliquamdiu persedisset, nec ulla vox proposito congruens esset audita, fessa longa standi mora puella, der es also in dem Tempel genau so geht wie dem auf der Brücke das dritte Omen vergeblich erwartenden Reisenden, rogavit materteram, ut sibi paulisper locum residendi accommodaret: cui illa: Ego vero inquit, libenter tibi mea sede cedo. Quod dictum ab indulgentia profectum ad certi ominis processit eventum: quoniam Metellus non ita multo post, mortua Caecilia, virginem, de qua loquor, in matrimonium duxit.* Wenn die Tauben das Futter liegenlassen wie der Esel in dem andern—ich wiederhole:—unmittelbar hiernebenstehenden Bei-

spiel, so wissen wir bereits: sie überlassen es andern, glücklichern. Genauso macht es aber Metella, und mit ihrer Situation hat diejenige des Stelzfusses die grösste Ähnlichkeit: Aus reiner Gefälligkeit, und um ihm die lange vergebliche Wartezeit zu verkürzen, redet er den Reisenden an und erzählt ihm dann seinen Traum, liefert damit unbewusst das sehnlich erwartete Omen und gibt dadurch, ebenfalls ohne es zu ahnen, das ihm gehörende oder wenigstens zuge dachte dem jüngeren preis; der letztere wird gewissermassen des ersteren Rechtsnachfolger im Besitz des kostbaren Guts! Vor diesem Beispiel steht nun wieder das folgende: *Quid illud, quod L. Paulo consuli evenit, quam memorabile! cum ei sorte evenisset, ut bellum cum rege Perse gereret et domum e curia regressus, filiolam suam nomine Tertiam, quae tum erat admodum parvula, osculatus, tristem animadverteret: interrogavit, quid ita eo vultu esset: quae respondit, Persam periisse: decesserat autem catellus, quem puella in deliciis habuerat, nomine Persa. arripuit igitur omen Paulus, exque fortuito dicto, quasi spem certam clarissimi triumphi animo praesumpsit.* Und ein paar Seiten später: *Annotatu dignum illud quoque omen, sub quo Petilius consul in Liguria bellum gerens occiderit. nam cum montem, cui Leto cognomen erat, oppugnaret, interque adhortationem militum dixisset, Hodie ego Letum utique capiam; inconsideratius praeliando, fortuitum iactum vocis leto suo confirmavit.* Überall kommt es also auf die *vox* an, nicht auf den Sinn, in dem sie gemeint war: So wird sich P. überzeugen können, dass ich, als ich auch "Tauben" doppeldeutig nahm, mir etwas mehr dabei gedacht hatte als er, da ers zum Beweise meiner Befähigung für die Deutung dieser Art Sprüche an den Pranger zu stellen vermeinte. Das vorletzte Beispiel, wo Persa ein Vierfüssler ist, aber für den König genommen wird, hatte ich ihm sofort vorgehalten, als er meine ähnliche Doppeldeutung von Tauben belächelte—aber meinen Augen kaum trauen wollen, da ich zur Erwiderung erhielt, er werde sich mit mir über Goethedeutung (sic) nicht einigen können. Ich glaube letzteres gerne, und vielleicht findet sich bald mal eine Gelegenheit, wo es auf das was er mit dem Wort Goethedeutung meinen wird, ankommt: Aber hier handelt es sich um die Deutung der Bakissprüche,



die ihr Urheber gleich nach der Geburt als tollen Einfall und später als Unsinn gleich dem Hexeneinmaleins bezeichnet, Schiller als Almanachbeitrag abgelehnt hat. Auf die hohe Warte der Deutung, die P. anscheinend verlangt, hatte sich Baumgart gestellt, und ward dafür von ebendem Morris, dessen Methode nach P. die wissenschaftlich einzig mögliche sein soll, ausgelacht!!

Noch kindlicher muss ihm meine Annahme erschienen sein, in den Schlussworten der Weissagung, "unter der *Erde* dir *hold*", verberge sich der Name des Stelzfusses, Berthold, nachdem im selben Verse der Spottname des Reisenden, "Brückenvogt", lat. *tolonarius*, nach gewissen andern Namen bei Musäus zu Tola zugestutzt, genannt war. Es kommt nichts darauf an, dass das B fehlt: schon der gleiche Klang genügte in den antiken Omina vollkommen. Cicero erzählt a. a. O: *Cum Crassus exercitum Brundisii imponderet, quidam in portu caritas Cauno advectas vendens, Cauneas clamitabat. Dicamus si placet monitum ab eo Crassum, caveret ne iret [cauneas = cau (= cave) ne eas]: non fuisse periturum, si omni paruisset.* Wenn der Geist dem Reisenden die Weissagung in der Goetheschen Form zugerufen hätte, dann dürfte dieser sich schon in dem Augenblick etwas denken, wo der Stelzfuss seinen Traum zu erzählen erst begann: "Mein Schutzengel stand an meinem Bette . . . und sprach zu mir: *Berthold*, vernimm die Worte meiner Rede, dass keins verloren geh' aus deinem Herzen . . . " Die Spielerei mit den Namen lag Goethe hier sowieso nahe: Ich habe darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass er in der Reise der Söhne Megaprazons den einzigen nicht aus Rabelais übernommenen Namen, eben Megaprazon, aus Melchior Franzson, den Namen des ebenfalls Tonnen voll Goldes und Gewölbe voll kostbarer Waren besitzenden und weise der Zukunft sorgenden grossmächtigen Handelsherrn, des Vaters unseres Reisenden, umgebildet hatte. Vorbilder für derlei Künste hatte Goethe bei Rabelais' Nachahmer Fischart in Hülle und Fülle, und Fischart kannte er wie vielleicht kein zweiter unter seinen Zeitgenossen.<sup>10</sup> So bin ich der Meinung, dass Goethes oben

<sup>10</sup> Die intimen Beziehungen der Sprache des jungen Goethe zu Fischart und andern älteren deutschen Schriftstellern sind bis jetzt

zitiertes Zahmes Xenion direkt unsern Spruch (und den vierten) im Auge hat: Es sind die "tiefsten" der ganzen Reihe, und nach ihrem Sinn wird er oft genug gefragt worden sein. Eine Charade habe ich in den Schlussworten, "unter der Erde dir hold" vermutet: Sicherlich aber liegt eine in den Anfangsworten, "*Mäuse laufen zusammen*", woraus sich der Name Musäus ergibt. Schon in jenem Gespräch zwischen den Physiognomisten und dem Dichter (WA 2, 264) hatte Goethe über den Namen einen Witz gemacht: "Anders sagen die Musen und anders sagt es Musäus." Und das war wiederum ein Schlussvers, während der Anfangsvers gelaute hatte: "Sollt' es wahr sein, was uns der rohe *Wandrer* verkündet." Nun war der rohe Wandrer in der Physiognomischen Reisen doch schliesslich Musäus selbst,<sup>11</sup> und so hing das Epitheton am Anfang des Epigramms mit dem Namen am Schluss zusammen. Auf den Wandrer aber hatte Musäus angespielt, da er, den Stelfuss einführend, erzählte: "Der erste von der zerfetzten Kohorte, der dem jovialischen Spaziergänger, welchem frohe Hoffnung aus den Augen lachte, um eine milde Gabe ansprach, war ein verabschiedeter Kriegermann, der mit dem militärischen Ehrenzeichen eines hölzernen Stelfusses versehen war, . . . und der nun, *als Physiognomist, das Studium der Menschenkunde . . . trieb . . . Auch*

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anscheinend ebenso spärlich beobachtet worden wie die literarischen. In meinen Fauststudien werde ich zeigen, wie z. B. die Trunken Litaney eine der Hauptquellen von Auerbachs Keller, sowohl in der prosaischen wie in der versifizierten Fassung gewesen ist; wie gar die mysteriöse Szene "Landstrasse" z. T. bei Fischart ihr Urbild gehabt; wie die Lieder in der Litaney die Lyrica im Urfaust beeinflusst haben usw. Die geschmackvollen Namen WA 38, 439 ff. stammen z. T. aus Fischart, z. T. aus andern deutschen oder antiken Quellen, z. T. sind sie ihnen nachgebildet.

"In dem Gedichte "Gespräch zwischen Schildwache und Freund Hain" (WA 5 I 38) wird er genannt "der Kieler Wandrer", und in demselben *Märchen* konnte Goethe lebhaft an Musäus' heiteres Erlebnis erinnert werden (3, 94): "Dem Passagier kam das lästige Passageceremoniell der Thorwächter-inquisition so unlegen als unsern Reisenden, die mit Recht über Wächter- und Mauthamts-Despotismus bei Thoren und Schlagbäumen seufzen und fluchen." Man sieht wie nahe es für Goethe lag, den Spitznamen Brückenvogt auch in dem Spruche anzubringen.

*diesmal irrte sich sein Beschauungsblick keineswegs . . .*”

Darum also nannte Goethe in der Weissagung den Stelzfuss—der es aber auch als einziger nicht konstant denselben Platz behauptender Bettler verdiente—“der Wanderer” und scherzte in solcher Art noch weiter: Dieser Wanderer, dessen wahrer Name wie in dem Epigramm so auch jetzt wieder am Schluss genannt wurde, gehörte zu der zerfetzten Kohorte, den “Mäusen”, die am Anfang “zusammenliefen”, und in diese selben Worte ward der Name des Musäus, der ja doch an der andern Stelle, wie wir sahen, mit dem Wanderer identisch war, versteckt, sodass er diesmal nicht mit Musa sondern mit mus in Verbindung gebracht wurde! Ich mache noch darauf aufmerksam, dass die Bezeichnung Physiognomist für den “Wanderer”, die Beschreibung seiner Erscheinung und die Angabe des Spitznamens für den Reisenden, in der Erzählung genau so nahe bei einander stehen wie in dem Spruch die entsprechenden Ausdrücke, “der Wanderer kommt auf hölzernem Fuss, vierfach und klappernd heran . . . Tola”; man vergleiche 3, 135: “Sie nannten ihn scherzweise den *Brückenvogt*. *Der Physiognomist mit dem Stelzfuss* (= der Wanderer) . . . setzte sein natürliches und sein hölzernes Bein in Bewegung . . . um unter dem Anschein eines neuen *Ankömmlings* ihn nochmals um eine Beisteuer anzugehen.” Wer nun noch zweifelt, dem ist eben nicht zu helfen.

Auch den vierten, noch geheimnisvoller geratenen Spruch konnte ich in meiner Arbeit (S. 93 ff.) als eine Charade, und zwar im erweiterten Sinne, wo es sich nicht um Er- und Versetzung von einzelnen Silben, sondern von ganzen Worten, Wendungen und Bildern handelt, aufdecken. Weiter unten wird davon noch zu sprechen sein, wir sind noch lange nicht mit dem neunten fertig.

Dass die Konkurrenz der verschiedenen Omina auf offenem Marktplatz stattfindet und zwei Menschen in der Menge, die sich bisher gänzlich fremd gewesen sind, plötzlich durch ein geheimnisvolles Band in enge Beziehung zu einander treten, wobei die Wohltätigkeit ihre Rolle spielt, das sind notorisch antike Züge. Und auch die öffentliche Bitte um freundliche Förderung des vorhabenden, die öffentliche Danksagung nach Vollendung des Unternehmens, die Franz, der Reisende, für

sich bestellt, sind nicht erst eine christliche Sitte. Einzelne Züge aus diesen Vorgängen erinnerten Goethe an die Beschreibung des auf Grund der sibyllinischen Bücher im Jahre 356 (Livius 5, 13) veranstalteten allgemeinen Sühnefestes gegen die Pest: *Tota urbe patentibus ianuis*, Goethe sagt "auf offenem Markte", *promiscuoque usu rerum omnium in propatulo posito, notos ignotosque passim advenas in hospitium ductos ferunt; et cum inimicis quoque benigne ac comiter sermones habitas . . . vinctis quoque dempta in eos dies vincula . . .* Musäus schilderte wie die zerfetzte Kohorte der Bettler aus ihren Winkeln herbeikommt, die Posten auf der Brücke besetzt, um die Wohltätigkeit der ab- und zu-gehenden auszubeuten, als ob es sich um ein Recht handle—Livius redet dann von den Ereignissen unter P. Licinius, der sein Amt *maiore gaudio plebis quam indignatione Patrum* geführt habe, wie auch der Bremer Patrizierssohn nach seiner innern Wandlung den beiden Ständen gegenüber auftritt und als einzelner der Plebs auf der Brücke gegenübergestellt wird, unter der er allein von all den Menschen besseren Aussehens seinen Platz behauptet. Wenn ich damit wiederum des Livius nächste Worte, *Unus M. Veturius ex patriciis candidatis locum tenuit*, vergleiche, so wage ich das in Erinnerung an die in der Weissagung von Caecilia Metelli doppelt interpretierten Worte *tibi mea sede cedo*: Es kommt mir darauf an, von all den Ideen, die sich in Goethes Anschauung assoziiert haben können, einen Begriff zu erhalten und zu geben; logisch klare Zusammenhänge wird man hier nicht immer erwarten. Übrigens erinnere ich daran, dass Goethe in diesen Jahren mehrfach Szenen aus dem antiken öffentlichen Leben dargestellt hat.

Vögel und vierfüßige Tiere spielen in den Prodigien und Augurien eine wichtige Rolle. Die niemals einzeln fliegenden Tauben—daher der Plural "Tauben" in der Weissagung—hatten freilich nur für Könige, die auch immer von ihrem Gefolge umgeben, nie allein sind, ominöse Bedeutung, aber grade die bekannteste Stelle, Äneis 6, 190 ff. war Goethen hier sehr nahegerückt: Wie Musäus und Herder von der Erfüllung der Weissagung Libussas erzählten—vgl. SS. 26 ff. 43. 47 ff. 61 ff. 69 ff. 87 f. 97. 142. 145 f. meiner Arbeit—

das hätte ihn an die *columbae praepetes* erinnern müssen, die dem Äneas den Weg zum Baume zeigten, wenn er die Geschichte (vgl. weiter unten) nicht schon vorher vor Augen gehabt hätte. Dass das *praetervolare* der Vögel einer der Anhaltspunkte für die Auguren war, ist allbekannt: Bedenkt man nun, dass dies Wort zwei Bedeutungen hatte, wovon die eine natürlicher, die andere (= sich etwas entgehen lassen, häufig mit *occasionem* verbunden) bildlicher Art, so würde meine Deutung des "vorüberfliegen" noch näher rücken, wenn sie nicht schon mit Händen zu greifen wäre. An die ominöse Bedeutung von Vierfüsslern hatte Goethe offenbar gedacht, als er—noch dazu durch eine andere Stelle, bei Musäus 2, 132, unterstützt: "sie gab dem bekrückten Finanzrath scherzweise den Auftrag, seine *vier Füsse* in Bewegung zu setzen"—als er, die beiden Krücken des Bettlers zu seinen beiden Füßen addierend, von dem Wanderer als einem "auf hölzernen Fuss, vierfach und klappernd" herankommenden sprach. Dabei darf noch erwähnt werden, dass die Mäuse—schon *mures* bedeutet übrigens *allerhand* unbedeutendes scharenweise in Winkeln lebendes Getier—sehr oft bei den Omina genannt werden, und dass Plinius 8, 55 f. von den merkwürdigen Gewohnheiten gewisser Arten sprach, die überwintern, *Futter ansammeln* und *binis pedibus gradiuntur, prioribusque ut manibus utuntur*: Soll ich nun noch auseinandersetzen, wie die Ideenassoziation aussah, die zu der Bezeichnung der Bettler—deren Gilde ja auch der "Wanderer" angehörte—als Mäusen geführt hat?

Die antiken Beispiele, die ich angeführt habe, kannte Goethe gewiss aus den Quellen selbst, und auch in seinem Hederich<sup>12</sup> wird er manches auf Mantik bezügliche gefunden

<sup>12</sup> Das Werk steht mir leider nicht zur Verfügung. In *einem* Falle hatte mir Petsch selbst die Abschrift einer Stelle aus Hederich besorgt, vgl. S. 140. Aber auf diese von mir erbetene und von ihm zuvorkommend gewährte Abschrift hat sich die Hilfe, für die ich in dem Vorwort danke, beschränkt; das festzustellen gebietet mir die Loyalität, da P. von meiner Arbeit abgerückt ist. Es würde mich freuen, wenn er wenigstens der einen, auf solche Art von ihm unterstützten Deutung, der des fünften Spruchs, zustimmen könnte. Hab ich doch dabei sogar eine wörtlich aus Musäus entnommene Stelle nachgewiesen: "Die purpurrothe Schaafe *deutet auf blutige Fehden*

haben. Wenn ich nur in einem einzigen, durch die Bedeutung der Weissagung selbst gebotenen, Falle ein antikes Beispiel heranzog, so leitete mich dabei die Überzeugung, der ich noch heute bin: dass Musäus selbst, dieser Stapelplatz mythologischen Kleinkrams, alle zum Verständnis notwendigen Züge wenn nicht an der hauptsächlich für einen Spruch in Betracht kommenden, dann gewiss an andern Stellen seiner Sammlung darbot. Freilich war es nicht immer leicht, überzeugend nachzuweisen, wie sich nun Goethes Gedankengang gestaltet hatte, ehe er seinen Spruch zusammengoss, und ich selbst habe es mehrfach hervorgehoben, dass noch nicht alles in Ordnung sei: aber umso grössere Sorgfalt durfte ich von jemanden erwarten, der meine Ausführungen wiedergeben wollte.

Ich hatte nachzuweisen, wie Goethe dazu gekommen war, den entscheidenden Umstand, dass der Stelfuss an seinem Glück vorbeirennet, in einem Bilde auszudrücken, davon er nur die einzelnen Züge, nicht das Ganze in Händen hatte: "die Tauben fliegen der Saat vorüber." Wäre P. mit der Wiedergabe meiner Ausführungen im Recht, dann müsste ich ein Weib an Logik sein.

Ich zog zur Erläuterung 1) die andere Schatzgräbergeschichte heran, weil darin derjenige Mann, für den der Schatz bestimmt war, dieselbe Dummheit begeht wie der Stelfuss,

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*unter euch, dass einer den andern aufreibe"* sagt der weise Schäfer zu den beiden Grossen, den Untertanen der Seherin Libussa, und Goethe sagt von seinen beiden Grossen, sie "*Reiben, mit feindlicher Kraft, einer den andern sich auf.*" Dadurch, dass ich nun genau die Fäden blosslege, die die beiden Sprüche miteinander verbinden, werden die beiden Stellen zu wirklichen Parallelen. Wenn dagegen Morris behauptet, in dem Verse "Lang und schmal ist ein Weg" (Spruch 2) liege eine Parallele zu den Worten "Denn es ist schmal zu den Musen der Weg" in der Knebelschen Übersetzung einer Elegie des Properz vor, so werden das ausser von der Hellen wenige Leser glauben, dagegen mir zustimmen, der die Worte "lang und schmal ist ein Weg" zurückführt auf die bekannten μακρός δε καὶ ὀρθὸς ὁμῶς, zumal auch den folgenden, "Sobald du ihn gehst, so wird er breiter . . . bist du an's Ende gekommen" ähnliche entsprechen: ἐπὶν δ' ἐς ἄκρον Ἰχθαί, ῥηίδιον δ' ἔπειτα πέλει. Meine Parallele hat man, nach der Art von M.'s Parallelen jagt man—vgl. oben Anm. 8.

und ein anderer, der davon hört, sich ebenso entschlossen zeigt, sie sich zu nutze zu machen wie der Reisende 2) die vierte Römische Elegie, weil unsere erste Schatzgräbergeschichte die Quelle für einen Teil von deren zweiter Hälfte gebildet hatte. Diesen letzteren, ausschlaggebenden Umstand verschweigt P. seinem "urteilsfähigen" Leser, und auf die Art erhält meine Parallele, für die diese Bezeichnung ja eigentlich zu schwach ist, den Anstrich, dessen sie in P.'s Kritik bedurfte. Die Verse, auf die es vor allem ankommt, lauten beiderseits:

So betriegt nun die [Göttin Gelegenheit] den Unerfahrenen, den Blöden;  
 Schlummernde necket sie stets, *Wachende fliegt sie vorbei*;  
 Gern ergibt sie sich nur dem raschen thätigen Manne;  
*Dieser findet sie zahm, spielend und zärtlich und hold.*

*Fliegen die Tauben der Saat im gleichen Momente vorüber,*  
*Dann ist Tola dein Glück unter der Erde dir hold.*

"Zahm, spielend und zärtlich, das sind doch die Epitheta, die den Tauben immer beigegeben werden, und mit dem vierten, hold, schliesst unser Spruch" gleichfalls: Aus diesem meinem von P. als einem seiner Beweismittel herausgepflückten Satz ergibt sich, dass ich der Ansicht war, Goethe habe die Epitheta zuerst von den Tauben auf die Occasio übertragen gehabt. Und diese Ansicht hatte ihre Gründe.

Er hatte von der Gelegenheit gesagt, sie könnte—in Wirklichkeit ist *Καίρὸς* es nicht—als Tochter des weissagenden Proteus gelten, mit Thetis gezeugt, deren verwandelte List manchen Herosen betrogen. Er denkt dabei natürlich auch an denjenigen, der trotz dieser Listen schliesslich der Nereide Herr wurde, dem gleichfalls das Glück, sie zu besitzen, unter der Erde hold war: den Peleus, der ihr auf den Rat des Kentauren in der Höhle auflauerte,—weiter an dasselbe Ereignis, das zwischen Aeneas und Elisa in der Höhle vorfiel, wo die Gelegenheit ihre Macht in einzigartiger Stärke bewiesen hatte<sup>12</sup>—und dann (oben ist schon davon die Rede gewesen)

<sup>12</sup> An. 4, 160 ff. Gleich darauf 173 ff. wird eine andere Personifikation, die der Fama, und in ähnlicher Weise wie bei Goethe die Occasio geschildert:

Fama, malum quo non aliud velocius ullum,  
 Mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo . . .  
 Illam Terra parens, ira irritata Deorum,





Einst erschien sie auch mir, ein bräunliches Mädchen, die Haare  
 Fielen ihr dunkel und reich über die Stirne herab,  
 Kurze Locken ringelten sich um's zierliche Hälschen,  
 Ungeflochtenes Haar kraus'te vom Scheitel sich auf.

Und ich verkannte sie nicht, ergriff die Eilende,  
 'trug sie—Kräftigen Armes hinweg unter das schützende  
 Dach' würde man frei nach Virgil und in Kenntniss der  
 Lokalität, wo die Geschichte passiert war, ergänzen, wenn der  
 Schluss verloren gegangen wäre, den Goethe freilich nach  
 einem andern Verse gestaltet hat (vgl. oben):

Ergo alte vestiga oculis, et rite repertum  
 Carpe manu. Namque ipse volens facilisque sequetur.

Und ich verkannte sie nicht, ergriff die Eilende, lieblich  
 Gab sie Umarmung und Kuss bald mir gelehrig zurück.

Was machte es aus, dass es bei Virgil ein *fetus arboris*, bei Goethe einer der Thetis war, der eilends ergriffen wurde von dem raschen tätigen Manne: Goethe hatte selbst gesagt, die Gelegenheit erscheine immer in andrer Gestalt; dem Äneas war sie eben als goldner Zweig erschienen; die Stelle wo der Stelfuss den ihm erscheinenden Genius schildert (S. 39 meiner Arbeit): in Gestalt eines Jünglings "mit goldgelockten Haaren und zwei silberfarbenen Fittichen auf dem Rücken" war verbindend dazwischen getreten; und die Tauben, denen Goethe seine Epitheta für die Occasio entlehnte, waren die Vögel der Venus wie Christiane eins ihrer irdischen Kinder. Der ganze hier aufgedeckte Zusammenhang hatte schon im vierten Buch, Kap. 14 des neuen Wilhelm Meister seinen Niederschlag gefunden, wo von Ophelia (vgl. Dido) gesagt war: "Ihre Einbildungskraft ist angesteckt, ihre stille Beschiedenheit athmet eine liebevolle Begierde, und sollte die bequeme Göttin Gelegenheit das Bäumchen schütteln, so würde die Frucht sogleich herabfallen" (WA 22, 78). Ich hatte weiter gesagt, das Glück, von dem es im letzten Verse unseres Spruchs heisst, es sei dem Tola hold, womit also das vierte der in der Elegie der Gelegenheit gegebenen Epitheta Verwendung fand, sei die Schwester der Gelegenheit: Soll ich nachweisen, wie oft die beiden in der älteren, deutschen und ausländischen, Dichtung neben oder hinter einander besungen waren? Als dritte trat mitunter noch die Zeit hinzu, von der es zu Anfang des genannten Buchs vom Meister (22, 3) hiess:

“Lass nur, da wir der Zeit nicht nachlaufen können, wenn sie vorüber ist, so wollen wir sie wenigstens als eine schöne Göttin indem sie bei uns vorbeizieht, fröhlich und zierlich verehren.” Und um den Ring zu schliessen, Ende des ersten Kapitels (22, 12) sagt Wilhelm zu dem Alten: “geselle dich zu meinem Glücke, und wir wollen sehen, welcher Genius der stärkste ist, dein schwarzer oder mein weisser.” Das war nicht, wie ich früher glaubte, eine Reminiszenz aus Bürgers Wildem Jäger, sondern aus dem Gedicht, aus dem sie auch Bürger erst erhalten hatte, einem Gedicht wo der Genius mit denselben Farben wie derjenige des Stelzfusses geschildert war, wo die Gelegenheit ebenfalls eine wichtige Rolle gespielt hatte und mehr als ein Zug an Äneas und Dido erinnerte, wo die beiden Liebenden “zwo fromme Täubchen” genannt wurden, aus Wielands Mönch und Nonne:

Entfliehen ist Tod, und bleiben Hölle!  
 Sie kämpft, das gute Seelchen! ach,  
 Sie kämpft aus allen ihren Kräften,  
 Doch ihre Kräfte waren schwach;  
 Sixt zog mit dreymal stärkern Kräften  
 Ihr liebend Herz dem seinen nach.  
 Und hiess sie nicht ihr Engel wandern?  
 Ihr Engel!—Nun, der Himmel weiss  
 Ob's auch der Weisse war! Ein Geist  
 Vertauscht sich leicht mit einem andern;  
 Zumal der Schwarze (wie bekannt)  
 Gern unsern bösen Lüsten schmeichelt,  
 Und oft im schönsten Lichtgewand  
 Den guten heiligen Engel heuchelt.

Kein Zufall wenn in derselben Elegie, wo die Gelegenheit auch mit Anklängen an Wielands Schilderung des holden Genius gemalt wird:

Auf einmal stellt der Traum sich ihnen  
 Gleich einem jungen Eng'lein dar,  
 Schön wie die Liebe, hell und klar;  
 Von Amaranthen und Schasminen  
 Durchwebt ein Kranz sein goldnes Haar . . .  
 Ich bin der Schutzgeist frommer Liebe . . .

gleich zu Anfang derselbe Gegensatz erscheint:

Fromm sind wir Liebende, still verehren wir alle Dämonen,

Wünschen uns jeglichen Gott, jegliche Göttin geneigt. . . .

Habe sie schwarz und streng aus altem Basalt der Ägypter,

Oder ein Grieche sie weiss, reizend, aus Marmor geformt . . .

Man blicke nun zurück und beantworte die Frage, ob ich recht gehabt habe die Schlafenden, die Blöden, die Tauben, die Menschen die ihr Glück fahren lassen, den Tauben die statt zu fressen am Futter vorbeifliegen, gleichzusetzen? ob ich berechtigt bin, in der neunten Weissagung des Bakis nichts als eine antikisierende Paraphrase derjenigen bei Musäus zu erkennen? Wenn eine andere Weissagung als Quelle von Goethes Weissagung nachgewiesen wird, so hat das übrigens schon an sich etwas einleuchtendes, und kein einziger unter den früheren Interpreten hat das zu tun vermocht. Hingegen wird man, und mit Recht, einwerfen, dass nur erst die Teile nachgewiesen sind, noch nicht das geistige Band: wie nun Goethe dazu gekommen sei, den Gedanken dass ein Mann nicht verstehe das sich ihm bietende Glück beim Schopfe zu fassen, mit den Worten, die Tauben flogen der Saat vorüber, auszudrücken. Um das zu zeigen hatte ich in meiner Arbeit die zweite Schatzgräbergeschichte herangezogen, und auch hier hat P. meinen Gedankengang unzutreffend wiedergegeben: So kindisch wie er macht war die kleine Konstruktion nicht, obwohl ich bekennen muss, dass ich sie (vgl. S. 37 Z. 18 bis 38, 16) jetzt fallen lasse. Auf dem Wege, den ich nunmehr einschlage, wird man mir umso williger folgen, wenn ich vorhersage dass er an der Stelle endigt, wo das Bild steht, das Goethe bei der Wahl des seinigen vorgeschwebt hat.

Die zweite Schatzgräbergeschichte hat, wie schon gesagt, mit der andern als wichtigsten Zug denjenigen gemein, der in dem dritten Omen unseres Spruches versteckt liegt. Und auch in der Erzählung von Libussa kehrt er wieder: Primislas mag nicht zugreifen da sich ihm das Glück in Gestalt der böhmischen Krone bietet, er muss sich von den Abgesandten sagen lassen, einem Manne der zu *laufen, schwimmen* und bis an die Wolken zu fliegen die Fähigkeit habe, *einem tätigen Manne* (4, 69) könne das Los das ihm bisher beschieden, nicht länger genügen, und darum solle er versuchen das zu sein wozu ihn die Götter aufforderten (Virgil: *fata te vocant*) — Worte, die ja wohl auch in die Elegie übergegangen sind: „Gern ergibt sie sich nur *dem raschen, thätigen Manne*.“ Beide Erzählungen aber gemahnten in vielen Zügen wieder

an die von Äneas. Ihn hatte die kumaeische Sibylle auf den Weg geschickt: die böhmische Sibylle—so wird sie einmal genannt—jene Abgesandten des Volks; beiden zeigt, vor ihnen herfliegend, ein Vogel—so wenigstens bei Herder, bei Musäus ist es ein Schimmel—den Weg; beidemale bezeichnet ein Baum das Ziel; hier wie dort knüpft sich an ein magisches Reis die Zukunft der Helden und die Vorherkenntnis der Zukunft; und die Worte *et simili frondescit virga metallo* würden um ein Haar auch in die andere Geschichte passen, ebenso wie die letzten des Abschnitts *cunctantem vatis portat sub tecta Sibyllae*: Primislaws Stab begrünt sich, ein ganzer Wald sprosst darum auf (wie auch der Baum bei Virgil in einem solchen gestanden hatte), und das Objekt ihrer Mühen wird nach langem Zaudern von den Abgesandten im Triumph sub tecta Libussae geführt. Ich habe gesagt, die beiden Gegenstände, *arboris fetus* und der sich begrünende Stab, vermitteln die Kenntniss der Zukunft (die nach andern Stellen bei Musäus an diejenige von der Kräften der Natur gebunden ist): Sie sind also gewissermassen Schlüssel, und als ein Blitzlicht mag den ganzen Zusammenhang noch einmal die Faust-stelle 668 ff. beleuchten:

Ihr Instrumente freilich spottet mein,  
Mit Rad und Kämmen, Walz' und Bügel:  
Ich stand am Thor, ihr solltet Schlüssel sein;  
Zwar euer Bart ist kraus, doch hebt ihr nicht die Riegel.  
Geheimnissvoll am lichten Tag  
Lässt sich Natur des Schleiers nicht berauben,  
Und was sie deinem Geist nicht offenbaren mag,  
Das zwingst du ihr nicht ab mit Hebeln und mit Schrauben.

Denn diese Verse sind deutlich Nachahmung der Virgilischen:

Sed non ante datur telluris operta subire,  
Auricomos quam quis decerpserit arbore fetus . . .  
Carpe manu. Namque ipse volens facilisque sequetur,  
Si te fata vocant: aliter non viribus ullis  
Vincere, nec duro poteris convellere ferro.

und der nächste Abschnitt beginnt mit demselben bildlichen Ausdruck wie der nächste bei Virgil:

Doch warum heftet sich mein Blick auf jene Stelle?  
Aeneas maesto defixus lumina vultu . . .

Zum Teil noch näher als die Erzählung Libussa steht der

antiken die vom Schatzgräber. Dort ist es die Haselrute, hier die Springwurzel, die den Eingang zu einer frohen Zukunft öffnet. Äneas erhält die Mahnung von dem ihm erscheinenden Geist seines Vaters: der alte Martin von dem Berggeist; Äneas befragt die Sibylle nach den Mitteln wie er jener Mahnung nachkommen könne: bei Musäus gibt der alte Bas die entsprechende Auskunft; beidemal handelt es sich um eine mühselige Wanderung und einen Abstieg unter die Erde, beidemal gilt es, dazu ein magisches Reis in die Hände zu bekommen, und das ist schwer, auch bedarf es schnellen Zufassens wenn es sich bietet.

Ich setze das Vergleichen nicht fort, obwohl es geschehen könnte; weil das Wichtigste klar geworden ist: wie eng sich alle diese Geschichten in Goethes Anschauung miteinander verbunden haben mussten; wie leicht sich dabei die gemeinsamen oder verwandten Züge miteinander vereinigten; aber auch wie besondere Züge aus der kompakten Masse herausragten und den Blick auf sich zogen. In diesem psychologischen Vorgang ruht das ganze Geheimnis der Bakissprüche, und ich zweifle nicht: wer sich tiefer in die Materie hineinarbeitet, nicht wie P. auf der obersten Oberfläche bleibt, der wird bald finden, wie eng alle die Sprüche untereinander zusammenhängen, und wie fern die sogenannte "einzig wissenschaftlich mögliche" Methode, mit der M. ihnen glaubte beikommen zu können, vom Ziel bleiben musste.

Ein Zug in den genannten parallelen Geschichten war es nun, der ganz allein dastand. Zwar helfen allen drei Parteien, dem Äneas, den böhmischen Kriegern und dem Schatzgräber, Vögel zur Erreichung des ersehnten Gegenstandes: Aber in dem dritten Fall tut es der Vogel unfreiwillig, während er in den beiden andern von der Gottheit dazu bestimmt ist. Um die Springwurzel zu erlangen, hat der Schatzgräber erstens einen Specht ausfindig zu machen; zweitens das Astloch zu verspunden, das den Eingang zum Nest bildet. Beides gelingt mit leichter Mühe, schwieriger ist die dritte Aufgabe: den Vogel zu überlisten derart dass er der Täuschung verfällt, der rote Mantel unter seinem Baume sei Feuer, dass er die Wurzel vor Schreck fallen lässt und davonfliegt. Aber auch dies gelingt: Der Mantel des Scharfrichters, den Peter

sich geliehen hat, ist so feuerrot, dass ihn der Vogel für wirkliches Feuer hält, und Peter so flink, dass er die herabfallende Wurzel auffängt. Für eine solche Täuschung von Vögeln gab es in der antiken Literatur ein paar allbekannte Beispiele: die von den Malereien des Parrhasios und Zeuxis, im Plinius Kapitel 35 erzählt. Goethe aber kannte sie nicht nur von daher, sondern auch aus ihrer Erwähnung in Fischarts Gedicht von der Kunst.<sup>14</sup> Hier hiess es vss. 31 ff.:

Was ists das der fremd maler Doese  
 Malt etlich bōr so schön zum bossen,  
 Das sie die pfauen so zerbissen,  
 Biss gar der kalk ist abgerissen?  
 Oder das ein baum einer malt  
 In ein kirch, so artlich gestalt,  
 Das vil vōgel, gar grob betrogen,  
 Drauf zu sitzen, sind zugeflogen?  
 Und das einer so wol malt zigel  
 Auf tuch und gzelten, das manch gflügel  
 Zuflog und sich darauf wolt setzen,  
 Seinen schnabel daran zu wetzen?  
 Degleichen, das ab gmalter schlang  
 Vil vōgel vergassen ir gesang,  
 Und ein trostel also erschrak,  
 Das ir die pfeif ful gar in sack?

Genau wie der geht es doch dem Specht bei Musäus: Er nimmt das, was Wirklichkeit vorstellen sollte, für diese selbst, und lässt sich dadurch so erschrecken, dass er die Absicht, die ihn hergeführt, vergisst und ebenfalls, freilich in Wirklichkeit, etwas fallen lässt, während der Ausdruck bei Fischart nur bildlich zu nehmen ist. "Als der Specht mit dem Wurzel im Schnabel angeflogen kam, wischte Meister Peter hurtig hinter dem Baum hervor, und machte sein Manöver so gut und behend, dass dem Vogel über dem Anblick des feuerrothen Mantels vor Schrecken die Wurzel sammt einer Beilage entfiel, wodurch der gute Mann leicht hätte um sein Gesicht kommen können, wie der Altvater Tobias." Auch dieser Passus konnte auf Fischarts Gedicht führen. Denn

<sup>14</sup> Darin u. a. die Verse: "Wann es sein Künstlichkeit legt an  
 An die heilig historisch geschicht Nützlich exempel und gedicht, pae-  
 tisch fünd, gmal't poesie, Lerbild und gmal't philosophie"—die sehr an  
 die "Architektur als erstarrte Musik" erinnern, vgl. einerseits Euphorion 8, 336, anderseits Goethejahrbuch 27, 249 f.

wie Peter hinter dem Baum hervorspringt, nachdem er den Vogel mit seinem Mantel getäuscht hat, so Apelles in der bekannten von Plinius erzählten Anekdote hinter dem Vorhang, und auf Apelles wird in Fischarts Gedicht sowohl angespielt als auch sein Name ausdrücklich (v. 70) genannt. An den blinden Tobias aber erinnerten dort die nächsten Verse (77 f.):

Dann wer ist solch ein unmensch schlecht,  
 Der nicht mit lust auch sehen möcht  
     Apellis pferd, gemalt so rustig,  
     Das ein lebhafts im zuschrie lustig?  
 Oder des herzogs türkischen hund  
 Zu Mantua, der so schön stund  
     Gemalt vom maler Monsignor,  
     Das der hund, so im gram was vor,  
 So oft er für lief, in ful an  
 Und zerstiess oft den kopf daran!  
     Auch das alt weib. . . .

Denn vom blinden Tobias hiess es 11, 9: "Da lief der Hund vorhin, welchen sie mit genommen hatten, und wedelte mit seinem Schwanze, sprang und stellte sich fröhlich. Und sein blinder Vater stand eilend auf, und eilte, dass er sich stiess . . . Dergleichen that die Mutter . . ." An Tobias gemahnte auch die andere Schatzgräbergeschichte: man denke nur an Franzens Auszug nach Antwerpen, um dort Schulden einzukassieren—während die absonderliche Beschreibung des Goldschatzes (3, 141) "Vater Melchior . . . hatte zwar keine gemalte Menagerie in dem Garten zur Schau gestellt; aber er unterhielt gleichwohl eine sehr zahlreiche daselbst, von springenden Rossen, geflügelten Löwen, Adlern, Greifen, Einhörnern . . . die er aber . . . *unter die Erde* verbarg" wieder an Fischarts Verse erinnert, wo es sich ebenfalls nur um die Abbilder all der Tiere handelt. Wenn man sich dort nun etwas weiter umblickt, so begegnen einem die Verse (57 ff.):

Aber ein weiser mitleid hat  
 Mit anderer einfalt und schad,  
     Lert draus erkennen seine gab . . .

*Mitleid*—eine Form die nach Grimm 6, 2356 "zuerst ost-mitteldeutsch im 17. jahrh." vorkommen soll—wird hier kaum im ordinären Sinne zu verstehen sein, sondern mehr die

aus dem Schaden des andern gezogenen Lehren im Auge haben: Durch Schaden wird hier nicht der davon Betroffene selbst, sondern derjenige klug, der davon hört, d. h. nicht nur im körperlichen Sinne hört, sondern auch verstehend hört. *Es ist der Fall der beiden Schatzgräber*, wie oben schon mehr als einmal festgestellt worden ist, und man vergleiche mit Fischarts letzten Versen die Worte mit denen Musäus den Gedanken ausdrückt (3, 141): "Er erkannte aus allen angegebenen Merkzeichen . . . vermöge der Erfahrungsregel . . ." Unter den Beispielen aber, aus denen ein weiser Mann die ihm erspriesslichen Lehren ziehen kann, nennt Fischart noch das folgende:

Was soll ein weiser sich dran gnügen,  
Das Parrhasius kan betrügen  
Mit seinen schön gemalten trauben  
Die einfaltig gelustring tauben?

Man sieht also, meine Worte (S. 38) "die Ersetzung des Spechts durch die Tauben lag sehr nahe" bleiben, wenn auch die vorhergehenden Sätze zugunsten der neuen Nachweise fallen müssen: Bei Musäus wird der Specht betrogen, hier die Tauben, die an den Trauben vorübergeflogen wären, und daraus lerne! Aber die Hauptsache kommt noch: In den nächsten Versen spricht Fischart über Zeuxis, der ein Kind gemalt hatte, das Trauben in der Hand hielt, und der dann bekannte, die Tauben wären nicht herzugeflogen, um die Trauben zu picken, wenn er auch das Kind lebenswahr gemalt hätte:

Het er das kind, welchs den traub fürt,  
Recht gmalt, kein taub hets nit berürt,  
Und wer er nicht vil tauber gewesen,  
Als alle tauben die wir essen . . .

Da haben wir nun endlich die *beiden* Tauben, *columbae* und *surdī* beisammen, aus deren "Gleichsetzung" sich nach P. der Leser "sein" Urteil über meine Deutungen bilden kann: die Tauben, die an den Trauben vorübergeflogen wären, und die andern Tauben, die bei Fischart sehen und doch eigentlich blind sind, in Goethes Weissagung hören und doch taub sind. In der älteren Sprache bedeutete taub sein nicht nur den Defekt des Gehörs. Sollte zwischen dieser Stelle und



der in Goethes Spruch noch ein verbindendes Glied nötig sein, so lege ich die nächsten Verse vor:

Und wer er nicht vil tauber gewesen,  
Als alle tauben, die wir essen,  
Hett er zerstossen nicht die hand,  
Da er wolt ziehen von der wand  
Den umbhang, auf das er beseh,  
Was dahinden gemalet steh.

Der Maler benimmt sich genauso wie jene Tauben die das Bild für Wirklichkeit, wie der Specht der den roten Mantel für Feuer nehmen, und im weitem Sinne wie jene andern *qui occasionem praetervolant*: Er versteht nicht zu sehen, ergreift das gute nicht wie es sich bietet, sondern sucht es da wo er es erwartet, und fällt damit herein—man vergleiche dazu wieder den Gedanken des oben belegten Faust-paralipomenon und des Stelzfusses Worte auf Franzens Frage, ob er nicht befolgt habe, was ihm der Engel im Traume geraten: “Ei wie sollt ich vergebene Arbeit thun? Wenn mir mein Schutzengel erscheinen wollte, so hab ich der schlaflosen Nächte gar viele gehabt, wo er mich wachend hätte finden können”: “Schlummernde necket sie stets, Wachende fliegt sie vorbei” hatte Goethe von der Göttin gesagt. So bleibt nur noch das Wort “Saat” zu erläutern. Nach unsern bisherigen Deutung muss es sich auf denselben Gegenstand beziehen wie die Worte “das Glück unter der Erde.” Ich hatte in meiner Arbeit bemerkt, dass der letztere Ausdruck darauf schliessen lasse, dass das Glück zuerst über der Erde gesucht sei. Franz geht nach Antwerpen (3, 89) “in der Absicht, das Land zu durchziehen und eine Aehrenlese anzustellen, um zu versuchen, ob aus diesen verlornen Halmen aus der reichen Ernte der väterlichen Erbschaft “sich noch ein Mass Waizen sammeln liesse.” Aber er findet es nicht wo er es sucht, sondern in Gestalt des vom Vater in weiser Vorsorge vergrabenen Schatzes “unter der Erde.”

Bei Fischart standen, wie wir gesehen haben, Beispiele für beide Fälle von Taubheit: dass jemand ein Bild für Wirklichkeit und die Wirklichkeit nur für ein Bild nimmt. Diese beiden Fehler, und zwar von derselben Person begangen, erscheinen nun auch in dem Werke, wo Goethe zum ersten Mal

eine Weissagung gemacht hatte,<sup>15</sup> im Triumph der Empfindsamkeit, und es ist kein Zufall, dass unser neunter Spruch genau dem ersten in dem Drama entspricht; man vergleiche sie Vers für Vers und im ganzen:

Wenn wird ein greiflich Gespenst von schönen Händen entgeistert,  
 Und der leinene Sack seine Geweide verleiht,  
 Wird die geflickte Braut mit dem Verliebten vereinet:  
 Dann kommt Ruhe und Glück, Fragender, über dein Haus.

Mäuse laufen zusammen auf offenem Markte; der Wanderer  
 Kommt, auf hölzernem Fuss, vierfach und klappernd heran.  
 Fliegen die Tauben der Saat in gleichem Momente vorüber:  
 Dann ist, Tola, das Glück unter der Erde dir hold.

Ich füge gleich noch den vierten Bakisspruch zum Vergleich an:

Wenn sich der Hals des Schwanes verkürzt und, mit Menschengesichte,  
 Sich der prophetische Gast über den Spiegel bestrebt;  
 Lässt den silbernen Schleier die Schöne dem Nachen entfallen,  
 Ziehen dem schwimmenden gleich goldene Ströme sich nach.

Denn er ist nicht nur mit den beiden andern der geheimnisvollste, sondern auch neben ihnen der einzige, der denselben Aufbau zeigt: In einem Auftakt Konkurrenz dreier Omina dann das Resultat, die eigentliche Prophezeiung. Aber lassen wir den vierten Spruch wieder beiseite: Wodurch ist es gekommen, dass der neunte mit dem älteren so grosse Ähnlichkeit hat?

Nun einfach dadurch, dass die Weissagung bei Musäus, die ich als seine Quelle nachgewiesen habe, dem Reisenden *von einem soeben durch ihn entgeisterten Gespenst gegeben worden war*. Aber auch die Entgeisterung selbst war prophezeit worden. Denn der gespenstische Barbier im roten Mantel erzählt dem Reisenden (3, 124): "Fremdling, habe Dank für den Dienst, den du mir geleistet hast: durch dich bin ich der langen Gefangenschaft nun ledig . . . Wisse, dass hier ehemals ein frecher Uebermüthler wohnte, der sein Gespött mit Pfaffen und mit Laien trieb. . . . Ich . . .

<sup>15</sup> Angenommen, sie bestände ausserhalb ihres Zusammenhangs: Ich wage nicht auszudenken, was mir P. darüber gesagt haben würde, wenn ich sie in Goethes Art gedeutet hätte.

that, was ihm gefiel. So manchen frommen Pilger, der vorüberging, lockt' ich mit Freundlichkeit ins Schloss, bereitete das Bad für ihn, und wenn er meinte, seiner wohl zu pflegen, schor ich ihn glatt und kahl . . . Einst kam ein heiliger Mann aus fernen Landen . . . Er sprach hier an, begehrte Wasser, seine Füße zu waschen, und einen Bissen Brot. Flugs bracht' ich ihn in's Bad, um ihn nach meiner Weise zu bedienen, und respektirte nicht die heilige Glatze . . . Da sprach der fromme Pilger einen schweren Bannfluch über mich: Verruchter, wisse, dass nach dem Tode der Himmel und die Hölle . . . deiner armen Seele verschlossen ist. Sie soll als Plagegeist so lang in diesen Mauern tosen, bis ungefordert, ungeheissen, ein Wanderer das Vergeltungsrecht an dir verüben wird. Von Stund an wurd' ich siech, das Mark in den Gebeinen vertrocknete, und ich verging gleichwie ein Schatten . . . Vergebens harrt' ich der Erlösung aus diesen qualenvollen Fesseln, die mich noch an die Erde ketteten: denn du sollst wissen, dass, wenn die Seele von dem Körper scheidet, sie *nach dem Ort der Ruh verlangt* . . . In eigner Qual setzt ich das traurige Geschäfte fort, das ich bei Leibesleben trieb. Ach! bald verödete *dieses Haus!* Nur sparsam kam ein Pilger, hier zu übernachten. Ob ich gleich allen that, wie dir, so wollte doch keiner mich verstehen, und mir, wie du, den Dienst erweisen, der meinen Geist aus dieser Sklaverei befreite. Hinfort wird sich kein Poltergeist in diesem Schloss mehr regen, *ich gehe nun zur langgewünschten Ruhe ein*. Nun, junger Fremdling, nochmals meinen Dank, dass du mich nun erlöst hast." Unmittelbar auf diese Worte folgt die Weissagung, die die Grundlage des neunten Spruchs gebildet hat!

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NOTES ON *THE OWL AND THE NIGHTINGALE*

In the following notes W refers to J. E. Wells, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, Boston and London, 1907, a parallel print of the Cotton (C) and Jesus College (J) MSS., with introduction, notes, and glossary; G refers to Wilhelm Gadow, *Das mittlenglische Streitgedicht Eule und Nachtigal*, Berlin, 1909, a critical text with introduction, glossary, and brief notes; B refers to Dr. W. Breier, *Eule und Nachtigal, Eine Untersuchung der Überlieferung und der Sprache, der örtlichen und der zeitlichen Entstehung des me. Gedichts*, Halle a. S., 1910.

The text quoted in these notes is that of the Cotton MS. as printed by Wells, except when J is indicated. I have, however, omitted all punctuation and the capitalization of the MS., which is only partly reproduced by Wells.

Verses 13-14.—

be niſtingale bi-gon be ſpeche (J þo ſpeke)  
in one hurne of one breche (J beche)

Mätzner (*Altenglische Sprachproben, Wörterbuch*) hesitatingly interprets *breche* as 'Brache'. He is followed by G in text and glossary, who notes that OE *bræce*, 'Brache, Brachfeld', is cited by H. Middendorf. Stratmann suggests that J *beche* may be right, and refers it to ME *bache*, *bæche*, 'valley'. B (p. 73) notes: "Die Lesart von C würde vocalische Reimreinheit ergeben, vgl. N. E. Dict. unter *break*." But the only appropriate word in the Oxford Dictionary (NED) seems to be a variant of *brake*, 'bushes', which is not recorded before 1440. B says further, "Für die Interpretation ist J vorzuziehen, vgl. N. E. Dict. unter *bache*, es wäre dann [ɛ]: [æ] zu lesen." B's suggestion that the J scribe wrote *speke* (inf.) because he mistook *þo* as adverb appears reasonable, and the reading *speche: beche* is justifiable from the texts.

Not only is the rime bad if we read *beche*, 'valley', but this meaning does not fit here. Verse 1, "I was in a summer dale", has already given the general location, and to add, "The nightingale began the debate in a corner of a valley" would for this poet be strangely superfluous. The fact is,

we need a very definite location here, in accordance with the accurately descriptive habits of the poet.

The fewest difficulties with satisfactory sense seem to me to arise if we read *bēche*, 'beech tree': "The nightingale began the debate in a corner (an angle, crotch, or merely, one side) of a beech, and sat upon a fair branch, around which there were many blossoms in a thick waste hedge mingled with tall grass and green sedge." Apparently the branch she was actually sitting on was not in bloom, for in 1636 she hopped upon one of the *blossomed* branches which were round about her first position. Observe, too, that the other two birds sharing in the action are definitely located: the owl is in an 'old stock' (25), her proper ivy-mantled tower, and the wren is in a linden (1750).

The rime of *speche* (WS *æ*, Angl. *ē*) with *beche* (OE *ē*) finds in O&N at least three parallels, according to B (p. 73, Anm. 2); viz., 988, 1041, 1413, and possibly 225. In *forleten:wepen* 988 and *sed:bled* 1041 the vowels are of identical origin with those of our passage as explained.

29-31.—

þe niȝtingale hi iseȝ  
& hi bihold & ouer-seȝ  
& þuȝte wel wl (J ful) of þare hule

B remarks under the section on the adverb (§41), "*-e* ist elidiert in *wl* C, *ful* J 31 und *lihtlich* 1185." W and G properly explain *lihtlich* as adjective. W explains *ful* as adverb, and G as adjective, accusative case. G, however, refers *þuȝte* to *þinche*, which is inconsistent with *ful* as acc. adj. W refers it to *þenche*. B says (p. 138), "Ae. *þenc(e)an* und *þync(e)an* sind in beiden Hss. gesondert; nur in V. 31 hat sowohl C als auch J *þuȝte*, bezw. *þuhte* statt *þoȝte* bezw. *þohte*. Die gemeinsame Vorlage hatte hier bereits das Versehen." But the assumption of this single exception is unnecessary, for the idiom is good with *ful* as adjective, nom. case, and *þuȝte* in its proper sense: "It seemed to her foul regarding the owl,—she thought foul of the owl", in which, however, the word *thought*, though personal in construction, preserves the meaning (not now usually recognized as distinct) of OE *þyncan*: 'received an impression about', not 'reflected about'.

The passage beginning with verse 29 is an instance of the impersonal verb joined with a sentence containing a nominative and a personal verb. Van der Gaaf has shown<sup>1</sup> that the joining of a personal with an impersonal verb without personal dative or accusative expressed occurs in the case of the verb *pyncan* at a period before we are justified in calling *pyncan* personal. He cites an example from the Blickling Homilies. In 31, therefore, if the pronoun were expressed, the sentence would read,

Hire þyste wel wl of þare hule.

This having been referred to the usual impersonal construction, there is in this passage another element that requires attention. This sentence also illustrates what I believe to be an additional cause<sup>2</sup> to those named by Van der Gaaf for the change from the impersonal to the personal construction. Originally, in the impersonal construction the personal object of the verb is conceived of as being acted upon; but this personal object occupies in the thought as a whole the logical place of the personal subject in personal sentences. It may be said, for example, that in such an impersonal sentence as *Me þin modsefa licat* the main idea is represented as an impression coming from an external object or fact back toward the person concerned,—toward the speaker when the pronoun, as here, is in the first person. Our present method of representing the idea is as a judgment or mental act proceeding forward from the person to the fact or object: 'I like your character'. This latter is, of course, the normal situation for the great majority of English sentences. In those instances of OE impersonal sentences in which the grammatical subject of the verb was formally distinguishable as nominative, the feeling for the original "backward" mode of conceiving the idea doubtless remained much longer than in those instances (of strong masculine nouns, for example), where it was not thus distinguishable. There are several in-

<sup>1</sup> *The Transition from the Impersonal to the Personal Construction in Middle English*, Heidelberg, 1904, § 39.

<sup>2</sup> Or perhaps only an indication of the change in the manner of conceiving the idea, not yet wholly expressed formally.

dications even in OE that impersonal sentences had for the speaker the feeling of what may be called a "forward looking" construction. For instead of nouns or pronouns that might occupy the place of grammatical subject of the impersonal verb, there are found expressions, such as prepositional phrases, in a corresponding position with reference to the verb that show the conception of a mental act *proceeding toward* an external object,—such phrases as cannot be substituted for a *subject* of the impersonal, but could be substituted for an *object* of the verb changed to the corresponding personal meaning.<sup>3</sup> For example, compare *Langað þe awuht, Adam?* (Gen. 496) with *Ðæt us nu æfter swelcum longian mæge* (Oros. 84/27).<sup>4</sup> Note also the following:

Ða ongan hine eft langian *on his cyððe* (Bl. Hom. 113/15).

Such constructions are frequent in Middle English:

i praie, *on me* þe rewe (Bev. of Hamt. 3658).

þar-after me longes sore (S. S. Leg. 186/40).

after þe us þinket long (Ass. of Oure Ladye 130 C).

selcouthe o þam thought me (Curs. Mund. 4568 C).

Eue þouȝte *here* of ful fair (ibid. 1211 T).

O þis *bodword* thought him ful god (ibid. 8556 C).

The following are from *The Owl and the Nightingale*:

þe were i-cundur (J i-cundere) *to one frogge* (85).

Ov nas neuer i-cunde þar-to (114).

ne lust him nu *to none un-rede* (212).

vor me is lof *to Cristes huse* (609).

hom longeþ *honne* noþeles (881).

þat him eft þar-to noȝt ne longeþ (1486).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> I believe, as I hope in the near future to show, that this relation of ideas also underlies the use of the prepositional infinitive, and perhaps also the simple infinitive, which are commonly spoken of as "subject" of impersonal verbs.

<sup>4</sup> For several of these examples I am indebted to Van der Gaaf's collections. Cf. W. S. Gospel of John, 10:13, 12:6.

<sup>5</sup> I think it probable that 85 is to be explained as an impersonal "forward looking" construction: 'It were more natural to thee for a frog'; i. e., in our idiom, 'Thou wert better adapted to a frog'. An exact parallel to this would then be 114 quoted above, where *ov* is in dative construction with *icunde*, and *þar-to* follows as a complement to the sense of the whole clause. (W and G follow Mätzner (Wb) in calling *icunde* here a noun. It may just as well be an adjective. Under the adjective Mätzner quotes 'þu wolt þu hest him noht icunde').

147-148.—

for ho wel wiste & was i-war  
 þat ho song hire ablaemar (J a bysemar)

B (p. 93) follows W in making *bisemar* a dative after *a*, preposition, the only instance mentioned by B of a dative without *-e* in rime. G follows W's alternative suggestion making *bisemar* accusative. Cf. 1311 where the dative *-e* is written in spite of the length of the word and the fact that it is not needed for the meter. For *a*, acc. sg. of *ān* with masculines and neuters, cf. 45, 94.

180.—

mid faire worde & mid ysome (J some)

B (p. 97) and G interpret *ysome* as a noun, but give no reason for disagreeing with W's explanation of it as an adjective. The OE adjective is *gesōm*, while the noun is *sōm*. The meter shows that C *ysome* is better than J *some*, and the sense is excellent as an adjective modifying *worde*. The adjective occurs also at 1522 and 1735. It may be noted that we have here an idiomatic order of words for native English; e. g., in Ohthere's Voyage (Bright's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, p. 41. 6) we find, *Hi habbað swyðe lytle scypa and swyðe leohte*. 355-357.—

an eurich mureþe mai a-gon  
 ȝif me hit halt eure forþ in on  
 bute one þat is Godes riche

But possibly we are to take *þe* in 85 not as the second personal pronoun, but as the relative, as in CJ 1383, C 1386, and interpret, "Thou wouldst crush me with thy claws, which would be more suitable for a frog." W's explanation of *frogge* as nominative, taking *to* with *þe*, destroys the rhythm, and G's explanation of *þe* as dative and *i-cunder* as nominative plural is unintelligible to me.

Though *ful* in 31 is not necessarily an adverb, it may be, if with B we assume elision. Adjectives, adverbs, and nouns are found in a similar construction, with the difference that when a noun is used, it becomes the grammatical subject of the impersonal. Compare O&N 31 and other examples having adjectives with the following:

*Of al him þhyte hit ūle* (Alexius, Vern. MS. 246).

Cf. also such questions as O&N 46:

*Hu þinþe nu bi mine songe?*

In the last it is to be noted that either an adjective or an adverb fits the answer.



B (p. 116) records C *one*, J *on*, as nominative feminine. W and G both read CJ *one*. But is this nominative? Its form is suspiciously exceptional, and it can be dative after *bute* used as a preposition. NED shows no instance of the nominative in affirmative sentences of this kind before 1460. As to gender, it may be feminine, as in 14, 109, 319, or neuter like *hit* in 356.

523-531.—

- 523 ac wane niȝtes cumeþ longe  
 & bringeþ forstes starke an stronge  
 525 þanne crest hit is isene  
 war is þe snelle war is þe kene  
 527 at þan harde me mai auinde  
 wo geþ forþ wo liþ bi-hinde  
 529 me mai i-son at þare node  
 wan me shal harde wike bode  
 531 þanne ich am snel & pleie & singe

W glosses *harde* as sb., — 'severe season' and *at þare neode*, 'at that time of need'. On J *beode* (530) he notes, "J *beode* leads to derive *bode* from O. E. *bēodan*, 'to command, announce, threaten': . . . . But J normalizes *o* to *eo*, and the word may be from O. E. *bodian*, 'to foretell, bode'." But there are no parallels in O&N for such a rime as *nēode*: *bōde*. Neither W, G, nor B give any interpretation of 530, but W's note indicates that he would translate (*h*)*wan* as adverb 'when'. This is at first blush plausible on account of *þanne* 531. With this interpretation neither *beode* nor *bōde* gives very satisfactory sense. I believe *hwan* here is the dative of the interrogative *hwo* as in 1509,\* for it makes much better sense than 'when'.

In this view note the poet's usual coherent arrangement of ideas:

\* G cites 453, 716, 1621, 1633 as datives of *hwo*. Although OE *to hwoðm* does occur (Cf. Wülfing's *Syntax*), yet *to hwan* 716, 1621, 1623, may as well be instrumental, as B regards them, and *for hwan* 453 is almost certainly descended formally from OE *for hwoon*. G also cites C 890 *for wan* as dative of *hwo*: but this is clearly the conjunction *for* and the adverb *when*, as J *hwenn* and the conjunction *for* in 892, syntactically parallel with 890, prove.

- (1) "But *when* long nights come  
 And bring severe frosts,  
*Then* is it first apparent  
 Where is the quick, where is the active one:  
 (a) In the hard thing (or season) it can be seen  
*Who* goes ahead, who lags behind;  
 (b) In the time of need it can be seen  
*Whom* one may lay hard tasks upon;  
 (2) *Then* I am ready, and play and sing."

Here *panne* in 525 and in 531 are parallel, and are correlative with *wane* in 523. Then the two clauses containing *wo* and *wan* (527-530) are parallel amplifications of *panne . . . kene* (525-526).<sup>7</sup> This interpretation fully provides for the usual meaning of *b(e)ode* 530, which is unsatisfactory otherwise. Moreover, J's usual forms for 'when' are *hwenne*, *hwanne*, or *hwen*, even where C frequently has (*h*)*wan*. In J, *hwan* adv. occurs only once (809), for *hwan* 670 is probably the dative of *hwo* used as a relative: 'He must proceed altogether with strategem whose heart is divided against itself.' This relative clause characterizes *He mot gon*, etc. as a general statement, just as *pe man*, 'that man', does the next.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Panne* 531 may be correlative to 527 and 529 (as W seems to interpret), but that does not affect my interpretation of *hwan*, for 527 and 529 may still be in parallel construction (as against what is implied by W's and G's punctuation). For another passage in which similar care is given to parallel structure, there also enhanced by the meter, cf. 421-424 with 425-429.

<sup>8</sup> In C 670 W reads *pan* with note, "wen, no dot." G reads *wan*, noting only J *hwan*. B (p. 128) reads *pan* dative, remarking, "die Korrelation zu *he* sichert die Lesart von C", thus recognising its relative use (cf. p. 130). But the use of *hwo* as a relative is fully established by Anklam (*Das Englische Relativ im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1908, pp. 62 ff.) for the southern dialect earlier than MS C; so that the syntax here does not help in establishing the reading at 670. Moreover, C *wan* J *hwan* 453 is used as a relative, the antecedent being obviously omitted. This illustrates one of several developments in addition to the one mentioned by Wülfing (I. p. 425) which contributed to the change of interrogative *hwo* into the relative; e. g., "What did you come for" (interrogative)?—"This is what I came for" (relative). From such types as this (probably several) the relative use then spread to uses that cannot be directly inferred from the interrogative use. Compare colloquial "This is how I did it", in which *how* is essentially relative, not interrogative.

585-590.—

- 585 wane þu cūest to manne hæȝe  
 þar þornes boþ & ris i-draȝe  
 bi hegge & bi þicke wode  
 þar men goþ oft to hore node  
 þar-to þu draȝst þar-to þu wnest  
 590 an (J &) oþer clene stede þu schunest

B (p. 115) records *an* 590 as a single case of the accusative singular masculine with this spelling. It is far more likely that this is the conjunction *and* as in J and as the sense requires. G and B take *stede* as accusative singular. This makes good sense, but W may be right in making it accusative plural. Under strong masculine nouns B (p. 94) records as *besondere Fälle*, C *walle* (J = *walles*) 767, *wrenche* 813, *bridde* 123, and *utschute* 1468, and referring to W's note on 767,<sup>9</sup> says, "Allein *wrenche* 813 and *bridde* 123 bezeugen eine bewusste Verwendung des Plurals auf *-e* neben *-es*; *utschute* 1468 dagegen, das im ganzen Sing. *-e* hat, mag im Plural zu der grossen Gruppe getreten sein, die regelrecht *-e* aufweist."

813 reads, þe[ɟ] he kunne so uele wrenche. As W (note on 20) says, doubt exists as to whether *fele* is to be treated as indeclinable neuter with genitive or as adjective. The twelve instances in O&N are all ambiguous,<sup>10</sup> but at any rate the older construction could be used when a rime was needed, so that *wrenche* may be genitive plural.<sup>11</sup> *Bridde* 123 is probably dative (OE *geliefan* takes the dative of the person; cf. Wūlfing). To *stede* 590 may be applied B's remark on *utschute*, for both are masculine i-stems. C *walle* (J *walles*) is then the only evidence that masculine o-stems in O&N are irregular in the nominative and accusative plural.

763-764.—

- oft spet wel a lute liste  
 þar mucche strengþe sholde miste

<sup>9</sup> "C *walle* and CJ *bridde* 123 show confusion of dat. and acc."

<sup>10</sup> In 797, an þe on can swenges suþe fele, *swenges* was probably felt as object of *can*, and *fele* added as an appositive: 'knows thrusts, very many.' Or it may even be genitive plural; cf. B p. 94 f., 1, b), Nom., Acc., and p. 95, bottom.

<sup>11</sup> *Fele* with the genitive is illustrated in NED for 1300 (O. E. Misc.).

The various attempts to explain this are mostly unsatisfactory (see W's and G's notes). With some hesitation I offer another, which makes sense and is grammatically possible. *Liste* 763 may be genitive (W, G), or it may be nominative (B). This is one of the feminine nouns that had no final *e* in the OE nominative. There are in O&N traces of these nouns with no *-e* in the nominative; B cites *bled* 1042, *blis* 1280, *hen* 430 (and usually); to these add *neod* 466. Now the final *e* on *liste*: *miste* may be scribal, and *mist(e)* the past participial of *missen* (cf. *miste* for *mist* 3rd sing. J 825). Compare *hadde* (auxil.): *iladde* (pp.) 397-398, 1293-1294. Here it is possible to regard the *-e* on *iladde* as scribal, and *hadde* as one of the frequently used forms that early lost its *-e* in some instances, as it did often by Chaucer's time; or if *iladde* has a pronounced *-e* here, then we are equally justified in regarding *miste* as a participle in spite of its *-e*.<sup>12</sup>

If we may regard *miste* as pp. here, then we may have one of the not infrequent instances in which unstressed *have* is phonetically reduced, and here absorbed in the *-e* of *sholde*, so that *sholde miste* = *sholde have mist*. Observe that this seems to be the exact sense required, the preterite infinitive denoting unreality: 'would have been certain to fail.'<sup>13</sup>

775-776.—

hit berþ on rugge grete semes  
an draþ bi-uore grete temes

For C *bi-uore* J reads *bi sweore*. Mätzner's note<sup>14</sup> recognizes *bi-uore* as a preposition, but he adds, "Auffallend aber ist

<sup>12</sup> G (p. 72) cites *iladde* as an inflected pp. along with *ofdradde* (J *at-dradde*) 1143, *bi-hedde* 1048, *imeinde* 823. But *ofdradde* and *bi-hedde* are used as adjectives in the plural, and *imeinde* as an attributive adjective with weak inflection,—usages that lasted till Chaucer: cf. Trol. I. 463, III. 233, V. 1760; and *The bentē mone*, III. 624. In *Anglia* XXXIII (1910) Wells says in an article on the accidence of O&N (under the preterite participle) "Final *-e* occurs in *acwalde* (perhaps for Pl.), *iladde* (prob. for rhyme), and *imeinde* (prob. for metre). All other traces of inflection are lost." It is true that *acwalde* 1370 is here used as a participle, but its use with *beoþ* is so closely analogous to that of an adjective that its plural inflection is not surprising.

<sup>13</sup> For J *solde* = *sholde* cf. CJ 975.

<sup>14</sup> *Sprachproben*, I. I. p. 42.

der Gebrauch von *temes*, da *teme*, ags. *geteðma*, *getȳma*, *jugum*, von dem Gespann, nicht von dem Fuhrwerke oder Pfluge gebraucht wird, wie es hier metonymisch, gleich *jugum* SILIUS 7, 683, zu stehen scheint." W explains the C reading as 'draws in front of' and that of J, 'draws by the neck.' G glosses *temes* as 'Gespann'. The J reading requires a sense of *temes* similar to that suggested by Mätzner. Such a meaning might do for twentieth century New England, but hardly for O&N. NED records the J reading (with that of C as variant, thus approving the later text,) under the meaning, 'a set of draught animals'. Under *team*, IV. 9, is given the meaning, 'part of the gear by which oxen or horses were harnessed to a plough, harrow, or wain. In modern dialect use, a chain to which oxen are yoked in lieu of a pole.' J *bī sweore* would seem to fit this sense better than the other. The earliest quotation is 1350.<sup>18</sup>

I believe a proper idea of the sort of mediæval team referred to will show that the C reading is the only right one. The team was composed of horses hitched, not abreast but tandem. The lead horse is proverbially and naturally looked upon as holding the most important place in the team. Hence the statement, "he draws before great teams", implies the special burden of his position,—the point needed here for contrast. A picture from the Louterell Psalter reproduced in Coulton's *Chaucer and his England*, which Jusserand attributes to the first half of the fourteenth century, clearly illustrates our passage. Here five horses are hitched one ahead of another to a four-wheeled traveling carriage. A rider with an extremely long whip sits on the hind horse, and a second with a short whip rides the horse back of the leader.

<sup>18</sup> Under the meaning, 'two or more beasts, or a single beast, along with the vehicle', NED gives quotations from 1641 and 1675, in which, however, this meaning is not necessary, as *team* may refer to the beasts alone, the presence of a vehicle being only inferred, as in "He has the grey team hauling wood."

A pair of long traces reach from the carriage to the leader, the other horses being hitched between them.<sup>16</sup>

809-834.—

- oft wan hundes foxes driueþ  
 810 þe kat ful wel him sulue liueþ  
 þe; he ne kunne wrench bute anne  
 þe fox so godne ne can nanne  
 þe; he kunne so uele wrenche  
 þat he wenþ eche hunde at-prenche  
 815 vor he can papes riȝte & woȝe  
 an he kan hongi bi þe boȝe  
 an so for-lost þe hund his fore  
 an turnþ aȝen eft to þan more  
 þe uox kan crope bi þe heie  
 820 an turne ut from his forme weie  
 an eft sone kume þar-to  
 þonne is þe hundes smel for-do  
 he not þurȝ þe imeinde smak  
 weþer he shal auorþ þe abak  
 825 ȝif þe uox mist of al þis dwole  
 at þan ende he cropþ to hole  
 ac napeles mid alle his wrenche  
 ne kan he hine so bi-þenche  
 þe; he bo ȝep an suþe snel  
 830 þat he ne lost his rede uel  
 þe cat ne kan wrench bute anne  
 noþer bi dune ne bi uenne  
 bute he kan climbe suþe wel  
 þar-mid he wereþ his greie uel  
 835 al so ich segge bi mi solue  
 betere is min on þan þine twelue

<sup>16</sup> With this arrangement Chaucer's "Bayard" stanza, Troil. I. 218 ff., completely coincides:

As proude Bayard ginneth for to skippe  
 Out of the wey, so priketh him his corn,  
 Til he a lash have of the longe whippe,  
 Than thenketh he, 'though I prauunce al biforn,  
 First in the trays, ful fat and newe shorn,  
 Yet am I but an horse, and horses lawe  
 I moot endure, and with my feres drawe.'

Note here the *longe whippe*, *al biforn* (cf. the Wife of Bath in A 377), *first in the trays*, *my feres* (plural). Moreover, it would be difficult for any but the lead horse "to skippe out of the wey". Observe, too, how apt is the application to Troilus, at the head of a train of "yonge knightes" as he "ladde hem up and doun."

W notes, "815-18 probably refer to *kat*, as the return to *uox* in 819 suggests. The fox could hardly be said to 'hang by the boughs,' unless the line mean 'linger by (near) the boughs (trees) [and so be better concealed].' "

Whatever *hongî bi pe boze* may exactly mean, it is easily explicable in general as one of the many well known tricks of the fox (as leaping to a fence, a reclining tree trunk or low limb, etc.) in order to confuse the scent. As to 'hanging around', there can be no question of that here, for that would not disturb the scent.

These verses, moreover, cannot refer to *kat*, for if they did, the cat would have not one 'wrench' but three; namely, following devious paths, hanging by the bough, and climbing a tree, which last is said in 831 ff. to be the cat's one trick. This would leave the fox but two tricks,—doubling on his track (819 is a part of the process), and taking to his hole; thus destroying the ratio which is the point of the illustration.

The "return to *uox*" in 819 is a return, not from the cat, but from the hound of the two preceding verses. Moreover, on the principle of coherence 815-818 must refer to the fox, as is clearly indicated by the close connection of *vor he* with what precedes. The whole passage is a well organized and coherent group: 807-808 state the proposition; 809-814 announce the basis of the contrast in the illustration; 815-826 amplify the fox's tricks, with their failure (827-30); 831-33 state the cat's one trick, with its successful issue (834); 835-36 make the application to the nightingale's one song.

905-906.—

wi nultu singe an oder peode  
par hit is muchele more neode

W notes, "of much more need", making *neode* dative in his glossary. G and B record it as nominative, rightly. This is the (mostly obsolete) use of *it* exactly like NE expletive *there*, German *es*: 'There is much more need [of it].' This use with *need* is very frequent in Chaucer, where it is sometimes misunderstood by editors, and is common in NE colloquial (especially illiterate) speech. I frequently hear the expression, "It's no need to do that", in which *to do* is complement to *need*, not subject of the sentence. This use of *it*

is also common in the expression, "It's no use", for which rhetoricians tell us we must use "It is of no use".

939.—B (p. 120) says, "Die Nominativform *h(e)o* ist in den acc. [singular] gedrunge[n], CJ: 939, 1530, C: 1438 (*he J*, Text verderbt); in O wohl immer *hi*." Another accusative singular *heo* (probably) is found in CJ 1232. But O may have had *heo*, as this is an OE form; cf. Sievers-Cook, § 334, Note 1.

1193.—

ich wat þef wif luste (J lust) hire make

W and G here explain *wif* as nominative and *make* as dative. It is possible to regard this as the OE construction, *wif* being accusative and *make* genitive. G's suggestion (my own previous conclusion also), however, that the connection requires *l(e)ost* instead of *lust*, is doubtless right, and might have been substantiated by citing the corresponding passage (1159) from the nightingale's speech, of which this passage is virtually a quotation. This would add one case to the three (J 677, 1318, 1657) mentioned by B (p. 14) in which *eo* is represented by *u*, unless this is a mere misreading by the scribe. Cf. also my note on 1229.

1227-1232.—

an grete duntas beoþ þe lasse  
 1228 þef me i-keþþ mid i-warnesse  
 an (J &) fleo schal to-ward mis-þenge  
 1230 þef þu i-sihst hu (J hw) fleo of strengre  
 for þu miȝt blenche wel & fleo  
 1232 ȝif þu i-sihst heo to þe teo

G (glossary) has made a plausible addition to the interpretation of this passage by taking *fleo* 1229 as a noun = 'arrow', OE *flā*,<sup>17</sup> and as the subject of *schal*. He makes *fleo* 1230 present optative (W makes it opt. pl.), and by im-

<sup>17</sup> On p. 55 G cites other cases of *eo* writing for OE *α*. Cf. also B p. 17, and p. 14, top. As each scribe was copying from a MS that in different parts had both *o* and *eo* for OE *eo*, it is not surprising that *fleo*, OE *flā*, should be changed to *fleo* in the neighborhood of two occurrences of *fleo*.

B does not mention *fleo*, infinitive or noun, nor does he record *schal* as plural, but his citation of *heo* 1232 as plural implies that *duntas* is subject of *schal*, as W takes it.



plication follows W's translation (with change to the singular), "if thou seest how [they] fly from the string." But such an ellipsis as "seest how fly from the string" appears to me as impossible in ME as it is in NE. I cannot believe that the poet of O&N would resort to such an unwonted ellipsis when he could just as easily have written *ȝef þu i-siht heo (hi, hy)*, etc., just as he actually did two verses below. I believe this is what he wrote in 1230. J evidently misunderstood *hu* of his copy and so wrote *hw*. If so, here either is another case of *eo* written *u* (cf. my note on 1193), or *u* here may stand for OE *y* in *hy* (cf. *hure* CJ 1599). If G is right, *heo* 1232 is accusative singular instead of plural.<sup>18</sup>

## 1245-1254.—

- 1245    *ich wot & i-seo swiþe brihte*  
           *an summe men kumed (J cumeþ) harm þar rihte*  
           *schal he þat þer-of no-þing not (J he þar he nowiht not)*  
           *hit wite me for ich hit wot*  
           *schal he his mis-hap wite me*
- 1250    *for ich am wisure þane he*  
           *hwanne ich iseo þat sum wrechede*  
           *is manne neh inoh ich grede*  
           *an bidde inoh þat hi heom schilde*  
           *for to-ward heom is [harm unmilde]*

W (glossary) makes *men* accusative plural. G does not cite it, but calls *summe* dative plural. B cites it as one of three cases (885, 910) in which *men* "ist in den dat. pl. einge-drungen." But the context, it seems to me, indicates that it is dative singular. The question is not here one of the owl's merely foreseeing harm come in general to men; but specifically, as she sits on a bough, she sees harm coming 'very clearly, right there', not on men but on 'a certain man'. The specific *he* in 1247-50 shows this. The poet then passes to the

<sup>18</sup> G reads *ȝ* at the beginning of 1229 without note. W reads C *an*. I take this as nominative of the indefinite article *an*, which the sense here appears to require. B records one other instance of nominative *an* (*an*) before a consonant (it is neuter, but gender would not affect the form in the nominative). J or some predecessor took it for *and* (cf. W's notes on 239, 1195, 1371, 1718).

general statement in 1251 ff., there using the dative plural *manne*.<sup>19</sup>

1321-1330.—

hwat canstu wrecche þing of storre (J storie)  
bute þat þu bi-haiteſt hi feorre (J ferre)  
alswo deþ mani dor & man  
þeo of swucche na-wiht ne con

1325 on aþe mai a (J on) boc bi-halde (J biholde)  
an leues wenden & eft folde  
ac he ne con þe bet þar-uore  
of clerkes lore top ne more  
þah þu iſeo þe ſteorre alſwa  
1330 nartu þe wiſure neauer þe mo

On CJ *bihaiteſt* W suggests *bihedeſt* as equivalent by interchange of *d* and *t* and of *ai* and *ē*. He also suggests that we may have here OE *behātan*, 'promise, vow, threaten.' G adopts W's suggestion of *behātan* ("versprechen, geloben, drohen"), deriving (without citing any parallels) from 'geloben' the sense 'verehhren' and remarking, "Es sei daran erinnert das man vom Hunde sagt: er betet den Mond an." B (p. 156), after showing that *bihaiteſt* for *bihedeſt* is phonetically unwarranted, and suggesting ON *heita*, *heitask*, also adopts W's suggestion of *behātan*.

It is perhaps true that no certain equivalent of *bihaiteſt* can be produced on strict grammatical grounds; in other words, on the assumption that the scribes of C and J knew what they were about at this point. I therefore resort here to the unscholarly expedient of an emendation. One of two things is sure: either both scribes understood the word and copied it carefully, in which case their enviable knowledge has not been handed down to us; or they copied it faithfully because they did not understand it. Now about as little change as possible is required if we alter *bihaiteſt* to *bihaldeſt*. W's footnote ("—it— later obscurely corrected") suggests that some corrector tried the same emendation. *Bihaldeſt* is ob-

<sup>19</sup> It is true that the usual form for the dative singular in O&N is *manne*. But *men* singular may have been intended in the earlier original, as metrically more suitable than *manne*. For the spelling in the singular cf. J 1164; genitive singular, J 1351, CJ 1154. *Monne* 475, which B cites as dative singular, may be plural. NED gives *men* as dat. sg. down to the 13th century.

viously the meaning required, as W and G both recognize, and as the context demands. Cf. 1321-22 with 1323-26, noting especially *dor & man* and *bihalde*; also 1329-30, noting *i-seo* and *alswa*. Whatever *bihaitest* stands for, it is applicable both to animals and man. This rules out such meanings as 'threaten', 'geloben, verehren'. The obvious point of the ape passage is that he may, like a man, see the writing of a book without any comprehension of its meaning. Just so (*alswa*) the owl may simply sit and behold the stars without understanding their prophetic significance.<sup>20</sup>

As the emendation assumes a scribal error in the original of C and J, to be noted are the similarity of the letters *i* and *l*; the frequent interchange of *d* and *t* in the poem; cf. C 616, 933, 1175, 1307, 1686, and CJ 1190, 1427. Another circumstance may be noted for whatever it is worth: several instances occur in which a 2 pers. sg. *-est* is written but the *e* is syn-copated, as is shown by the fact that in one of the MSS it is not written; cf. 505, 899, 907, 1399, 1434. Now *bihaldest* thus syncopated would be pronounced *bihaltst*, and might easily be written *bihalttest*, and then misunderstood, because an anomalous form.

1395-1406.—

- 1395 ne beoþ nowt ones alle sunne  
for-þan hi beoþ tweire kunne  
sum arist of þe flesches luste  
an sum of þe gastes custe  
þar flesch draheþ men to drunnesse (J drunkenness)  
1400 an to wronc-hede (J wlonk-hede) & to gol-nesse  
þe gost mis-deþ þurch niþe an onde  
& seopþe mid murhþe of monnes honde  
an æoneþ (J wunneþ) after more & more  
an lutel rehþ of milce & ore  
1405 an stiþ on hey þurh modinesse  
an ouer-hoheþ þanne lasse

It seems to have escaped notice hitherto that in these verses we have a list of the Seven Deadly Sins, a fact that aids in the interpretation of the passage. The sins are divided according to a medieval classification into fleshly and ghostly

<sup>20</sup> Note how suggestively the poet exemplifies the *dor* and the *man* in the comparison of the ape holding the book in imitation of a man.

sins. Those of the flesh are named first: *drunkennesse* 1399 stands for Gluttony, as in *Piers Plowman*, Passus V; omitting *wronchede* for the present, *golnesse* 1400 is for Lechery. Then of the ghostly sins *nipe an onde* 1401 stands for Wrath; *jeoneþ*<sup>21</sup> *after more & more* 1403 is clearly for Avarice, while its opposite, Bounty (*Eleemosyna*), is represented by *an lutel rehþ of milce & ore* 1404; and 1405-1406 express the climax of the ghostly sins, Pride, to be contrasted in 1415-1416 with the chief one of the fleshly sins.

Of the ghostly sins Envy remains. On 1402, *& seoppe mid murhþe of monnes honde*, W suggests *shonde* for *honde*, which B (p. 45) adopts,<sup>22</sup> but W's translation does not reveal the bearing of the passage.<sup>23</sup> This is that phase of Envy set forth in *The Romaunt of the Rose* according to which she takes pleasure in men's disgrace.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> In 1403 C reads *jeoneþ*. W, G, and B all emend to *jeorneþ*. Why? *jeoneþ* makes perfect sense, and is picturesquely vivid as a description of Avarice,—'is always yawning after more;' *jeorneþ* makes a flat literalism. *jeoneþ* is common in the southern dialect. G objects to the MS reading on the ground that *jeoneþ after* does not occur elsewhere. But I believe that has no weight in this instance; *after* was and still is used freely after all sorts of verbs having the sense of 'striving for'; moreover, this is a vividly figurative use, strikingly apt, and characteristic of this poet's style. Such phrases must begin somewhere, and poets cannot be confined to *belege*. Shakespeare's *Ridges hors'd with variable complexions* appears to be a unique instance; but that does not warrant us in emending to *hou's'd*, or something equally lifeless.

<sup>22</sup> As *monne* or *monnes shonde*. *Monne*, gen. pl., makes better sense in the context and requires no additional *s*; two *s*'s here would have put the scribe on his guard. It is perhaps noteworthy that this verse is the longest of its column in both MSS, and in C contains the only abbreviation of initial *and* in seven out of nine successive verses: *monne* and *shonde* were doubtless crowded together in some previous copy. G gives up the interpretation of this verse.

<sup>23</sup> His alternative suggestion with the reading *honde* is impossible, because it is the sins of the spirit, not those of the flesh, that are here referred to.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Rom. of the Rose*, 252 ff.:

No-thing may so moch hir plese  
As mischef and misaventure;  
Or whan she seeth discomfiture  
On any worthy man to falle,

Of the fleshly sins Sloth remains to be accounted for. Here two lines of interpretation are possible: the first one assumes that *C wronchede* ("very like *wrone*"—W), *J wlonkhede*, stand in the place of some word in the original meaning Sloth or one of its branches. If, as G interprets, *C wronchede* is the noun (not occurring elsewhere) to the adjective *wrong*, it may represent Sloth in the general sense that Satan finds employment for the idle.<sup>25</sup> If neither reading represents the original, some other word meaning Sloth may have stood in the text.<sup>26</sup>

Leaving conjectures aside, it is possible, in the second place, that the author, not intending to make a complete list of the Sins, omitted Sloth as less distinctly a sin of the flesh. If *J wlonkhede* is the original reading, the poet may have intended to refer among the sins of the flesh to *Luxuria* in its three manifestations, (1) *drunkenness* (as in *Piers Plowman* *Luxuria* vows to drink water only), (2) *wlonkhede*, meaning the pride of the flesh that leads to *golnesse* (the sense of *wlonk* in 489, its only occurrence), (3) *golnesse*. The point would then be that, whereas (*þar*) the flesh leads to one type of sin, the spirit leads to several. Hence the greater detail in treating the latter.

Perhaps the most interesting point of the passage is the poet's fresh treatment of a hackneyed topic, especially his summing up in 1391-1394 and 1413-1416.<sup>27</sup>

Than lyketh hir ful wel withalle.  
 She is ful glad in hir corage,  
 If she see any greet linage  
 Be brought to nought in shameful wyse.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Wycliffe's Sermon on Sloth (*Select English Works of John Wycliffe*, ed. T. Arnold, III. p. 142): "Ffor þo fende is a theff to wake on mon bothe day and nyȝt; and if he se hym nappe or idel, he temptis hym to monnis harme."

<sup>26</sup> In Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*, I, 677 ff., *wrawe* and *wrawnesse* are named as results or branches of *Accidia*. Was there such a word as *wrawshede*?

<sup>27</sup> Ne schal non mon wumman bi-grede  
 an flesches lustes hire up-breide  
 swuch he may tellen of golnesse (J heo mahte beo of)  
 þat sunegeþ wurse in modnesse (J: C = imodi-nesse)

1451-1454.—

for mi song lute hwile ilest (J ileste)  
 an luue ne deþ noht bute rest (J reste)  
 on swuch childre & sone a-geþ  
 an falþ a-dun þe hote brep

W records C *ilest* as 3 sg. and C *rest* as infinitive. G adopts J *ileste*: *reste* in his text, citing *reste* as infinitive, but avoiding comment on *ileste* 1451. So far as I have seen B does not note the difficulty. W and G, it will be observed, interpret in the same way, W preferring to regard *rest* as infinitive without *-e* in rime rather than to make *ileste* 3 sg. indicative, as G must.

Another interpretation requires less glaring license of the poet; namely, to read C as it stands with its two indicative forms and *bute* as a conjunction: 'For my song lasteth a short time, and love doth nought but alighteth on such children and quickly departeth, and down falleth the hot breath.' Our modern idiom does not precisely reproduce *doth nought but resteth*, as we use the form *does not but*, *does but*, + infinitive. There is evidence that both infinitive and indicative were so used in ME. As NED has no collections for the idiom *does not but*,<sup>28</sup> I cannot at present furnish early parallels; but they are found in Chaucer and his followers.

E. g.,

B 2121. Thou doost noht elles but *dependest* tyme.

A 2664. what dooth this queene of love

But *wepeth* so . . . ?H. F. III. 546. What did this Eolus but *he**Toks* out hys blake trumpe . . . ?<sup>29</sup>

The following earlier instances are analogous and their oc-

The last two verses W translates, 'Such a one may abuse for lasciviousness who (*he* . . . . *þat*) sins worse in passion (? pride),' thus missing, it seems to me, the chief point of contrast. G treats *swuch* as nominative, and B implies the same (p. 131, g) by correlating it with *þat*. I would translate, 'Such (a woman) he may blame for lasciviousness who himself is a worse sinner in pride,' taking *swuch* as object of *tellen* and as referring back to *wumman*, and *he* as antecedent of *þat*. For the form of *swuch* cf. 1731.

<sup>28</sup> Except one or two late instances of its use in the imperative.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Chaucer Soc. Pub.* 2d Series 44 (1909), pp. 146 f. See also NED *s. v. Do*, auxiliary. [*Bestiary* 484-486 is parallel.]

currence would make easy the use of *bute* in the way suggested:

O. E. Hom. (Morris), 165.8. *swo doþ þis mannisse flieð fram ivele to werse.*<sup>30</sup>

Ancr. R. (Morton), 128.24. *ase deð. .sum unseli ancre went into hole of ancre huse.*<sup>30</sup>

Laj. (NED s. v. *Do*, 25 d). *Aras þer þe to-nome, swa doþ a feole wise to-nome ariseð.*

In our passage note also the indicative *a-geþ*, which is in fact more closely parallel with *rest* than with *deþ*: 'does nothing but alight and immediately depart,' *a-geþ* in sense as much depending on *deþ* *nojt bute* as does *rest*. This makes unnecessary W's and G's special gloss on *rest(e)* ('rest for a moment'), since the latter part of the idea is expressed by *a-geþ*.

1687-1688.—

*ne schal ar hit beo fulliche eue  
a wreche feþer on ow bi-leaue*

In a note on verse 41 G says, "Die Verhandlung findet entsprechend der Natur beider Vögel, die ihre Stimme vorzüglich nachts erschallen lassen, während der Nacht statt und endet am Morgen, denn 'in þare morþeninge' kommt der Zaunkönig der N. zu Hülfe (1718). Freilich scheint 1687 dazu nicht zu passen."

Not only does 1687 appear to me to fit the time scheme perfectly, but also to exemplify the poet's usual exactness of poetic imagination. He uses as a basis for the dramatic action of the story those external actions of the birds that are natural to them apart from any imaginative interpretation. The approach of morning with the end of the debate is delicately indicated by 1635-36, and 1655 ff., where the other birds (of the day) gather about at the first sign of the dawn and begin to sing. The owl's remark (1687-88) is addressed to these day birds at the very beginning of the day, and so is precisely appropriate,—*eue* referring to the eve of the approaching day. Then the poet imagines the house-wren ("heo nere ibred a wolde") as attracted by the sound of the chorus

<sup>30</sup> Quoted by Anklam, p. 9.

of wood birds and (1717 i.) going to the scene of the contest when morning is more fully come. From this point there is no more debating, but the birds proceed to the judge. The dramatic action could hardly correspond more closely with natural facts.

1757-1758.—

an þurh his muþe & þurh his honde  
hit is þe betere in-to Scot-londe

G (§ 70) cites CJ *muþe* as having an unjustifiable *-e* in the accusative singular, mentioning also C 1401 in the same category. In his glossary, however, he cites *muþe* 1757 and *muþe* 1401 as dative. The latter is probably right. Wülfing (II. p. 512) cites several cases from Aelfric in which *þurh* takes the dative in the sense needed here. In 1757 B (p. 98) makes *honde* dative plural. The sense would seem to be better with the singular here.

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## THOMAS HEYWOOD'S DEBT TO PLAUTUS

Thomas Heywood's extant works give abundant evidence of his fondness for the classics. Not only does he frequently refer to them in such works as the *Apology for Actors* and the *Gunaikeion*, but he has left translations of Sallust and of a large number of the dialogues of Lucian. He took from the classics the subjects of several of his dramas, *The Rape of Lucrece*, *Love's Mistress*, and the five plays composing the series of *The Four Ages*. Moreover, three of his dramas, *The Silver Age*, *The Captives*, and *The English Traveler*, contain material borrowed from three plays of Plautus, the *Amphitryo*, the *Rudens*, and the *Mostellaria*, respectively. Though the fact of the borrowing has long been recognized, the amount of material taken seems to have been underestimated. This study aims to show the relation of the three plays of Heywood to those of Plautus.

The analyses which follow present a comparison of the plays of Plautus with the parts of Heywood's plays derived from them. The construction of the plays of Heywood is such that it is easy to select from them the portions to be discussed: in *The Silver Age*, the story of the *Amphitryo*, occupying most of Act II, and part of Act III, is presented without interruption, and *The Captives* and *The English Traveler* are each made up of two slightly connected plots, of which only one is taken from Plautus. Heywood's presentation in one play of two actions having little dramatic connection suggests at the outset that his conception of the drama is unlike that of Plautus, whose plays contain but one unified action. The analyses show how far Heywood handles in the manner of Plautus the matter drawn from him.

The *dramatis personæ* of the *Amphitryo* are as follows: Jupiter, disguised as Amphitryo; Mercury (called Ganimed by Heywood), disguised as Sosia; Amphitryo, a Theban general; Sosia, a slave of Amphitryo; Blepharo, a sea-captain; Alcmena, wife of Amphitryo, loved by Jupiter; Bromia, a slave; Thessala, a slave. Heywood takes over directly into *The Silver Age* all these characters except Bromia, and adds

two Captains, Juno, Ceres, and a midwife named Galantis. For the prologue of Plautus, spoken by Mercury, Heywood substitutes speeches by Homer as chorus, dumb shows, a soliloquy by Jupiter, and dialogues between Jupiter and Ganimed (p. 97).<sup>1</sup> The following summary of the *Amphitryo* is substantially that of *The Silver Age*; striking differences are given in parenthesis.

I. i. Soliloquy by Sosia on the proper manner of announcing Amphitryo's victory and return. Mercury, watching him, indulges in asides, and finally confronts him. (Ganimed announces the approach of the false Amphitryo, Jupiter banquets with Alcmene, and finally there comes a comic scene between Ganimed and Sosia—pp. 99 ff.).

I. ii. Mercury explains how the reputation of Alcmene is to be saved: she is ignorantly to receive Jupiter in the likeness of her husband.

I. iii. Jupiter, after presenting the cup given Amphitryo as a token of victory, takes leave of Alcmene, with whom he has spent the night.

I. iv. Jupiter, alone, plans to give a short day to atone for the long night just past. (The scene is lacking in *The Silver Age*).

II. i. Sosia relates to Amphitryo his adventures with Mercury, the false Sosia.

II. ii. Soliloquy by Alcmene on the hard lot of a woman whose husband is a soldier. She and Amphitryo quarrel over the return of the latter so soon after he is supposed by Alcmene to have taken leave. Alcmene produces in evidence the cup given her by Jupiter. (Heywood omits the soliloquy).

III. i. Jupiter, alone, explains that he will again become Amphitryo to aid Alcmene. (Scene omitted by Heywood).

III. ii. Alcmene and the supposed Amphitryo are reconciled.

III. iii. Jupiter sends the real Sosia to summon Blepharo. (Omitted by Heywood.)

IV. i. Mercury plans to flout Amphitryo.

<sup>1</sup> For Heywood's works, except *The Captives*, references are to pages in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood*, London, 1874. *The Silver Age*, vol. 3; *The English Traveler*, vol. 4.

IV. ii. Amphitryo says that he will investigate who has been with Alcmena. (Amphitryo beats his servants for traducing their lady—p. 116.)

IV. iii. Mercury mocks Amphitryo.

IV. iv. Blepharo, Sosia, and Amphitryo, are involved in confusion.

IV. v. The appearance of Jupiter in the likeness of Amphitryo adds to the confusion. (Alcmena and Ganimed enter with Jupiter; all depart save Amphitryo and Sosia, who fall asleep—pp. 119-120.)

IV. vi. Blepharo makes a vain attempt to decide which is the the real Amphitryo. (Heywood substitutes a descent of Juno and Iris from heaven; Juno threatens vengeance for the escapade of Jupiter—p. 121.)

V. i. The birth of Hercules and Iphikles, and the strangling of the serpents by Hercules is announced to Amphitryo. (See V. ii.)

V. ii. Jupiter, in his own likeness, explains to Amphitryo the state of affairs. (Juno appears on the stage in the likeness of an old woman who hinders the birth of the children by magic. She is outwitted by Galantis, who announces the birth of the children. Iris departs to Africa for poisonous serpents. Hercules strangles the serpents—pp. 123 ff.)

Heywood's departures from the structure of the *Amphitryo* are chiefly in the direction of the chronicle play. For example (p. 100), he shows Jupiter in the house of Amphitryo in the regular order of time, instead of following the plan of Plautus, who first presents Jupiter upon the stage when he takes leave of Alcmena, and causes his doings in the house to be narrated by other characters. Heywood also presents upon the stage the events relating to the birth of the children, and the strangling of the serpents by Hercules (p. 122), which in the *Amphitryo* are related by a servant. Moreover, his use of the dumb show tends to give his plot the effect of a narrative by leading him to present in sequence of time events which Plautus brings out in the course of the action. The dumb shows and the presentation of striking scenes upon the stage make *The Silver Age* more spectacular than the *Amphitryo*. Certain of Heywood's modifications are due to the

insertion of the story of the birth of Hercules into a larger whole which, unlike the *Amphitryo*, contains not only the story of Jupiter and Alcmene, but also those of Bellerophon, the Nemean lion, the Erymanthian boar, the rape of Proserpina, the journey of Hercules to Hades, and the love of Jupiter for Semele; the dumb show and the speech by Homer as chorus, which Heywood substitutes for part of the prologue of the *Amphitryo*, belong to the machinery of *The Silver Age* as a whole.

In *The English Traveler* Heywood substitutes English names for the names of the important characters of the *Mostellaria*. The *dramatis personæ* of Plautus, with Heywood's names for equivalent characters in parenthesis, are as follows: Theuropides (Old Lionell), a merchant who returns suddenly from abroad; Simo (Master Ricott), his neighbor; Philolaches (Lionell), the dissipated son of Theuropides; Callidamates (Rioter), his boon companion; Tranio (Reignald), deceitful servant of Philolaches; Grumio (Robin), country servant of Theuropides; Phaniscus (a Clowne, servant of a character in Heywood's other plot is a partial substitute), servant of Callidamates; Servant; a Banker (Usurer) who has lent money to Philolaches; Boy; Philematium (Blanda), mistress of Philolaches; Scapha (Heywood keeps this name), attendant of Philematium; Delphium (Heywood omits her, but substitutes two Prostitutes), mistress of Callidamates. Heywood adds a few minor characters, such as Gallants, and the owner of the house supposed to be haunted. After having changed the names of his characters, Heywood proceeds to follow the plot of the *Mostellaria* even more closely than that of the *Amphitryo*. The story is that of the man who goes abroad leaving his son in charge of affairs. The son spends his money in riotous living so rapidly that he soon is obliged to borrow. When the father unexpectedly returns he is kept out of his house, full of revellers, by the clever servant, who assures him that it is haunted and has been abandoned. As the father is talking with the servant, a usurer appears for the money he has loaned the son to support his revelry. The servant explains the debt by saying that it was made to obtain money to purchase a house, bought at a great bargain. The father

is at first taken in, but the truth is soon revealed. Nevertheless he forgives his son, and the play ends happily.

Heywood has somewhat shortened the *Mostellaria*, and has made such changes as are required by a scene laid in England. For example, Reignald climbs up the front of the house (p. 81) instead of taking refuge at the altar, like Tranio. The excellent passage in *The English Traveler* (p. 28) which describes the revellers in the house of Lionell as imagining themselves in a storm at sea is part of the other plot of the play. It does, however, make more vivid the reader's idea of the gay times Young Lionell is having, and the scene is referred to by the revellers themselves (p. 33). In another interesting passage (p. 25) the Clowne of the other plot describes the feasting at Lionell's house as 'a massacre of meat'. Neither of these descriptions is suggested by the *Mostellaria*, though the latter of them brings to mind such lists of dishes as those in the *Miles Gloriosus* (III. ii) and the *Casina* (II. viii). The Clowne again appears (p. 73) to invite Lionell to a feast at the house of characters of the other plot, and becomes a partial substitute for Phaniscus (*Mostel.* IV. iii). Old Lionell holds a brief conversation with characters of the other plot (p. 87); but the plot taken from Plautus is little modified by its combination with the other story. Heywood shows his liking for a chronological sequence and his fondness for appealing to the eyes of his audience, by presenting upon the stage the escape from the house of Young Lionell and his friends (p. 71). In the *Mostellaria* the facts are narrated to the audience by the servant who aided in the escape.

The *dramatis personæ* of the *Rudens*, with the equivalent characters in Heywood's *Captives*, are as follows: Arcturus, the speaker of the prologue (*The Captives* has no such prologue); Daemones (Ashburne), father of Palaestra, who lives by the seashore; Plesidippus (Raphael), in love with Palaestra; Sceparnio (Godfrey), servant of Daemones; Gripus, a fisherman, servant of Daemones (Heywood usually calls the equivalent character Fisherman, but, by a slip apparently, sometimes Gripus); Turbalio and Sparax (Country Fellows), servants; Trachalio (Clowne), servant of Plesidippus; Labrax (Mildewe), a procurer, owner of Palaestra; Charmides (Scar-

laboyse), friend of Labrax; Fishermen; Ptolemaetrata (an Abbot), priestess of Venus; Palaestra (called by the same name by Heywood), lost daughter of Daemones, slave of Labrax; Ampelisca (Scribonia, daughter of Thomas Ashburne) companion of Palaestra. Heywood adds Treadway, a friend of Raphael, Ashburne's wife, Thomas Ashburne, brother of Ashburne and father of Scribonia, and a Factor. As is suggested by his adoption of the *dramatis personæ*, Heywood makes no essential alteration in the plot of the *Rudens*: his Scribonia, though of higher rank than the Ampelisca of Plautus, plays the part of Ampelisca until the end of the play, when she is discovered to be the cousin of Palaestra, and promised in marriage not, as in Plautus, to a servant, but to Treadway, Raphael's friend, whom Heywood has brought into play for the purpose; the monastery of *The Captives* is, except in name, the temple of Venus of the *Rudens*. Heywood follows Plautus scene by scene, adopting even minor incidents. The story is that of a daughter lost in infancy who falls into the power of a procurer. A young man falls in love with her. She is shipwrecked with her owner. After the wreck she is found by her father, recognized by her possession of trinkets that she is remembered to have worn in infancy, rescued from the procurer, and given in marriage to her lover. Heywood probably thought to add interest to the end of the play by introducing Thomas Ashburne, father of Scribonia and restorer of the broken fortunes of Ashburne. Otherwise, his alterations tend toward a narrative model, and make the play more spectacular. For example, he presents the wife of Ashburne on the stage, instead of having her husband tell of her unpleasant disposition. Elsewhere, however, as in the *Casina* and the *Asinaria*, Plautus presents the bitter-tongued wife upon the stage and makes much of her as a comic character. The matter of the prologue of the *Rudens* is presented in *The Captives* in the form of dialogue. Heywood connects the second plot of *The Captives* with the one discussed, by using the monastery in which its scene is laid as a substitute for the temple of Venus of the *Rudens*, but this connection does not affect the action. After the close of the action taken

from the *Rudens*, Ashburne and his friends witness an execution which is part of the other plot.

Certain passages not affecting the plot, which Heywood has added to the *Rudens*, are the most striking examples to be found of his modification of the moral tone of his originals. Such alteration is perhaps necessary to fit a play of pagan Rome to the stage of Christian England, yet one reason for it surely is to be found in the character of Thomas Heywood, as it may be estimated from his *Fair Maid of the West*. Much of the action of this play turns on the virtue of the heroine, Bess Bridges, who is perhaps Heywood's best and most sympathetically drawn character. When a man with such an ideal of womanhood sets out to adapt Plautus, he will not reproduce the Roman attitude as to woman. In the *Rudens*, Palaestra is the conventional slave girl who has caught the fancy of a youth who desires to purchase her of her master. Heywood uses the same facts, but puts in the mouth of Raphael a eulogy of the virtue of his mistress, breathing the sentiments later expressed in the *Comus* of Milton. Raphael says:

There she lyves  
Lyke to a ritche and pretious Jewell lost,  
Found shyninge on a doonge-hill, yet the gemme  
No wyse disparadged of his former worthe  
Nor bated of his glory; out of this fyre  
Of lust and black temptation she is returned  
Like gold repur'd and tryde (p. 106).

And again:

Sure sutche sweete features, goodnes, modesty  
Such gentleness, such vertue cannot bee  
Deryvd from base and obscure parentadge (p. 107).

When Treadway presents the difficulty with which a maiden in the power of a procurer would remain virtuous, Raphael replies:

Oh, you have pleasd mee,  
And in proposinge all these difficultyes  
Given of her graces ample testimony.  
She is that miracle, that only one  
That can doo these; wear't comon in the sexe  
Twold not appear to me so admirable;  
It is for these I love her (p. 109).

The following selections aim to show how Heywood treats the details of scenes that he borrows from Plautus. The first part of the scene in which the tricky slave of the *Mostellaria* and *The English Traveler* attempts to outwit both his old master and the money-lender, illustrates Heywood's treatment of comic dialogue. He retains the sequence of thought, and translates or paraphrases many expressions, but compresses the scene, principally by the omission of the repetitions by which Plautus gives the actors a chance to introduce comic business.

*Mostellaria* (547-608)

*Tranio*. Whence do you come?

*Theuropides*. I have met the man of whom I bought that house.

*Tr*. Did you speak of ought concerning that which I told you?

*Th*. Marry, I surely told him all.

*Tr*. Oh, woe is me! I fear that my schemes have perished forever.

*Th*. What are you saying to yourself?

*Tr*. Nothing at all. But tell me, I pray, did you tell him?

*Th*. I told him all, I said.

*Tr*. I suppose he confesses about the guest?

*Th*. No such thing; he stiffly denies it.

*Tr*. Does the wretch deny it?

*Th*. He denies it, I said.

*Tr*. Think, does he not confess?

*Th*. I should tell you if he confessed. What now do you think must be done?

*Tr*. What do I think? Marry, choose, I beseech you, an arbitrator with him. But look out that you take one who will believe me. You will win as easily as a fox eats a pear.

*Banker*. See, there is *Tranio*, the servant of *Philolaches*, who tends me neither use nor principal of my money.

*The English Traveler* (p. 49)

*Reignald*. Oh Sir, well met.

*Old Lionell*. What Reignald; I but now met with the man, Of whom I bought yon house.

*Reig*. What, did you Sir?

But did you speak of ought concerning that

Which I last told you.

*Old Lio*. Yes, I told him all.

*Reig*. Then am I cast: But I pray tell me Sir,

Did he confess the murder?

*Old Lio*. No such thing;

Most stiffly he denies it.

*Reig*. Impudent wretch;

Then serve him with a warrant, let the Officer

Bring him before a Iustice, you shall heare

What I can say against him; Sfoot deni't:

But I pray Sir excuse me, yonder's one

With whom I have some businesse; Stay you here,



*Th.* Where are you going?

*Tr.* I am going nowhere. Surely I am miserable, accursed, born with all the gods my enemies. Now he will come up to me with my master here. Surely I am a miserable man, in such fashion do they find me business here and there. But I will accost him first.

*Ban.* He comes toward me, I am safe, there is hope of my money.

*Tr.* He is smiling. The man is deceived. Well met, Misargyrides.

*Ban.* Good day to you. How are you off for cash?

*Tr.* Be off, will you, rascal. You are constantly assaulting me.

*Ban.* This is an empty fellow.

*Tr.* This man is surely a fortune-teller.

*Ban.* Why do you not let be this trifling?

*Tr.* Well, what you will, out with it.

*Ban.* Where is Philolaches?

*Tr.* Never have you been able to come in better time.

*Ban.* What is it?

*Tr.* Step hither.

*Ban.* Why is not my use paid me?

*Tr.* I know you have a good voice; not so loud.

*Ban.* 'Sfoot, I will be loud.

*Tr.* Oh, indulge me.

*Ban.* In what shall I indulge you?

*Tr.* Come, get you home.

*Ban.* Get me gone!

*Tr.* Return here about noon.

*Ban.* If I do will the use be paid?

*Tr.* It will be paid. Now, be off.

*Ban.* Why should I run back here, or take pains, or waste my labor? What if rather I will remain here until mid-day?

*Tr.* No, get you home. Marry, I am telling the truth; be off now.

And but determine what's best course to take,

And note how I will follow't.

*Old Lio.* Be brief then.

*Reig.* Now, if I can as well put off my Use-man,  
This day, I shall be master of the field.

*Usurer.* That should be Lionells man.

*Man.* The same, I know him.

*Usu.* After so many frivolous de-laies,

There's now some hope. He that was wont to shun us,

And to absent himself, accoasts us freely;

And with a pleasant countenance:  
Well met Reignald,

What's this money ready?

*Reig.* Never could you

Have come in better time.

*Usu.* Where's your master,  
Yong Lionell, it something troubles me,

That hee should break his day.

*Reig.* A word in private.

*Usu.* Tush, private me no privates,  
in a word,

Speake, are my moneys ready?

*Reig.* Not so loud.

*Usu.* I will be louder yet: Give me my moneys,

Come, tender me my moneys.

*Reig.* We know you have a throat,  
wide as your conscience;

You need not use it now—Come, get you home.

*Usu.* Home?

*Reig.* Yes, home I say, returne by three a Clocke,

And I will see all cancell'd.

*Usu.* 'Tis now past two, and I can stay till three,

Ile make that now my business, otherwayes,

*Ban.* But I wish my use to be given me.

*Tr.* Why, be off now, I said.

*Ban.* But give me my use. Why do you refuse this?

*Tr.* Well marry, do you—be off now, listen to me.

*Ban.* 'Sfoot, now I will call out his name.

*Tr.* Now then, loudly. You are surely happy now, when you are clamoring.

*Ban.* I seek my own. You have put me off day after day in this fashion. If I am troublesome, pay me down my cash; I will be off. With this word you will save yourself every answer.

*Tr.* Take the principal.

*Ban.* No, the use, I wish that first.

*Tr.* What are you saying, basest of all men? Have you come hither to see to what lengths you can go? You may do what lies in your power. He will not pay it; he does not owe it.

*Ban.* He does not owe it?

*Tr.* You cannot take away a grain from here. Do you not fear that he may go away, leaving the city because of your use, when you have a chance to accept the principal?

*Ban.* But I do not ask for the principal. The other first, the use must be tendered me.

*Tr.* Do not be troublesome: no one will pay it. Do what you like. You are the only one, I suppose, who puts out money to usury.

*Ban.* Out with the use. Pay me down the use. Are you going to give me my use at once? Will my use be paid me?

*Tr.* Use here, use there. The liar knows nothing but use. Away with you! I believe I have never seen a baser rascal than you.

*Ban.* Tush, you do not frighten me now with these words.

With these loud clamors, I will haunt thee still;

Give me my Use, give me my Principall.

*Reig.* This burr will still cleave to me; what, no meanes

To shake him off; I neere was caught till now;

Come, come, y'are troublesome.

*Usu.* Prevent that trouble, And without trifling, pay me down my cash;

I will be fool'd no longer.

*Reig.* So so so.

*Usu.* I have been still put off, from time to time, And day to day; these are but cheating tricks,

And this is the last minute Ile forbear

Thee, or thy Master: Once againe, I say,

Give me my Use, give me my principal.

*Reig.* Pox a this use, that hath undone so many;

And now will confound mee.

The following is the soliloquy that Plautus and Heywood put into the mouth of Palaestra when she is lost on the sea-shore after her escape from the wreck of her ship. It shows the changes Heywood felt impelled to make in a speech containing speculations on life, and references to religion. The portion quoted from Scribonia's speech seems to have been suggested by words assigned by Plautus to Palaestra.

*Rudens* (I. iii)

*Palaestra.* The fortune of men is reported as much less miserable than comes to pass; in experience bitterness is given them. Is it then pleasing to God that clothed in this garb, and afraid, I should be shipwrecked in an unknown spot? Shall I call myself wretched, born to this lot? Do I receive this portion because of my more than common piety? For it is distress enough for me to be made to undergo this hardship if I have been a sinner against parent or gods; but if I have striven carefully to avoid this, then, O ye gods, ye give me this unfitly, wrongfully, beyond measure, for what peculiar mark will the wicked have henceforth, if of this fashion is the reward of the innocent? For if I knew that either I or my parents had sinned, I would pity myself less; but the wickedness of my master torments me, and his impiety afflicts me. He lost his ship and his all in the waves: these are left of his goods; even she who went along with me in the boat was lost. I am now alone. If at least she might be with me unhurt, my sufferings here would be, because of her, a lighter affliction. Now how may I find hope or help or something of counsel? Thus I am put alone into a

*The Captives* (p. 127)<sup>1</sup>

*Palaestra.* Is this then the reward of Innocence,  
Of goodness to our selves, namely chast lyfe,  
Pietye to our parents, love to all,  
And above all our Christian zeale towards heaven?  
But why should we poor wretches thus contest  
Against the powers above us, when even they  
That are the best amongst us are servd badd?  
Alas, I never yet wrongd man or child,  
Woman or babe; never supplanted frend  
Or sought revendge upon an enemy. You see how we suffer; how shall they then  
That false their faythes, that are of uncleane lyfe  
And then not only sinne unto them selves  
But tempt and persuade others? what shall I thinke  
Becoms of my base guardian? though the waves  
Have spared the guiltles, sure his putrid s[oule]  
Cannot escape heavens justyce! we poor wretches  
Are punishe[d] for his grosse impieties,

<sup>1</sup> References are to *The Captives* as found in *A Collection of Old English Plays*, A. H. Bullen, London, 1885, vol. iv.

lonely place here. Here there are rocks, here the sea roars, and no man comes to meet me. These garments which I have on, the sum and substance of my wealth. I do not know where I may get food or shelter. What hope have I through which I wish to live? I am not acquainted with the place, nor have I ever before been here. At the least let me wish for some one to show me a road or path from this spot, so uncertain is my own counsel whether I should go this way or that. Cold, uncertainty, fear, all possess me. They who were the parents of wretched me, did not know that I was now to be as miserable as I am. I was certainly born free to no purpose. For that reason am I now less a slave than as if I had been born one? Nor have I ever been any profit to those who took the pains to bring me up.

They mov'd heavens wrathe, who  
 stir'd the winds and waves  
 Stryving whose fury should de-  
 stroy us fyrst.  
 These boathe conspyringe in our  
 ruinne, th' one  
 Beate us belowe the billowes whilst  
 the other  
 Swallowed boathe shippe and  
 goodes; [amongst] the rest  
 A budget or portmantau which in-  
 cludes  
 All the bawdes wealth. But that  
 weare nothinge to mee  
 Though he had vowed and sworne  
 to make me his beyer;  
 The loss I so lament is a small cas-  
 kett  
 Kept by him from my childhood,  
 and packt up  
 Amongst his treasure; and that  
 perishinge,  
 I forfett the long expectation  
 Ever to knowe my parents, there-  
 fore wish  
 With it I had i'th sea been buried.  
*Scribonia.* . . .  
 I spy no howse, no harbor, meete  
 no creature  
 To point me to some shelter; there-  
 fore heare  
 Must starve by famine or expire  
 by could.  
 O'th sea the whystlinge winds still  
 threaten wreckes,  
 And flyinge now for refuge to the  
 lande  
 Find nought save desolation. . . .  
*Pal.* Numnes and fear, hunger  
 and solitude,  
 Besydes my casket, my *Scribonia's*  
 losse,  
 All these at once afflict mee.

The following comparison of a part of the prologue of the *Amphitryo* with the corresponding portion of *The Silver Age* shows that Heywood gives in his introductory passage matter

which Plautus brings out in the course of the action. For example, the dumb show presents material which in the *Amphitryo* is found in a speech by Sosia (190-196, 252-260). Heywood's use of soliloquy and dialogue indicates that he prefers to have events acted rather than related, perhaps because he felt that the direct method made a more lively appeal to the audience. He expresses this preference by concluding the speech of Homer, which bears more resemblance to a prologue than any other part of his introduction, with the words:

But Jove himself descends,  
Cuts off my speech, and heere my Chorus ends.

The mention of Juno by Heywood is in accord with the subject of *The Silver Age* as a whole. Jupiter is represented as a more dignified character than in the *Amphitryo*. The emphasis on the beauty of the 'faire Alcmenes' is Heywood's own, as is, of course, the reference to Joshua.

*Amphitryo* (97-141)

This city is Thebes. In that house dwells Amphitryo, who was born at Argos and whose father was an Argive. Alcmenes the daughter of Electra is his wife. Amphitryo is now at the head of the army, for the Theban state is at war with the Telobeans. He, before he departed hence to the wars, made his wife Alcmenes great with child. Now I believe you know how my father is, how free he has been in many affairs like this, and how amorous he is of what has once attracted him. He began to be enchanted of Alcmenes unknown to her husband, and took the loan of her body, and made her with child by his dalliance. Now that you may rightly understand about Alcmenes, she is great by both her husband and highest Jove. And my father now within here is resting with her, and this night on that account is made

*The Silver Age* (p. 97-99)

*Homer.* Of Jupiter now deif'd and made  
Supreme of all the Gods, we next proceed:  
Your suppositions now must lend us ayd  
That he can all things (as a God indeed.)  
Our Sceane is Thebes: here faire Alcmena dwels,  
Her husband in his warfare thrives abroad,  
And by his chivalry his foes expels.  
He absent, now descends, th'  
Olympic God,  
Innamored of Alcmena, and trans-shapes  
Himself into her husband: Ganimed  
He makes assistant in his amorous rapes,  
Whilst he preferres the earth 'fore Junoes bed.  
Lend us your wonted patience without scorne,  
To find how Hercules was got and borne.

(Dumb show)

Enter Amphitrio with two Captaines and Socia with drum and

longer, while he dallies with her whom he desires. But he trans-shapes himself, as if he were Amphitryo. Now, do not wonder at this my attire, because I come here thus, with the figure of a slave: an old and time-worn thing would I bring to you anew, wherefore I come dressed in a new fashion. For, you see, my father Jupiter is now within; he trans-shapes himself into the likeness of Amphitryo, and all the servants who see him think it to be he. Thus he makes himself a turnskin when he will. I have assumed the likeness of Sosia, the slave who with Amphitryo went away hence to the wars, that I may be able to serve my amorous father, and that the slaves may not ask who I am when they often see me busied about the house here; now, when they believe me to be a slave and their fellow-slave, no one asks who I am or why I have come. My father now within is feasting his senses; he reposes clasping her of whom he is most amorous. My father tells Alcmena what has been done yonder in the army; she who is with an adulterer and believes him to be her husband. There my father is now telling how he put to flight the legions of the enemy, for which he is rewarded with numerous gifts. The rewards which were given to Amphitryo we stole: easily can my father do what he will. Now today Amphitryo and the slave of whom I bear the likeness came hither from the army.

colors: he brings in the head of a crowned King, swears the Lords to the obeysance of Thebes. They present him with a standing bowle, which he lockes in a Casket, and sending his man with a letter before to his wife, with news of his victory. He with his followers, and Blepharo the maister of the ship, marcheth after.

*Homer.* Creon that now reignes here, the Theban King, Alcmenaes husband great Amphitrio made

His Generall, who to his Lord doth bring

His enimies head that did his land invade.

Thinke him returning home, but sends before

By letters to acquaint his beauteous wife

Of his successe, himselfe in sight of shore

Must land this night: where many a doubtful strife

Amongst them growes, but Jove himselfe discends,

Cuts off my speech, and heere my Chorus ends.

*Thunder and lightning. Jupiter descends in a cloude.*

*Iup.* Earth before heaven, we once more have preferd:

Beauty that workes into the hearts of Gods:

As it hath power to mad the thoughts of men,

So even in us it hath attraction.

The faire Alcmena like the Seamans Starre

Shooting her glistening beauty up to heaven,

Hath puld from thence the olym-pick Iupiter

By vertue of thy raies, let Iuno skold,

And with her clamours fill the ears of heaven,

Let her be like a Bachinall in rage, And through our crystall pallace

breath exclaimes,

With her quicke feete the galaxia weare,

And with inquisitive voice search through the Spheares.

She shall not finde us here, or shoulde she see us,

Can she distinguish us being thus  
transhapt?  
Where's Ganimed? we sent him to  
survey  
Amphitryoes Pallace, where we  
meane to lodge  
*Enter Ganimed shapt like Socia.*  
In happy time return'd: now Socia.  
*Gani.* Indeed that's my name, as  
sure  
As your's is Amphitryo.  
*Iup.* Three nights I have put in  
one to take our fill  
Of dalliance with this beauteous  
Theban dame.  
A powerfull charme is cast or'e  
Phoebus eies:  
Who sleepes this night within the  
euxine sea,  
And till the third day shall forget  
his charge  
To mount the golden chariot of the  
Sunne,  
The Antipodes to us shall have a  
day  
Of three daies length. Now at this  
houre is fought  
By Iosua Duke unto the Hebrew  
Nation,  
(Who are indeede the Antipodes  
to us)  
His famous battle 'gainst the Ca-  
nanites,  
And at his orison the Sunne stands  
still,  
That he may have there slaughter.

The other extant plays of Heywood are not without traces of his study of Plautus. Wendoll, in *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, as he appears in the scenes which represent him enjoying the hospitality of Frankford, brings to mind the parasite of the *Captivi*. The attitude of the servants in the two plays as to the guests is similar; indeed the servants of *A Woman Killed with Kindness* suggest a grumbling slave like Stasimus in the *Trinummus*. Heywood introduces the theme so common in Plautus (e. g. *Trinummus* IV. iv) of the servant's fear of beating; Jenkin says: 'My master hath given me a coate here, but he takes paines himselfe to brush it once or twice a day with a hollywand! (ii. 106). Roughman, the boasting coward, of amorous propensities, who appears in *The Fair Maid of the West*, slightly resem-

bles Pyrgopolinices, the swaggerer of the *Miles Gloriosus*. The old man who gives advice to his son on the proper conduct of life, such as Philto in the *Trinummus* (II. ii), is represented by Old Forest in *Fortune by Land and Sea* (vi. 364), though the latter is a more pathetic character than the moralizing old men of Plautus. The harlots of *The Royal King and the Loyal Subject* suggest Cleaereta, the procuress of the *Asinaria*. They are despicable and heartless characters who put before every other feeling their desire of gain. They are indifferent to everything in their customers except their money, and summarily refuse credit to the penniless. Their very mode of expression is similar; Cleaereta says: 'If we want bread from the baker, or wine from the tavern, when they have their money, they give us the goods; we follow the same custom' (200-201). Similarly in *The Royal King and the Loyal Subject* (vi. 48), the bawd says: 'If my beds be shaken out of their joynts, or my cords broken, must not the Joyner and the Rope-maker both have money? if my rugges be rub'd out with your toes, can they be repair'd without money? if my linnen be foul'd, can I pay my laundresse without money? besides we must have something to maintaine our broken windows I hope; the glazier wil not mend them without money.'

The tendencies observable in Heywood's method of using the plays examined indicate that his study of Plautus had but little effect on his ideas of dramatic structure. One would hardly look for traces of classical influence in a rambling historical play like *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody*. Though the different position of women in the plays of Plautus and of Heywood renders it at first sight unlikely that *The Fair Maid of the West*, in which the chief character is the heroine, would be much affected by Latin example. Part First of this play is perhaps Heywood's nearest approach to the structure of Plautus, since it is made up of one action, with no underplot. However, the long lapses of time, the lack of unity of place, and the number of episodes introduced, differentiate its structure from that of the dramas of Plautus. In the lesser elements of structure the play suggests Roman comedy. As characters often do in Plautus,



Bess Bridges acts on incorrect information when she goes to Fayal to secure the body of her lover, whom she supposes dead. Hence, when he appears alive, she does not recognize him; finally the happy ending of the play is brought about by her recognition of him. Similarly in the *Rudens*, the wife of Daemones refuses to receive her daughter Palaestra because she believes that her daughter is lost beyond recovery, and that the girl before her is only a slave. When she learns the truth, the play ends happily. *The Fair Maid of the Exchange* shows some of the involution of structure characteristic of Plautus: its plot depends upon forged letters as in the *Pseudolus*, and upon disguises, as does the latter part of the action of the *Casina*. It even contains a suggestion of the theme of double identity so prominent in the *Menaechmi*. When Bowdler sees the real Cripple, as well as Frank disguised as the Cripple, he exclaims: 'Zounds two Cripples, two dogs, two cures, 'tis wonderful' (ii. 84). A parallel to the happy ending of the *Mostellaria* is suggested by one of the later scenes of *The Fair Maid of the Exchange* (p. 81), in which Berry forgives his spendthrift son-in-law and his daughter after their secret marriage. This play (1607) is earlier than *The Silver Age* (1612)<sup>1</sup> and *The Captives* (1624).<sup>2</sup> The similarity between the make-up of the latter play and that of *The English Traveler*, both having two plots, one of which is taken from Plautus, confirms the opinion that they were produced about the same time.<sup>3</sup> But though *The Fair Maid of the Exchange* was written before the time when Heywood is known to have made direct use of Plautus, it contains a passage which shows that the themes of *The Ages* were in his mind, if the plays were not already written. It is as follows:

How strangely am I metamorphosed?  
 And yet I need not be ashamed neither,  
 Jove when his love-scapes he attempted ever  
 Transform'd himselfe, yet ever sped in love,  
 Why may not I then in this strange disguise?  
 This habit may prove mighty in loves power,  
 As beast, or bird, bull, swanne, or golden showre (ii. 37).

<sup>1</sup> Murray, *English Dramatic Companies* i. 174.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. i. 256 note.

<sup>3</sup> Shelling, *Elizabethan Drama* ii. 309.

If Heywood were working on *The Ages* when these lines were written, he knew at least the *Amphitryo* of Plautus.

Neither Plautus nor Heywood hesitates to bring about an effect by means other than those of dramatic necessity. In the *Trinummus* the sharper who has been employed by Callicles to pretend himself a messenger from Charmides chances (IV. ii), while going on his errand, to meet the latter, who happens at that moment to have returned from abroad, and tries to impose upon him. Charmides's chance return in the nick of time frustrates the sharper's plan, and enables the action of the drama to proceed to a happy conclusion. Similarly in *The Fair Maid of the West*, the happy ending is possible only because Bess Bridges chances to capture (ii. 318) the ship on which her lover is a prisoner. In the *Bacchides* (III. iii), Mnesilochus learns from the deliberate narrative of a servant the facts which, by exciting his suspicion of the fidelity of his friend and his mistress, lead him to take the steps which promote the action of the play. In a similar scene in *The English Traveler* (iv. 57), young Geraldine learns from the narrative of a servant, introduced for no other purpose, the infidelity of Wincott's wife and the treachery of Dalvill. This discovery leads to the catastrophe. There are in Heywood's plays some traces of the discovery by means of trinkets, which Plautus employs so frequently, as in the *Rudens*. In *The Fair Maid of the West* (ii. 301), Bess Bridges recognizes on the finger of Goodlack the ring which she has given to Spencer, before she recognizes the wearer. In *A Maiden-head Well Lost*, the discovery is caused by Julia's failure (iv. 157) to produce the charter and ring which the Prince is supposed to have given her. When they are found in the possession of Lauretta, she is received as the wife of the Prince, and the drama ends happily.

The unexpected return of the father from abroad after a successful commercial venture, as in the *Mostellaria*, lends itself easily to transference from Plautus to Heywood, because it is as fitting in England after the destruction of the Armada as in Rome after the battle of Zama. These were times of commercial activity, the spirit of which is evident in the works of both dramatists. The vicissitudes of the life of a trader

who goes to many lands, and sees many strange sights, are often touched upon by Plautus (e. g. *Trinummus* 820; *Rudens* 931), and *The Fair Maid of the West* and *Fortune by Land and Sea* offer striking evidence of the Englishman's familiarity with the life of trade and adventure upon the sea.

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# THE CLASSICAL RULE OF LAW IN ENGLISH CRITICISM OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Mr. Spingarn<sup>1</sup> calls the mechanical universe of Locke and Hobbes the basis of seventeenth century criticism. Philosophy, however, as James told us, even logic, is a way of looking at things. And it is hard to avoid the conclusion that Locke and Hobbes looked at things the way they did because the age was one of classicism, and that the classical conception did not originate with the philosophers. The conclusion is strengthened by the fact that seventeenth century criticism can be traced back to Elizabethan classical criticism on the one hand—which flourished in a time when there were no conceptions of a mechanical universe—and to the theories of the French on the other. In fact Dryden's criticism, and for that matter the whole age in which he lived, is historically intelligible only upon the supposition that it is a cross between Ben Jonson's England and Corneille's France. And Ben Jonson preceded Locke and Hobbes; while Corneille was probably untouched by their philosophy, as his essays appear to be by that of their predecessor Descartes. Moreover English classical criticism as such begins an hundred years before Locke and Hobbes wrote. English criticism was, in fact, classical from the beginning. There was no romantic criticism corresponding to the art of Shakespeare. In the previous periods, when it might have arisen, English criticism was unborn. And in Shakespeare's day criticism, which so often precedes the corresponding art,<sup>2</sup> was, under renaissance influences, turning to the classical ideas which were to characterize the poetry and drama of a following period. Hobbes in the day of Cromwell and Locke in that of Charles were then natural outgrowths of the time.

<sup>1</sup> *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*. Edited with introduction and notes, Oxford, 1908, Vol. I, lxviii. Mr. Spingarn also relates the classical criticism of France to the philosophy of Hobbes's predecessor Descartes. *l. c.*, xxviii.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the theory that in literature theory precedes practice, see Bobertag, *Drydens Theorie des Dramas. Englische Studien*, IV, 375.

The dominant doctrine of this classical criticism was adherence to the literary laws of the ancients, especially of Aristotle and Horace.<sup>3</sup> Another influence fostering the classical spirit, almost as important as the study of the ancients, was the growth of polite conversation. The age from Shakespeare to Dryden was an age of talk.<sup>4</sup> And talk, centered in the court and made into a fine art, came at last in the later seventeenth century to have the regulated, law-abiding propriety of all conventional manners. With the somewhat priggish and frequently unintelligent Aristotle-worship on the one hand, and with the craving on the other for conversation that should be at once proper and elegant, there was a third element that made for formality. This was the court temper. Educated men despised the herd. They interlarded their discourse with fragments of Latin, in order to show their rank. Simultaneously playwrights began to show a preference for the elegant heroic line.<sup>5</sup> In criticism Webbe is doubtful of the common people's judgment of poets.<sup>6</sup> And Davenant, sixty years after, comes to the stronger conclusion that he is hopeless of the common crowd<sup>7</sup> and deserts it, to take from

\* This fact is so fundamental, and so universally recognized by modern writers that it seems superfluous to add more on the point.

\* Spingarn, *op. cit.*, xlv. Dryden explained the "defects" in the language of the Elizabethans as due to their lack of refinement in the language of conversation; *Defence of the Epilogue* [1672]. Ker, *Essays of John Dryden*. Edited with introduction and notes. Oxford, 1900. Vol. I, 175. See also Bohn, *The Development of Dryden's Literary Criticism*, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*; XXII, 94. Cf. also the epilogue to the second part of the *Conquest of Granada* [1672]:

"Thus Jonson did mechanic humor show,  
When men were dull and conversation low".

\* Cf. *Marriage à la Mode* of Dryden, in which the English prose comedy and the classical heroics are absurdly and incongruously mingled.

\* Cf. *English Poetry* [1586]. Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*. Edited with introduction and notes. Vol. I, 298. Cf. also Klein, *Literary Criticism from the Elizabethan Dramatists*, p. 17 ff.

\* *Preface to Gondibert* [1650] Spingarn, *op. cit.*, II, 14.

court and camp the patterns to be dressed up for noble readers.\*

These three elements in classicism, when combined into a school, took two concrete forms, the rule of taste—sophisticated and trained taste—and the rule of reason. But as taste, when interpreted, always meant taste as reason considered that it ought to be, the whole thing resolved itself into a rule of reason; and the reason which ruled was educated, directly or indirectly, out of the texts of the ancients.<sup>9</sup> This then was, in general terms, the meaning of the classical rule of law.

The keynote, the shibboleth, of this criticism was “decorum”. This appears, according to Mr. Smith, first in Ascham’s writing.<sup>10</sup> E. K.<sup>11</sup> praises Spenser’s decorum. Webbe<sup>12</sup> makes the matter more specific when he writes:—“The propriety of speech must be duly observed that weighty and great matters be not spoken slenderly or matters of length too briefly; for it belongeth much both to the comeliness and nature of a matter that in big matters there be likewise used boisterous words”. And again:—In a satire great heed must be taken of decorum “that he which represented some noble personage in the tragedy be not some busy fool in the satire”. Puttenham,<sup>13</sup> as usual, is more sound and clear upon the point:—“But generally to have the style decent and comely, it behooveth the maker or poet to follow the nature of his subject; that is, if his matter be high and lofty that the style

\* An interesting corollary can be drawn from Pope’s observation on Shakespeare [Preface to his edition of Shakespeare] to the effect that much of his strength came from the fact that he adapted himself—as we might say—to the galleries.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Miss Wylie, *Studies in the Evolution of English Criticism*, Boston, 1903, p. 14, on Jonson’s deference to the past and advocacy of the discipline of reason. Cf. also Corneille’s version of Aristotle’s dictum [*Discours de l’Utilité et des Parties du Poëme Dramatique*. 1660] that the sole end of poetry is to please, but that in order to please one must follow rules.

<sup>10</sup> [1570] Gregory Smith, *op. cit.* I, xxxv, xxxviii.

<sup>11</sup> [1579] *Ibid.*, I, 128.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 290. Cf. Webbe’s list of canons of art, and, in Mr. Smith’s notes, I, 417, the original canons of Horace.

<sup>13</sup> *The Art of English Poesy* [1589]. *Ibid.*, II, 155.

be so too, if mean [of middle rank], the style also to be mean, if base, the style humble and base accordingly". This, evidently our modern rhetorician's *tone*, Puttenham calls decorum of style. He further defines decorum as decency, seemliness, comeliness, pleasant approach and convenient proportion.<sup>14</sup> But these terms add nothing in the way of definition, unless it be the last term, proportion, in which we recognize another of our modern rhetorical principles.<sup>15</sup> Ben Jonson,<sup>16</sup> a little later, has the same thing in mind when he speaks of what he considers the undecorous customs of his contemporaries, the romanticists. It is folly, he conceives,

"To make a child, now swaddled, to proceed  
Man, and then shoot up in one beard and weed,  
Past threescore years; or, with three rusty swords,  
And help of some few foot-and-half-foot words,  
Fight over York and Lancaster's long jars,  
And in the tiring house bring wounds to scars."

The playwright, instead of doing this, is to write "deeds and language, such as men do use". Elsewhere he advises writers to follow the classics.<sup>17</sup>

This is about all we can do from the evidence towards defining decorum as the Elizabethan and his immediate successors saw it. At about this time there is a gap in English criticism, the breaking of the silence being preceded im-

<sup>14</sup> *Ib.* II, 174.

<sup>15</sup> Mr. Smith in this connection, quotes Harington to the effect that there may be decorum in persons who speak lasciviously [xlili]. This is correct, but misleading; for Harington [Smith, II, 215], in the same breath praises Ariosto for his freedom from ribaldry and obscenity, and then says, "Farther there is so meet a decorum in the persons of those that speak lasciviously, as any of judgment must needs allow. And therefore, though I rather crave pardon than praise for him in this point, yet methinks I can smile at the fineness of some that will condemn him, and yet not only allow but admire our Chaucer, who both in words and sense incurs far more the reprehension of flat scurrility, as I could recite many places, not only in his miller's tale, but in the good wife of Bath's tale, and many more, in which only the decorum he keeps is that that excuses it and makes it more tolerable."

<sup>16</sup> *Every Man in his Humor* [1596 ?]. Gregory Smith, *op. cit.* II, 389. Cf. also *Conversations with Drummond*. Spingarn, *op. cit.* I, 212, 215.

<sup>17</sup> *Timber* [1620-35 ?]. Saintsbury, *History of Criticism*, II, 203.

mediately by the introduction of French ideas and followed by criticism strikingly like the French in tone and doctrine. It was in 1635 that the French Academy was established and proceeded to adopt the classical criticism. In the same year this criticism was adopted by the court. The standard of French criticism, however, soon came to be—so far as English admirers of French theory were concerned—the doctrines of Corneille, which grew out of the discussions of the Academy concerning the *Cid*, in 1638, and were embodied in the dramatist's essays on dramatic technique.<sup>18</sup> He believed in a "favorable interpretation"<sup>19</sup> of the classical rules, which was doubtless considered very liberal.<sup>20</sup> But his own modified rules soon hardened into dogmas as rigid as those of the ancients. This conception of a reign of law passed into England, and made the already predominant classicism yet more rigidly formal. At the same time we begin to hear less of decorum and rather more of the particular rules which summed up constitute this rather vague conception. We will proceed with a few notes upon the prevalent conception in this period, of a reign of very decorous law.

Flecknoe<sup>21</sup> gives a definition of decorum when he says:—"Beaumont and Fletcher were excellent in their kind, but they often erred against decorum, seldom representing a valiant man without somewhat of the braggadocio, nor an honorable woman without somewhat of Dol Common in her; to say nothing of their irreverent representing kings' persons on the stage, who should never be represented but with reverence". The first part of this, in its complete blindness to the incongruities of real life, is characteristic of Corneille. The

<sup>18</sup> Cf. essays of Corneille in collected works. Also Miss Wylie, *op. cit.*, p. 18, and Brunetière, *L'Évolution des Genres dans L'Histoire de la Littérature*. Paris, 1892. I, 76.

<sup>19</sup> *Discours de la Tragédie* [1660].

<sup>20</sup> The contemporary conception of St. Evremond concerning law was freer still. Miss Wylie, *op. cit.*, 22-24.

<sup>21</sup> *A short Discourse of the English Stage* [1664] Spingarn, *op. cit.*, II, 94. Cf. also Mr. Paul Elmer More, *Beaumont and Fletcher, Nation* XCVI, 410. Mr. More's criticism of these writers, after two hundred and fifty intervening years, is still as thoroughly classical as that of Flecknoe.



last line echoes one of the characteristic notes of French classicism, the ideal of a noble king to whom common thoughts are unknown. In the hands of Phillips<sup>22</sup> and Rymer,<sup>23</sup> decorum becomes at once clearer and more concrete. Phillips objects to the describing ancient things after a modern model, a doctrine trite enough to us, but important as the first charge—under the guise of classical decorum—of the now aggressive historical realism. Rymer, in the passage in question, is treating Shakespeare. In *Othello*, the characters are such that “By their conduct and manner of talk, a body must strain hard to fancy the scene at Venice; and not rather in some of our cinq-ports, where the bailey and his fishermen are knocking their heads together on account of some whale, or some terrible broil upon the coast”. Here we have the first notes of another modern characteristic as important as historical realism; that is local color.

Finally in this matter, we come to the doctrines of Dryden. Some are earlier in date than the last quoted but his doctrines as a whole naturally hang together as the supreme manifestation of English classicism. Dryden's great masterpiece, the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* was suggested by Flecknoe's *Discourse of the English Stage*;<sup>24</sup> but it, like his other criticism,

<sup>22</sup> Preface to *Theatrum Poetarum* [1675]. Spingarn, *op. cit.*, II, 269.

<sup>23</sup> *A Short View of Tragedy, its Original, Excellency, and Corruption, with Some Reflections on Shakespeare and Other Practitioners for the Stage*. [1693]. Spingarn, *op. cit.*, II, 228. Cf. Dennis, *The Impartial Critic* [1693]. Spingarn, *op. cit.*, III, 148 ff. This is a reply to Rymer.

<sup>24</sup> Printed by Spingarn, *op. cit.*, II, 91. Dryden himself acknowledges his debt to Ben Jonson, “Father Ben” [*Essay of Dramatic Poesy*. Ker, *op. cit.*, I, 41 and 43, and the *Defense of the Essay*. *Ib.*, I, 122 and 125. His plays also show this influence strongly, especially the comic parts of his first play, *The Wild Gallant*.], to Casaubon [*Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire*. Ker, *op. cit.*, II, 44. In the following pages Casaubon appears to be his principal authority, though a number of other predecessors are mentioned with him.], to Aristotle, Horace and Cornielle [See especially the *Defense of an Essay of Dramatic Poesy*. *Ib.*, I, 122 and 125] and to Longinus [*Preface to Troilus and Cressida*. See also Bobertag, *l. c.*, 396.]. Dryden's statements in the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* must be taken with caution, as there are four controversial speakers, to wit, Eugenius [Charles Sackville], Lisideius [Sir Charles Sedley], Crites [Sir Robert Howard], and Neander [Dryden]. Cf. the opinion of Bobertag [*l. c.*, 386.] that Neander cannot always be considered as speaking for Dryden.

was largely French in the original sources and impulses. His rules for the stage are close to those of the French.<sup>25</sup> The definite expressions of Dryden's adherence to classicism may be indicated briefly in chronological order. One of the earliest, and about the most rational, expression of it occurs in the *Epistle Dedicatory of the Rival Ladies*:<sup>26</sup>—"Here [in poetry] is no chance, which you have not foreseen; all your heroes are more than your subjects, they are your creatures; and though they seem to move freely in all the sallies of their passions, yet you make destinies for them, which they cannot shun. They are moved (if I may dare to say so) like the rational creatures of the Almighty Poet, who walk at liberty, in their own opinion, because their fetters are invisible". In the *Defense of the Epilogue*, the word decorum appears as such, where a speaker in the dialogue accuses Fletcher of lacking it. "For his shepherd", among other characters, "he falls twice into the former indecency of wounding women".<sup>27</sup> In *A Parallel of Poetry and Painting*, his classicism sinks into servility. As we may not encounter again such a phenomenon, it may be interesting to read specimens:—"All who, having rejected the ancient rules, and taken the opposite ways, yet boast themselves to be masters of this art, do but deceive others, and are themselves deceived, for that is absolutely impossible".<sup>28</sup> Again:—"To inform our judgments, and to reform our tastes, rules were invented, that by them we might discern when nature was imitated and how nearly".<sup>29</sup> Again, but more rationally:—"Without rules there can be no art, any more than there can be a house without a door to conduct you into it".<sup>30</sup> But again, with even more than usual servility:—"Homer and Virgil are to be our guides in the

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Miss Wylie, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>26</sup> [1664]. Ker, *op. cit.*, I, 4. This paragraph is susceptible of an unclassical interpretation, but the classical falls in better with the usual tone of Dryden.

<sup>27</sup> *Defense of the Epilogue* [1672]. Ker, *op. cit.*, I, 166.

<sup>28</sup> [1695] *Ib.*, II, 134. Cf., however, preceding sentences for a partial explanation.

<sup>29</sup> *Ib.*, 137.

<sup>30</sup> *Ib.*, 138.

epic; Sophocles and Euripides in tragedy: in all things we are to imitate the customs and the times of those persons and things which we represent: not to make new rules of the drama, as Lopez de Vega has attempted unsuccessfully to do, but to be content to follow our masters, who understood nature better than we".<sup>31</sup> A little concession though he makes:—"But if the story which we treat be modern, we are to vary the customs, according to the time and the country where the scene of action lies; for this is still to imitate nature, which is always the same, though in a different dress". On the other hand we have, almost in the preceding sentence the best spirit of the classicists, "to put all things in a beautiful order and harmony, that the whole may be of a piece".

This brings us to the end of our period. A further point should be noticed, however. The classical criticism, at the very moment of its fullest development, was breeding germs of decay. The servility of Dryden has been noted. The ethical defection was not its only defect. For it led to a train of inconsistencies, which vitiated the whole mass of classical criticism, and which, I believe, was, more than anything else, the immediate cause of its decay.

It is assumed by most that the decay of classicism was due to the passing of the "classical spirit". But classical criticism was decaying when classical art was attaining its highest, in the eighteenth century. A mere passing of the classical spirit could not at one and the same point of history account for the rise of one form of classical writing and the decay of another. As we have noticed, the criticism of an age has—if we may judge from the scanty data we possess—usually preceded the development of the corresponding art form. Again, had classical criticism been merely narrow, but correct, the correct norm would have remained; incorporated perhaps in an overgrowing romanticism, but substantially unchanged. But a self-contradictory system, even if men failed to detect the fallacies, could not live, because it could only now and then, and by accident, work out a play or poem which could be permanently successful.

<sup>31</sup> *Ib.*, 139.

But to take up some of these fallacies specifically. The famous *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* contains some of them put into the mouth of Neander, who speaks for Dryden. For example:—It might be supposed, says Neander,<sup>32</sup> that blank verse is better for the stage than rime, since nearer the speech of real life. But rime may be made as natural as blank verse by proper arrangement of its structure. Rime then is equally natural and at the same time sweeter by reason of the rime. The remainder of the passage is so contradictory as to be scarcely intelligible. [See footnote]. But heroic verse finds an even more remarkable defense:—"Tragedy, we know, is wont to image to us the minds and fortunes of noble persons, and to portray these exactly; heroic rime is nearest nature, as being the noblest kind of modern verse".<sup>33</sup> And again, a little further on:—"Blank verse is acknowledged to be too low for a poem, nay more, for a paper of verses; but if too low for an ordinary sonnet, how much more for tragedy, which is by Aristotle, in the dispute between the epic poesy and the dramatic, for many reasons he there alleges, ranked above it?" Or once more, what are we to think of such false analogy as this: <sup>34</sup>—For a man on the stage to speak a half line

"If then verse may be made natural in itself, how becomes it improper to a play? You say the stage is the representation of nature, and no man in ordinary conversation speaks in rime. But you foresaw when you said this, that it might be answered—neither does any man speak in blank verse, or in measure without rime. Therefore you concluded, that which is nearest nature is still to be preferred. But you took no notice that the rime might be made as natural as blank verse, by the well placing of the words, etc. All the difference between them, when they are both correct, is, the sound in one, which the other wants; and if so, the sweetness of it, and all the advantage resulting from it, which are handled in the *Preface to the Rival Ladies*, will yet stand good. As for that place of Aristotle, where he says, plays should be written in that kind of verse which is nearest prose, it makes little for you; blank verse being properly but measured prose. Now measure alone, in any modern language, does not constitute verse". Hence blank verse, he concludes, is practically prose, and suitable only for comedy. But the remainder of this remarkable jumble of ideas the reader should puzzle out for himself, in its extraordinary entirety. Ker, *op. cit.*, I, 96.

<sup>32</sup> *Ib.*, 101.

<sup>34</sup> *Ib.*, 103.

or a whole which rimes with the preceding, may be considered bad since it suggests design and not spontaneity. But:—"Supposing we acknowledge it: how comes this confederacy to be more displeasing to you, than in a dance which is well contrived?" Then after a little the subject is concluded:—"But there is also the quick and poignant brevity of it (which is an high imitation of nature in those sudden gusts of passion) to mingle with it; and this, joined with the cadency and sweetness of the rime, leaves nothing in the soul of the hearer to desire". The jumble of subtle truth with absurdity in this closing sentence will present itself.

It is possible that Dryden's contemporaries did not see these things. But the following self-contradiction is so flagrant as not merely to explain the weakness of the doctrine, but also to cause us to marvel over the blindness of his readers. One of the passages in question has just been quoted, but it will be worth while to repeat it, in order to confront it more directly with the other.<sup>35</sup> The passages are these:—"All who, having rejected the ancient rules, and taken the opposite ways, yet boast themselves to be masters of this art, do but deceive others, and are themselves deceived; for that is absolutely impossible". The other reads:—"Invention is the first part [of painting and poetry], and absolutely necessary to them both; yet no rule ever was or ever can be given, how to compass it. A happy genius is the gift of nature".

Frequently Dryden's fallacies are due to lack of information as to the facts of the case. His conclusion, for example, that blank verse is farther removed from ordinary converse than prose<sup>36</sup> may be given greater importance than the facts warrant. Our language, when spoken by a person instinctively musical in temperament, and especially when colored by emotion, falls naturally into something resembling feet. And a slight regularization of these feet is all that is needed to make blank verse.<sup>37</sup> For few metrists will deny that in most

<sup>35</sup> Both are from the *Parallel of Poetry and Painting*, *Ib.*, II, 134 and 138 respectively.

<sup>36</sup> *Cf.* also *Ib.*, I, 114.

<sup>37</sup> Apropos of this, I have heard illiterate negro pickaninnies, of eight or ten years, singing improvised conversation to one another across the

blank verse the line ending is almost as arbitrary as the end assigned by a printer to a line of prose. We read blank verse as a continuous flow of feet, preserving perhaps a slight suggestion of the lines in the intonation, at the same time avoiding further suggestion of them by a free use of run-on lines.

In the same essay <sup>30</sup> Dryden returns to the subject of the twenty-four hour period for unity of time:—"Where is the absurdity of affirming, that the feigned business of twenty-four imagined hours, may not more naturally be represented in the compass of three real hours, than the like feigned business of twenty-four years in the same proportion of real time?"

Let us look at the subject a moment. For a drama, any period exceeding the actual three hours must proceed by episodes. The individual scene can only represent the length of time it takes to perform it: but between scenes, some events are omitted, which is to say some time is omitted. Regarding the matter thus, it is very difficult for us to get from Dryden, or the other classicists, any intelligible reason why these omitted gaps may not cover ten years as well as ten hours, and that with no loss of verisimilitude. In fact we see plots in real life working out by episodes with long negative gaps between, and these gaps are more frequently gaps of months or years than of hours. These conclusions are so clearly untenable, that they could never have survived in applied art, that is, in plays. Even in *The Rivals*, which may be brought up, together with the other Sheridan and the Goldsmith plays, as a surviving monument of classicism, no one dreams of taking the assigned five hours as the real duration of the events. To get through the action in that time—or in twenty-four hours—in real life, the figures would have to move with the celerity of

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street in a style which, except in the quality of the music, differed in no particular from that of grand opera. Here then was neither design nor anything except the most primitive and instinctive artifice. Doubtless many mannerisms in our dramas that appear forced to us were natural enough to the Italians or other persons of southern race who invented them, as was suggested by John Dennis [*The Impartial Critic*, 1693. Spingarn, *op. cit.*, III, 148.]

<sup>30</sup> *Ib.*, 129.

a cinematograph; besides eliminating all time for reflection on the part of the characters over the moves they make. The mind instinctively ignores the absurdity. The classical canon, being illogical, refused to work in the mind and instincts of the observer, and so failed.

Elsewhere Dryden says, concerning a large proportion of the characters of Fletcher's plays, "You know not whether they resemble vice or virtue, and they are either good, bad, or indifferent, as the present scene requires it",<sup>39</sup> as if men did not change from moods of vice to those of virtue on the most irresponsible and unforeseeable impulses. His misjudgment of Chaucer through ignorance of his pronunciation is famous. Although set right on the point by Speght, the contemporary editor of Chaucer, he stood by his contention, and said dogmatically:—"This opinion is not worth confuting; 'tis so gross and obvious an error, that common sense must convince the reader, that equality in numbers, in every verse which we call heroic, was either not known, or not always practiced in Chaucer's age".<sup>40</sup>

He is also capable of misquoting his authority. His misinterpretation of Aristotle's idea of *katharsis* is a serious blunder.<sup>41</sup> Tragedy is to purge the passions by example; which is in all likelihood not Aristotle's idea at all. In Corneille<sup>42</sup> there is such a view expressed; but this seems to be curiously mixed here with the other Aristotelian idea of purgation through self-expression.

These inconsistencies go far toward explaining the decay of classical criticism. But there was another force that hastened the disintegration. This was the force of a growing spirit of skepticism as to law; that is, of romanticism, for in the criticism of this period romanticism was comprised in the one note of skepticism. For nineteenth century "romantic" criticism, we are indebted, in part at least, to Germany. But this early romantic dissent—for revolt is too strong a word—

<sup>39</sup> *Preface to Troilus and Cressida* [1679]. Ker, *op. cit.*, I, 217.

<sup>40</sup> *Preface to the Fables* [1700]. *Ib.*, II, 259.

<sup>41</sup> *Preface to Troilus and Cressida*. *Ib.*, I, 209.

<sup>42</sup> *Discours des Trois Unités* [1660].

seems to have been a spontaneous, instinctive affair. It was feeble in volume, and the ideas frequently departed from classicism so little as to be indistinguishable unless one traces in succeeding centuries the full romantic theories that grew from them as germs.

Almost the earliest of these romantic notes came from Ben Jonson <sup>43</sup> in his *Every Man out of his Humor*, Cordatus speaking:—"No, I assure you, signior: if those laws you speak of had been delivered us *ab initio*, and in their present virtue and perfection, there had been some reason of obeying their powers". But the forms of the drama have always been changing. "I see not then but we should enjoy the same *licentia* or free power to illustrate and heighten our invention as they did; and not be tied to those strict and regular forms which the niceness of a few (who are nothing but form) would thrust upon us". He also observes that Drummond objected that his [Jonson's] verses "smelled too much of the schools".<sup>44</sup>

At about the same period <sup>45</sup> we have a bit of very elementary romanticism from Samuel Daniel, who, in Solomonesque strain, concludes, not indeed that all is vanity, but that all passes, and that our laws are but things of a day. *Tout casse, tout lasse, tout passe*, as a much later romanticist has observed. Davenant <sup>46</sup> also is a skeptic as to the value of that primary instrument of classicism, imitation. He is also a seeker after novelty, and hopes to represent nature "in an unusual dress".<sup>47</sup> Hobbes also denies the authority of taste; <sup>48</sup> and later Sir Robert Howard <sup>49</sup> does the same in his preface to

<sup>43</sup> [1619.] Gregory Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 392, 393.

<sup>44</sup> Saintsbury, *op. cit.*, II, 200.

<sup>45</sup> *Defense of Rime* [1603 ?]. Gregory Smith, *op. cit.*, lxiv; II, 384.

<sup>46</sup> [1650]. Spingarn, *op. cit.*, II, 7.

<sup>47</sup> *Ib.*, p. xxxiv; II, 23.

<sup>48</sup> [1650]. Spingarn, *op. cit.*, xcvi. Mr. Spingarn refers to Hobbes, Howard and others influenced by the French *Précieuse* spirit as representing "the first stage of the discussion, in which all authority in taste is denied". But, as we have just seen, these men were preceded by Jonson in a partial denial of authority, and by Daniel in complete skepticism as to authority, by nearly half a century.

<sup>49</sup> [1668]. Spingarn, *Ib.*; also II, 109.



*The Great Favorite, or The Duke of Lerma*, an essay best known as the provocation for Dryden's contradictions in his *Defense of an Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, which bears the subtitle, *Being an Answer to the Preface of "The Great Favorite or the Duke of Lerma"*.<sup>50</sup> As this is, of the seventeenth century romantic opinions, about the clearest and most specific, we may quote in full:—"To show therefore upon what ill grounds they dictate laws for dramatic poesy, I shall endeavor to make it evident that there is no such thing as what they all pretend; for, if strictly and duly weighed, 'tis as impossible for one stage to present two houses or two rooms truly as two countries or kingdoms, and as impossible that five hours, or four and twenty hours should be two hours and a half as that a thousand hours or years should be less than what they are, or the greatest part of time to be comprehended in the less; for all being impossible, they are none of them nearest the truth or nature of what they present, for impossibilities are all equal, and admit no degrees".

Ten years later we have the romantic criticism of the *Hudibras*:<sup>51</sup>

For all a rhetorician's rules  
Teach nothing but to name his tools.

Or again, more definitely:<sup>52</sup>

Whoever will regard poetic fury,  
When it is once found idiot by a jury;  
And every pert and arbitrary fool  
Can all poetic license overrule;  
Assume a barbarous tyranny to handle  
The muses worse than Ostrogoth or Vandal;  
Make 'em submit to verdict and report,  
And stand or fall to th' orders of a court?

Going back now a little in date we come to the few romantic elements in Dryden's writing.<sup>53</sup> In the *Essay of*

<sup>50</sup> Cf. the passages previously quoted from Dryden concerning the unity of time.

<sup>51</sup> [1678 ?].

<sup>52</sup> See Spingarn, *op. cit.*, II, 278.

<sup>53</sup> Mr. Bohn distinguishes in Dryden's criticism four types: 1. Romantic; 2. French Rationalistic or Neoclassic; 3. English Rationalistic; 4. Historical. On Dryden's romanticism, see Miss Wylie, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

*Dramatic Poesy* there is [Neander—Dryden—speaking] a confession of the bankruptcy of classicism;<sup>54</sup> but the note is one of mere disillusion rather than of revolt. In the *Defense of an Essay of Dramatic Poesy*,<sup>55</sup> he expresses his ignorance of “any other foundation of dramatic poesy than the imitation of nature”. This is a rather common profession among classicists. But in the *Preface to an Evening’s Love or the Mock Astrologer*, we have a—probably fleeting—mood of open revolt:—“Why should there be any *Ipse dixit* in our poetry, any more than there is in our philosophy!”<sup>56</sup> Another distinct pronouncement for romanticism occurs in his *Heads of an Answer to Rymer*,<sup>57</sup> where he admits that types of art may vary according to the climate, age, and disposition of a people for whom the poet writes, adding that Shakespeare and Fletcher succeeded because they wrote for their own age.<sup>58</sup>

About the most distinctly romantic expression of Dryden, though, occurs in his *Parallel of Poetry and Painting*. The passage with its complementary contradiction—characteristic of the self-contradictory Dryden—has been noted already.<sup>59</sup> Sir William Temple,<sup>60</sup> about this time, becomes skeptical as to French rules and thinks they cause poetry to lose its spirit and grace. But it is doubtful if this is more than a protest against an excessive number of rules.

These slight notes of revolt had but little influence upon the succeeding century, but their inherent reasonableness, and the attack they made upon the classical standards, forced a sort of compromise, which modern writers have somewhat superfluously called Rationalism. Just what this compromise was

<sup>54</sup> [1668]. Ker, *op. cit.*, I, 99.

<sup>55</sup> [1668]. *Ib.*, 123.

<sup>56</sup> [1671]. *Ib.*, 138. Cf. also Bohn, *op. cit.*, p. 87. Like so many of Dryden’s pronouncements, this is susceptible of a different interpretation. Mr. Bohn [p. 96] quotes the closing paragraph of the *Defense of the Epilogue* as a romantic manifestation; but it seems to me an unmistakably classical one. The purport is, however, ambiguous at best.

<sup>57</sup> Bohn, *l. c.*, 108.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Pope’s similar conclusion regarding Shakespeare, before cited.

<sup>59</sup> In connection with the discussion of Dryden’s inconsistency.

<sup>60</sup> *Of Poetry*. See collected works. London, 1770. Vol. III, 404.

cannot be determined from the texts with any exactness. The definition of rationalism is, however, approximately this. If a man draw from traditions a hard and fast rule for action in a drama, he is a classicist: if another say there can be no absolute rule, and that any action which pleases is good, we have a romanticist critic: the rationalist compromises; he maintains, like Dryden, that while to please and to follow nature are the primary aims, a writer cannot succeed in either unless he knows the rules; unlike Dryden, though, he admits that the rules may be modified as experience shows modification to be necessary. In practice the dividing line between these classes of critics is obscure. And when a writer becomes slightly illogical, he can easily be all three at once; as Dryden was. For these reasons, and because rationalism is not a type of criticism, but a secondary blending of two types, I prefer to eliminate the term; but have retained it to describe a few symptoms which cannot be set down as either romantic or classical, for the reason that they are both.

Perhaps the neatest example of early rationalism—neatest because it strikes fundamental truth with naïve precision, yet with novelty,—comes from Milton:<sup>61</sup>—"They only will best judge who are not unacquainted with Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the three tragic poets unequaled yet by any, and the best rule to all who endeavor to write tragedy". The idea that the man is—presumably—to choose his own rules, but that he must be "not unacquainted" with the ancients may be trite to us, but is, for its age, strikingly reasonable.

The French adopted a course in this matter which was a compromise not so much between two systems as between impractical law which is ideal but unrealizable and the weaknesses of human audiences.<sup>62</sup> Corneille held that rules, when not entirely justifiable, had sometimes to be upheld, because the people were used to them and expected them.<sup>63</sup> Elsewhere we have the same.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>61</sup> *Preface to Samson Agonistes* [1671]. Spingarn, *op. cit.*, I, 209. Cf. also *Ib.*, lxvi, lxvii, and lxviii.

<sup>62</sup> Much of Davenant's *Preface to Gondibert* is in this spirit.

<sup>63</sup> *Discours de la Tragédie* [1660].

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Méré, quoted by Spingarn, *op. cit.*, xcvi.

Besides the rationalistic, classical and romantic, there is another way of conceiving art, the realistic. As all criticism professes to be rational, so all art aims at being real. So between realism and classicism, as between rationalism and classicism, we cannot draw a very distinct line. Yet realism, in its modern form at any rate, is a distinctly different type of art. Unlike both classicism and rationalism, it admits no rules, but only working hypotheses. But unlike romanticism it sets sharp bounds to the permissible activities of art. Art is to be scientifically historical as to the past, and scientifically descriptive of the present.<sup>65</sup> The impossible, even the fairy tale, or the fairy drama, such as *Midsummer Night's Dream*, is taboo. It is scarcely to our present purpose to enter upon this phase of realism, as represented by de Maupassant, Tolstoi, Hauptmann, or Thomas Hardy. For of such realism we have only the faintest glimmer in the period we are considering. We have, however, much discussion of the older problem of truth in art; and this problem was the direct progenitor of modern realism.

The oft-repeated Aristotelian doctrine<sup>66</sup> that art is imitation of nature is realistic. Webbe in his table of canons quotes the objection of Horace to composite animals, such as "a woman's head, a horse neck, the body of a divers colored bird, and many members of sundry creatures compact together, whose legs ending [*sic*] like a fish's tail",—such, he thinks, are to be eschewed in art. In the same place we read that speech likewise should avoid such diversity, a classical idea, drawn from the preceding by a false analogy. But again, in another of these canons we are told that speech must not exceed credit. These ideas, with others of the same sort, in the same place [*q. v.*], belong, however, more to the doctrine of decorum than to realism.<sup>67</sup> In the next century<sup>68</sup> the problem

<sup>65</sup> The distinction between modern realism and romanticism also involves the problem of the sordidly ugly, which the realist freely admits to his art.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Webbe. Gregory Smith, *op. cit.*, I, p. 290 ff.; Puttenham, *ib.*, II, 3; also Dryden, *Lisideius* speaking, Ker, *op. cit.*, I, 36.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. also King James VI. *A Short Treatise on Verse* [1584] Gregory Smith, *op. cit.*, I, 219.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Spingarn, *op. cit.*, xxxii, lxxv.

is more insistent, but still bound up with decorum.<sup>69</sup> The arch-realist, because the most scientific writer of the period, is Bacon.<sup>70</sup> But as Bacon believes little in any fiction, his views must be taken as scientific rather than artistic. Ben Jonson<sup>71</sup> lays stress upon the element of realism in decorum; decorum, he thinks, Sidney violated, because he "made every one speak as well as himself". Again, he criticises adversely artificers who "can hit nothing but smooth cheeks", who "cannot express roughness or gravity",<sup>72</sup> an implied theory which in its natural conclusions would go far to demolish classical idealism in favor of realism. Davenant, as quoted by Dryden,<sup>73</sup> who doubts it all, has a similar idea: An heroic poem "ought to be dressed in a more familiar and easy shape; more fitted to the common actions and passions of human life; and, in short, more like a glass of nature, showing us ourselves in our ordinary habits, and figuring a more practicable virtue to us, than was done by the ancients or moderns". Hobbes, who so often agrees with Bacon, believes that the poet should be faithful to fact, "for both the poet and the historian write only (or should do) matter of fact".<sup>74</sup> Phillips likewise sticks to the real, when he writes:—"It would be absurd in a poet to set his hero upon romantic actions (let his courage be what it will) exceeding human strength and power, as to fight singly against whole armies and come off unhurt, at least if a mortal man, and not a deity armed with power divine".<sup>75</sup>

Dryden exhibits almost none of the symptoms of realism; and is frequently extreme in his opposition.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>69</sup> For example, see Milton, *Preface to Samson Agonistes* [1671]. Spingarn, *op. cit.*, I, 209.

<sup>70</sup> *Advancement of Learning* [1605]. Spingarn, *op. cit.*, I, 6.

<sup>71</sup> *Conversations with Drummond* [1619]. Saintsbury, *op. cit.*, II, 199.

<sup>72</sup> *Timber* [1620-35 ?]. Spingarn, *op. cit.*, I, 29.

<sup>73</sup> *Essay of Heroic Plays* [1672]. Ker, *op. cit.*, I, 151.

<sup>74</sup> *The Virtues of an Heroic Poem* [1675]. Spingarn, *op. cit.*, II, 70.

<sup>75</sup> *Preface to Theatrum Poetarum* [1675]. *Ib.*, 268.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. for an example his defense of chimeras, etc. *Apology for Heroic Poetry and Poetic License* [1677]. Ker, *op. cit.*, I, 187.

But while these questions of truth were being discussed in such strains, realism of the modern type, except in the scientific doctrines of Bacon and Hobbes, was conspicuous by a total absence.

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## AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF OLD FRENCH LITERATURE

The systematic study of the history of French Literature in the Middle Ages is of comparatively recent origin. Up to the sixteenth century, not even the thought had occurred to those who were interested in the history of their own language and literature, that there had flourished, several centuries previously, a literature whose influence was felt, at that time, all over the civilized world. One of the chief reasons why medieval literature was destined to fall into oblivion is to be found in the form in which it was written and preserved. The works of literature, as a rule, existed only in a few manuscripts, copies of which, sooner or later, found their way into the private libraries of some royal or wealthy booklover, and were most frequently used when the owner wanted to show the curious miniatures that they contained. Under these circumstances, how was it possible for the friend or student of literature, first of all, to know of the real existence of the documents of past times, and, secondly, how could he get access to the original documents other than by mere chance, when they were hidden away in private libraries?

As far as France is concerned it is in the lyrics of the Troubadours and in the romantic stories connected with their names that we must look for the origin of the new science of literary history. In 1575 JOHANNES NOSTRADAMUS first published a collection of such stories, which he had gathered from various manuscripts. This book is entitled: *Les vies des plus celebres et anciens poetes provençaux qui ont floury du temps des contes de Provence*. Although the author had no scientific purpose in mind, but merely wrote for entertainment, his book remained for nearly two centuries the only treatise on the subject in question.

The first publications which claimed to treat scientifically of the Old Provençal and the Old French literatures were the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, edited 1735 by the Benedictine monks of St. Maur, the *Histoire littéraire des Troubadours* by Abbé MILLOT, Paris, 1774, and RAYNOUARD's *Choix*

*des poésies originales des Troubadours*, Toulouse 1816-21. The latter represents the first and still an important edition of the Troubadours' lyrics. The passionate stories contained in these works aroused the curiosity of the contemporary German Romanticists, who in turn inspired philologists, such as Friedrich DIEZ and his followers, to attempt a systematic study of the Old Romance languages. Thus Romance Philology developed.

The study of the Old Provençal language and literature was established earlier than that of Old French. If we understand by literature all written or printed documents which were conceived and composed with the conscious intention of giving an artistic expression to the emotions and thoughts of the writer, it is evident that not all written or printed documents of the past ages can be included in this definition. From the works of a strictly literary-artistic appeal we must separate all documents of a purely linguistic interest, and place these latter under the separate head of literary-linguistic documents, a distinction which also has been made in the literary documents of Old and Middle High German.

Among the literary-linguistic documents we include:

(1) The oldest vocabularies and glossaries which were intended to aid students and laymen in the understanding of certain Latin words, the meaning of which had changed, despite the fact that Latin was still generally spoken and understood by all classes of society.

(2) The oldest translations of certain religious documents, such as prayers, liturgical formulas, sermons, etc. From the time when the knowledge and general understanding of spoken Latin declined because of the development of the national or vulgar languages or dialects, such translations became necessary. Quite naturally they appeared first in those countries, where the difference between Latin and the vernacular language was more pronounced. So it happened that the oldest specimens of such translations appear as so called *Bedürfnisliteratur* earlier in Germany than in France, where spoken Latin was preserved and understood much longer than in Germany. There was practically no direct relation be-



tween Latin and Old German, while spoken Latin and Old French belonged to the same family.

Although the documents included in these two classes were of no artistic or poetic value, they nevertheless served an important purpose in the formation of language as a means of literary expression, and consequently for the formation of a higher literature. For the latter pre-supposes a language already regulated to a certain extent by the study of orthography, grammar, and style. As long as no documents of this nature can be found in the countries in which Latinisation and Christianisation went hand in hand, we are justified in assuming that spoken Latin was generally understood.

(3) A third series of literary-linguistic documents is composed of the political and legal records, charters, deeds of gift, sale, contracts, etc. In the oldest of these documents, only the names and places given are of linguistic interest. Gradually there were introduced into the Latin formulas specifications in the vulgar idiom and finally, in the 13th century, the latter took the place of Latin altogether, following the example of the chancellery of Paris.

(4) Beginning with the twelfth century, a number of treatises on a variety of subjects of a scientific and didactic or technical nature were written in the vulgar dialects, a departure from the custom of using Latin exclusively for such purposes. These treatises embraced Grammar, the theory of Music, Medicine, Philosophy, Mathematics and directions for the construction of all kinds of instruments, for hunting, cooking, etc.

The language used in these linguistic documents was, of course, closely related to the spoken language and must be considered, therefore, of greater value than that used in artistic-literary works for the study of historical grammar of the various dialects which, according to contemporary authors were as numerous as they were different in the various provinces. I need not emphasize the fact that the study of the language of every day life should precede that of the language of higher literature and of literature itself. A synthetical history of a literature as distant in time and as poorly pre-

served as that of the Middle Ages can, in my opinion, be attempted only after the texts have all been edited, and their language thoroughly examined, and after it has been ascertained what rôle they played in the contemporary general culture. I have already pointed out that the real interest in medieval literature and culture was awakened as late as the beginning of the last century. The necessity of a thorough linguistic treatment of the language of the old texts as the basis of a systematic study of the literatures of the Middle Ages and especially of Old French literature was recognized, however, only in recent years. The chief pioneer in the handling of Old French literature according to this recent method was Gaston PARIS whose publications are still considered masterworks of their kind. The work of Gaston PARIS is inspired by a scientific and, at the same time, patriotic devotion, so deep and sincere that it communicates itself unconsciously to the reader.

The most complete and strictly scientific work on Old French literature intended chiefly for advanced students, is Gustav GRÖBER's *Altfranzösische Litteratur*, published in his "Grundriss der romanischen Philologie," II, 1. In view of the author's marvelous display of historical and philological knowledge, and especially in view of the enormous amount of critical research which he had to accomplish before he could begin to write, criticisms of the form of this monumental work as have appeared even in a recent necrological note, must seem unfair and petty. Gaston PARIS may have surpassed GRÖBER in elegance of style, but no Romanist has surpassed him in thoroughness and scholarship.

Hermann SUCHIER's history of Old French literature in the series of the Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig und Wien, 1900, is intended for a larger circle of readers, and may claim a special value not only on account of the original and scholarly point of view from which it is written, but also in view of the typical literary specimens and the numerous illustrations and reproductions from contemporary manuscripts contained in it.

Ph. A. BECKER's *Grundriss der altfranzösischen Literatur* (Älteste Denkmäler, Nationale Heldendichtung) treats of

only a part of Old French literature. The author's sceptical and radical treatment of the sources and his new views concerning the formation of the epic cycles have resulted in the theory which has been developed chiefly by Joseph BÉDIER,<sup>1</sup> according to which the Old French epic poems are by no means versified history, but are mere legends or fictitious stories created either by monks or by jongleurs for the purpose of entertaining the pilgrims at certain historical or pseudo-historical places, or to attract them to such.

All the works mentioned thus far are of an analytical character. They analyze the most important literary documents as to their nature and chronology or attempt to establish the rank they occupy in the evolution of the literary species to which they belong. The reader, therefore, will know all about the content and the history of each document, but he does not become acquainted with the documents themselves. In order to obtain such first hand knowledge he must consult the selections contained in the Chrestomathies or other publications of Old French texts.

In the European Universities the study of Old French literature is generally pursued in two different ways. The first method consists of the analytic description of the principal works, the historical evolution of each literary variety and the biographical data, where there be any; finally of the critical study of the different theories advanced by the leading scholars. The second method, which is followed in the Romance seminaries, consists of the philological interpretation of the texts themselves with the aid of one of the Chrestomathies.

Some Romanists, however, combine both methods and give in the analytical course as many literary extracts or illustrations as possible. This method seems to me the more satisfactory one, as it stimulates the interest of the student, by bringing him face to face with the documents.

It is upon this last method that Carl VORETZSCH's *Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Literatur*\* is

<sup>1</sup> *Les légendes épiques. Recherches sur la formation des chansons de geste.* Paris 1908-1913, 4 vol. in 8°.

\*CARL VORETZSCH, *Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Literatur*, im Anschluss an die *Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Sprache*. Halle a.S., Verlag von Max Niemeyer, zweite Auflage, 1913, XIX + 575 pages.

based. The present second edition is, really, more than its title would indicate. For it contains not only a history of Old French literature in its chronological order, from its beginning up to the fourteenth century, but it also furnishes the student with an account of the critical opinions expressed by certain specialists or leading Romanists on the various problems, connected with the origin and evolution of each literary variety. Of these latter, the book gives numerous specimens with explanatory notes and a vocabulary and, for each paragraph, an almost complete bibliographical apparatus.<sup>2</sup> Professor VORETZSCH's treatment of the medieval period of French literature is highly sympathetic in conception and spirit, and every chapter shows his mastery of the subject. This does not preclude the fact that the author has a special preference for epic poetry in which he has done his chief work.

If I am permitted here to express a personal wish, I should like to have seen greater emphasis placed upon the general cultural and artistic conditions of the time. Literature, in my opinion, does not present an independent growth, but is only a part of the artistic and cultural life of a whole period. This seems true, the farther we go back in history. If there is, in the history of Culture, one period during which the various branches of Art and Literature are all closely related and connected, it certainly is the unsurpassed period of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

All the frescoes and figures on and above the portals and pillars, the choir chairs and altars of the cathedrals, the enamels on the sacred vases and instruments, the wonderful painted glass in the enormous Gothic windows, the remaining embroideries and tapestries, the innumerable miniatures and other illustrations of the contemporary manuscripts, all speak to us with no less eloquence than the literary texts do. In many instances the latter may be considered as the written elucidations of the plastic or decorative ornaments and vice

<sup>2</sup> It is not my intention here to give a detailed review of Professor Carl VORETZSCH's work, but to call the attention of Anglicists and Germanists to his treatment of the subject which is admirably suited to the purpose of the student.

versa. The history of art in the broadest sense may be considered an illustrative complement to the literary texts proper.

In order to give the student a true picture and a full, appreciative understanding of a literary document of this period, it does not suffice to place before him a literary text, either in the original language or in translation, together with a philological commentary, notes and vocabulary. This traditional procedure will not resuscitate to its original life the document which the student, even in the best editions, learns to know only in a modern print, on a modern paper. How different would be the impression, if he could see the document either in the original manuscript, or, at least, in a faithful reproduction!<sup>3</sup> At once his scientific interest would be aroused in various directions. He would begin to inquire into medieval paleography: who were the writers of the manuscripts? What writing material did they use? How is it possible to date a certain manuscript? How were the books made? Who were the illustrators? How was the illustration done? Who wrote the music in the manuscripts which contain literary and musical texts? How are such medieval notations to be translated into modern music? In what relation do the illustrations and miniatures stand to the texts? Are they original, and how far are they related to other forms of medieval ornamentation?

To illustrate my point I take an example from one of the most popular kinds of medieval literature, the so-called *Bestiaires*. The problem of the origin and gradual spreading of this sort of literature will, in my opinion, be solved much easier, if we study in connection with it the contemporary manuscript miniatures and, above all, the architectural sculpture of that time. Here we find that in place of the tradi-

<sup>3</sup> ERNESTO MONACI'S *Facsimili di documenti per la storia delle lingue e delle letterature romanze*, Roma, D. Anderson, 1910, a collection of 65 excellent reproductions of various documents from the earlier period of the Romance languages and literatures cannot be highly enough recommended to everyone interested in this study. The exceptional low price of seven lire should make it possible for every student to secure a copy of this most useful paleographical, linguistic, literary and also musical anthology.

usual floral or linear ornamentation, allegorical figures, taken from nature or from biblical and secular history, are introduced and substituted. Thus we meet the most familiar characters of the Old and New Testaments and, among others, Alexander the Great as representative of the pagan world dominated before Christ. Finally, there are found various animal types such as the fox, the wolf and the lion, that embody vices or virtues: other animals are used as religious and liturgical symbols. Thus the fox represents the artifice of a certain class of preaching and begging friars against which the regular orders and the clergy had to struggle. The unicorn which the sly hunters have enticed into the lap of a maiden where it is treacherously murdered, is the symbol of Christ, born of the Virgin.

Let us suppose now that a student is reading one of the fables taken from a *bestiaire* and for further enlightenment he turns to a history of Old French literature. The only information he will find there will be the fact of the connection between the so called *Physiologus* and the medieval didactic and moral poetry, beginning with the *lapidaire* and *bestiaire* of Philipp of Thauun. In order to assist the student in the understanding of the allegories and symbolisations which play such a great rôle in medieval literature, it will be advisable to refer him at once to some of the images and parallels from the animal world, used in the lyric poetry of the troubadours, trouvères and Minnesänger.

The study of the legendary unicorn and the frequent use which is made of it in medieval art and literature will lead the student into various fields of medieval culture. The figure of this animal is employed not only in the *bestiaires* proper, but also in the Old Provençal, Old French and Middle High German lyrics as well as in some didactic Romance and Germanic prose works; as, for example, in the *Barlaam and Josaphat* legend. A love song<sup>4</sup> of the royal trouvère Thibaut

<sup>4</sup>G. RAYNAUD, *Bibliographie des chansonniers français*, No. 2075. This song is already mentioned by a contemporary musical theorist, JOHANNES DE GROCHEO, as a typical example of the variety "cantus coronatus". See my article: *Dire und chanter, singen und sagen, als Einzelbegriffe und als Formeln. Philologische und psychologische Bemerkungen zur Geschichte des Singens und Sagens*, in *Zeitschrift für französische Sprachen und Literaturen*, Fasc. 6 of the current year.

de Champagne, roy de Navarre, says:

Ausi comme unicorne sui  
qui s'esbahist en regardant  
quand la pucele va mirant,  
tant est lie de son ennui.  
Pasmée chiet en son giron,  
lors l'occit on en traïson.  
Et moi ont mort d'aitel semblant  
Amors et ma dame, pour voir!  
Mon cuer ont, n'en puis point ravoïr.

In Philipp of Thaun's *bestiaire* the symbol of the unicorn is interpreted spiritually, while Thibaut de Champagne adapts it to himself. In Old Provençal the legend of the unicorn is also found in a treatise entitled: *Aiso son las naturas d'alcus auzels e d'alcunas bestias*.<sup>5</sup>

Thibaut de Champagne's "chanson couronnée", in turn, gives evidence of the reference to the art of illumination and illustration of the time. As I have already indicated the initial miniatures of certain manuscripts often reflect the content of the poems or, at least, illustrate the main idea of the first stanza. This is the case, for instance, in the Chansonier No. 846 of the division of French manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. A facsimile of the first page of this manuscript, where Thibaut's song is found, would illustrate most admirably what I have in mind. For here are represented, on one page, the most important factors of the artistic production of the time: the literary document itself, the musical text, and the initial miniature, all of which together constitute the work of art which is to be understood as an organic whole. Besides, a suitable number of reproductions of the decorative and sculptural art taken from the early Gothic cathedrals and other relics, preserved in the museums, and showing their relation to the literary works of the time is greatly to be desired for a complete and clear appreciation of the literature of the Middle Ages.

The more illustrations and reproductions of this kind that are contained in a history of medieval literatures, the more

<sup>5</sup> See K. BARTSCH, *Provenzalisches Lesebuch*, pag. 162 ss.

such a book will deserve the title of an introduction. The reproach that some of the present works on Old French literature are too bulky will then disappear. The student will find in them a living representation of literature as a part of culture.

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## REVIEWS AND NOTES

MÜLLER, HANS Von. E. T. A. Hoffmann im persönlichen Verkehr. Sein Briefwechsel und die Erinnerungen seiner Bekannten. Berlin, 1912.

Von dem auf drei Bände berechneten Werke liegen nunmehr, nach langjähriger Arbeit, die ersten beiden vor. Diese enthalten bis auf unwichtige Ausnahmen Hoffmanns Briefwechsel, soweit derselbe in irgend einer Form auf uns gekommen und bekannt ist. Eine Anzahl Briefe, die der Herausgeber zu spät entdeckte, um sie an gehöriger Stelle einreihen zu können, sollen im dritten Bande nachgetragen werden. Es sind deren im ganzen sechsundvierzig, die jedoch bis auf sechs bereits im Druck erschienen und an sich nur von untergeordnetem Werte sind. Der erste Band enthält vor allem Hoffmanns Briefe an Hippel und die Erinnerungen des letzteren an seinen Freund Hoffmann. Zum Teil waren es Gründe der Pietät, welche den Herausgeber veranlassten Hoffmanns Briefe an Hippel von den übrigen abzusondern, denn der erste Band besteht im Wesentlichen aus dem Material, welches Hippel noch im Jahre 1822 zusammenstellte und Hitzig für seine Hoffmann-Biographie überliess. In diesem Werke hat Hitzig aber so wenig aus Eignem hinzugefügt, dass Hippel von rechtswegen als erster Biograph Hoffmanns zu betrachten ist, wie v. Müller dartut. Wenn er, wie beabsichtigt, im dritten Bande das bringen wird, was nach Wegfall des Hippel'schen Materials von Hitzigs Biographie noch übrig bleibt, wird das Verdienst Hippels jedem satzsam in die Augen springen. Doch Hoffmanns Briefe an Hippel bilden sowieso eine Gruppe für sich. Einmal liegen aus Hoffmanns Junggesellenzeit eigentlich überhaupt nur seine Briefe an Hippel vor; zweitens sind diese Briefe sämtlich von dem Geiste einer wahren und innigen freundschaftlichen Liebe und Begeisterung durchdrungen, dem sich sonst nichts aus Hoffmanns Briefen an die Seite stellen lässt. Die Anordnung des Stoffes ist also vollkommen gerechtfertigt. Der zweite Band, der reichlich doppelt so stark ist als der erste, zerfällt in drei Hefte. Die ersten beiden enthalten Hoffmanns Briefwechsel mit Ausnahme der Briefe an Hippel, das dritte behandelt in der Form von Anhängen Tod und Begräbnis Hoffmanns, das Schicksal seiner Hinterlassenschaft, vor allem aber die Verwertung seines geistigen Nachlasses durch Hitzig und die ausführliche Entstehungsgeschichte der ersten Ausgaben der Werke unseres Dichters. Interessant sind die Exkurse über den Fürsten Pückler-Muskau und die Blossstellung der gewissenlosen Gemeinheit

des Bamberger Verlegers und *quasi* Literaten Carl Friedrich Kunz. Wie bekannt war es Kunzens Ehrgeiz, vor der Welt als ein höchst intimer Freund des verstorbenen Dichters Hoffmann zu gelten und in der Verfolgung dieses Zieles schreckte er vor keinerlei Entstellung oder Fälschung zurück. Auch die Schicksale der Witwe Hoffmanns werden in übersichtlicher Kürze zur Darstellung gebracht. Die Sammlung zeichnet sich durch aktenmässige Genauigkeit aus. Die Herkunft sämtlicher Briefe in der vorliegenden Form ist stets klargestellt, bei Wiedergabe von Originalen ist auch die Adresse angegeben, wenn vorhanden, Poststempel und Verschluss werden beschrieben, handschriftliche Bemerkungen des Empfängers werden angeführt. Der Herausgeber findet Gelegenheit eine stattliche Anzahl irriger Angaben aller Art zu berichtigen, die in verschiedenen Werken von anderen gemacht worden sind, auch macht er häufig auf Auslassungen, z. B. in Goedeke, aufmerksam. Seine Bemühungen sind in erster Linie darauf gerichtet, die Wahrheit zu ermitteln und zutage zu fördern. Er zeigt dabei die erforderliche Parteilosigkeit, obschon er sich nicht immer der direkten oder indirekten Bewertung enthält. Manchmal bringt er seine Gefühle sogar ziemlich derb zum Ausdruck; doch bei seiner Darstellungsart ist nicht im geringsten zu befürchten, dass er das Urteil seiner Leser irre führen könnte. Geradezu erfrischend ist die geistige Vornehmheit v. Müllers und sein tiefer Hass gegen alle philisterhafte Kleinichkeit.

Der erste Band ist mit einem vollständigen Register versehen, dem zweiten Bande fehlt leider ein solches; auch das Verzeichnis sämtlicher Briefe nach den Correspondenten ist auf den dritten Band verwiesen. Dort sollen auch alle Erstausgaben der Werke Hoffmanns und die Besitzer von Originalbriefen mit ihren Titeln und Adressen angegeben werden. Ein geplanter Supplementband soll ein gemeinsames Register für Hoffmanns Tagebücher, seinen Briefwechsel und die Erinnerungen an ihn bringen, auch die Hauptlebensdaten aller, die mit Hoffmann in nähere Berührung gekommen sind. Ueber fernerstehende Personen, die zufällig einmal in den Briefen erwähnt werden, geben die Anmerkungen unter dem Texte befriedigende Auskunft. Hier deckt v. Müller, indem er den aufgenommenen Faden manchmal etwas weiter ausspinnt, nicht selten sehr interessante Beziehungen auf, wie z. B. II, 602, Anmerk. 11. Von Müller hat keine Mühe gescheut, alle irgendwie dunkeln Punkte so gründlich wie möglich zu beleuchten. Das gilt auch von den Nachweisungen wenig bekannter, literarischer Quellen, aus denen Hoffmann geschöpft hat. Da der Druck des Werkes schon im Jahre 1903 begonnen wurde, sind kleine Ungleichheiten in der

Methode entstanden. In mehreren Fällen haben nach der Drucklegung gemachte Entdeckungen Berichtigungen am Schlusse nötig gemacht. Dabei sind Druckfehler, die der Leser ohne weiteres als solche erkennt und selbst korrigiert, mit Stillschweigen übergangen worden. Zu Anmerkung 10 & 11, II, 256 möchte ich bemerken, dass Arnim unter dem "Wort" die geistige Nahrung der Menschheit versteht, oder richtiger das Material aus dem der Dichter sein Werk knetet. Wenn Geistreichelei und blosser Spielerei mit dem Worte in der Literatur vorherrschen, so ist dies ein Anzeichen geistiger Verarmung und Unfruchtbarkeit, was zu einer geistigen Hungersnot führen muss. Der Vergleich, den Arnim zwischen dem Missbrauch des lieben Brotes und des Wortes, dieser Nahrung des Geistes, anstellt, hinkt allerdings ziemlich stark, doch der beabsichtigte Sinn ergibt sich m. E. klar genug aus dem Zusammenhange. Trotz allen Lobes der Hoffmann'schen Werke scheint Arnim ihm doch den leisen Vorwurf zu machen, dass er seine Kraft an eigentlich Minderwertiges verschwendet (vergl. II, 255 u.). Indem Arnim diese Idee dann weiter ausspinnt und verallgemeinert, läuft ihm der seltsame Vergleich mit unter, der übrigens ganz im Geiste Arnims ist. In dem angeblichen Briefe an einen jungen Komponisten (II, 463, Nr. 259a) haben wir es sicher mit einer Fälschung zu tun, wie v. Müller betont. Abgesehen von dem Inhalte scheint mir der Stil, besonders gegen den Schluss des Briefes, durchaus nicht der Hoffmanns. Ein zwingender Beweis liesse sich aus diesen Daten kaum erbringen, die eigne Ueberzeugung ist hier ausschlaggebend. Uebrigens ist der Brief an und für sich unwichtig. Der in Aussicht gestellte dritte Band dürfte leicht den zweiten an Wert und Interesse übertreffen, dem ersten kann er allerdings kaum gleichkommen. Was bereits erschienen, ist für die Hoffmann-Forschung von grösstem Wert. Es muss geradezu als die Grundlage für jede weitere wissenschaftliche Untersuchung auf diesem Gebiete bezeichnet werden. Einmal finden wir hier die Berichtigung von Dutzenden von Irrtümern, die sich in der einschlägigen Literatur lustig weiter geerbt haben. Auch fällt auf Hoffmann als Mensch manches neue Licht, obzwar die Grundlinien seines Charakters keine Verschiebung erleiden. Vor allem ist aber erst jetzt eine genaue Chronologie von Hoffmanns Werken nach der Zeitfolge ihrer tatsächlichen Entstehung möglich gemacht worden. Der Wert der vorliegenden beiden Bände besteht nicht in den Beiträgen an bisher unbekanntem Material; diese sind äusserst geringfügig. Doch hat der Herausgeber das weit zerstreute und schwer zugängliche Material gewissenhaft gesammelt, geordnet, erläutert und berichtigt, und damit der Hoffmann-Forschung einen kaum zu über-

schätzenden Dienst geleistet. Wertvoll sind auch vielfach v. Müllers Ausführungen, so z. B. die Aufstellung der Gesichtspunkte, die bei einer etwaigen neuen Gesamtausgabe der Schriften Hoffmanns massgebend sein sollten. Wer sich irgendwie ernstlich mit Hoffmann befassen will, darf das vorliegende Werk keinesfalls unberücksichtigt lassen.

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GUIDO C. L. RIEMER: Wörterbuch und Reimverzeichnis zu Dem Armen Heinrich Hartmanns von Aue. *Hesperia*, Schriften zur germanischen Philologie, herausgegeben von Hermann Collitz, Nr. 3. Göttingen, 1912, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. pp. II & 162.

BAYARD QUINCY MORGAN: *Nature in Middle High German Lyrics*. *Hesperia*, Nr. 4. Göttingen, 1912. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. pp. VIII & 220.

The duty of the ancient Hesperides was limited to the protection of the golden apples of Hera. Their modern Germanic namesakes aim not so much to preserve, as rather to add to the treasure-hoard of philological lore, and Nymphs 3 and 4, to remain true to our figure, have not come with empty hands. The *Wörterbuch und Reimverzeichnis* is, to be sure, a less pretentious and ambitious work than Doctor Morgan's *Nature in MHG Lyrics* and calls for no lengthy discussion. But within his self-imposed limits Professor Riemer has worked with painstaking care, and his results are correspondingly accurate. Every occurrence of every word found in the text (even down to *unde!*) is listed, and frequently also the whole passage is quoted in order to show the significance and construction of the word at the point in question. Also the different readings given by Haupt-Martin, Wackernagel-Toischer-Stadler and Bech are noted whenever they differ from Paul's text, which is used by the author as the basis for his work. We have, therefore, not merely a dictionary to Hartmann's *Armer Heinrich* but a dictionary for the different editions of the poem. The *Reimverzeichnis* is equally exhaustive, and not merely are the rime-words given, but their grammatical function is indicated also in all cases where this might be in doubt. Under each rime (by rime is meant a sound-complex of one or more syllables which is not necessarily a complete word, e. g. *-aft*, *-ant*, *-esen*, *-inget*, etc.) the rime-words are arranged according to the frequency of their occurrence. And finally an alphabetical list is given from which one can see at a glance whether any given word does or does not occur in rime. Pro-

fessor Riemer has not attempted to draw any conclusions or make any use of the material he has assembled. His nearest approach to original observation and comment is found in the *Wörterbuch* when it is a question of the precise meaning of the words listed. Indeed we cannot but feel that the author has overreached himself somewhat in this particular, for it is not possible in treating a single work of a single writer, without reference to the earlier periods in the history of the language, *auf die allmähliche Entwicklung der Bedeutung der einzelnen Wörter Rücksicht zu nehmen und die verschiedenen Stadien in der Begriffsentwicklung klar hervortreten zu lassen*, and yet this is stated in the preface to be one of the functions of the book. Likewise it seems that in attempting to differentiate between MHG and modern German the author in an excess of conscientious zeal not infrequently avoids the use of the corresponding word in modern German in cases where after all the modern word represents its MHG counterpart more accurately than any other word or expression that can be found. Thus we find given as the meaning of *erlöesen* "*von etwas Gutem oder Schlimmem losmachen, befreien*" with evidently conscious avoidance of modern German *erlösen*. And yet it is precisely this word with its religious and theological connotations which best represents its MHG predecessor. Consider, for instance, the following passage where Hartmann after requesting his future readers to pray for the welfare of his soul continues:

*man seit, er si sîn selbes bote  
unde erloese sich dâ mite,  
swer über des andern schulde bite.* (Bech, 26-28)

For *siech* the only meaning given is *krank*, and yet Heinrich's sickness was just of that nature which is suggested by modern German *siech*, and not by *krank*. *Enbern* is translated as "*ohne etwas sein*", whereas it would be both simpler and more accurate to say *entbehren*, since to Hartmann as well as in the language of today this verb suggests *deprivation, the absence of a thing desired* more actively and forcefully than is conveyed by the words just quoted.

*nu enbirt er und ich enbir  
der êren der uns was gedâht.* (Bech, 1310-11)

Occasionally also we feel that the author is laboring to make clear that which is already almost axiomatic, as for instance:

*teil, irgend ein Teil eines Ganzen, Teil.  
klage, Klage, der hörbare Ausdruck eines schmerz-  
lichen Gefühls.  
frist, Frist; anfangender, währenden, abgelaufener  
Zeitraum.*

Such definitions are good of their kind, but they seem de-

signed more for a beginner in modern German than for students of MHG literature. Here and there we note the opposite error, a failure to indicate certain limitations or extensions of meaning which while not contradictory to are yet not necessarily inherent in the corresponding word in modern speech. Thus Hartmann's *tac* is something more than *Tag*. It is also *Tagesanbruch* or *Tageslicht*, as in the lines:

*des einen si sich gar bewac, / gelebte si morne den tac,  
daz si benamen ir leben / umbe ir herren wolte geben*  
(Bech, 525-528)

And by *werlt* Hartmann means as a rule something more limited than our modern *Welt*, namely the profane and temporal world as opposed to the kingdom of heaven:

*jâ ist dirre werlte leben / niuwan der sêle verlust.*  
(Bech 696-7)

These slight blemishes, however, if such they be, are not so serious as to reduce the general excellence of the book. The author hopes that his work *sowohl dem Anfänger wie dem gelehrten Fachgenossen zu gute kommen möchte*. Its value for the beginner is evident, but if I may call attention to a shortcoming already alluded to, I would say that it is a cause of regret that the author has not himself played the part of the *gelehrten Fachgenossen*, or at least indicated some of the questions upon which his material might be expected to throw some light. Even in a *Wörterbuch und Reimverzeichnis* it is possible to be suggestive, and an ounce of suggestion is often worth more than a pound of information.

In his *Nature in MHG Lyrics* Doctor Morgan has not hesitated to let his own voice be heard, and he moves about among the poets, whose feeling for nature he proposes to study, as though he would fain be one of them. His book, therefore produces upon the reader an effect that we might be satisfied to describe as pleasant, if it were not for the superior nicety of *woltuend*. But if Mr. Morgan has not sought to conceal his own personality behind a veil of austere objectivity, the fear that he may be offering us subjective opinions in place of real facts is not well grounded, inasmuch as the references to nature and natural objects in the poems treated (and they are surprisingly numerous) are collated, classified and enumerated with praiseworthy care and completeness. The author indeed keeps his feet constantly upon the solid ground of reality, and compares, therefore, very favorably with some of his predecessors in the same field, who were not always equally careful in their statements. As an illustration I quote a few lines from the preface:

Predecessor: "The stock in trade" (of the MHG lyric poets) "is the rose and lily and violet; the nightingale and

cuckoo, with an occasional eagle or lark; sunshine or moonlight or starlight; joyous spring, dreary winter." Morgan: "This statement conveys a decidedly wrong impression. The cuckoo is regarded with great scorn by the Minnesingers, so much so that its very name is a term of obloquy. So far from the eagle or lark being occasional as compared with the cuckoo, they are far more frequent, while the falcon, which ——— does not mention, is more common than either. Nor is there any comparison between the sun and moon and stars in point of frequency." Predecessor: "The references" (to flowers and clover in a song of Walther's) "are quite colorless and have no individuality." Morgan: "As a matter of fact the figure of the emulation between clover and flowers is strictly Walther's own, and is both fresh and charming." We observe here an advance, not merely in scientific accuracy, but in sympathetic understanding as well, according to Goethe's maxim: *Die wahre Liberalität ist Anerkennung*. However, Mr. Morgan is far from being a mere controversialist or a blind partisan, against which tendency he is protected on the one hand by a wholesome sense of humor and an excellent power of literary discrimination, and on the other by his clear understanding of the limitations under which these medieval poets labored. Indeed from the point of view of the literary historian the most valuable contribution which this book brings is, perhaps, the plausible and, I think, convincing explanation as to why the most perfect of the *Minnelieder* present the least satisfactory treatment of nature. Without endeavoring to reproduce the argument I will repeat one or two of the more pointed statements: "The fundamental idea of the Minnesong contains an irreconcilable contradiction. That which it was highly laudable and honorable for the lover to seek, was in the highest degree culpable for the lady to give.", hence "The necessity of impersonality." "The *Minnelied* was never a truly German product, but in form and style and largely in content it represents a pure imitation of a foreign model." "It was not merely artificial in Germany, it was so even in the tongue in which it originated." "The *Minnelieder* are not fairly representative products of German lyric feeling, and certainly not as far as nature is concerned." Fortunately there is still a considerable body of lyric poetry where the "enormous restrictions" of the *Minnelied* are not felt, or at least weigh less heavily. Here belong "those *Minnelieder* which cast aside the traditional form and devote at least half of their space to description or appreciation of nature", "the songs of nature and love apart from formal *Minnelieder*", "the *Volksheder*." In the introductory chapter, from which the above quotations are taken,

Mr. Morgan presents us with perhaps sixty metrical translations of lyrics which seem to him notable for the extent or quality of their treatment of nature. For his translations the author claims no great poetical merit, but believes that they will be found accurate both as to content and in respect to the rythmical and metrical schemes. This is itself an achievement of no little importance, and serves to show the *con amore* with which the author has gone at his work. Hypercriticism might ask *cui bono?*, since in the main body of the book the quotations and illustrations are all given in the original, so that the work as a whole can be read only by the scholar, or at least by persons with a reading knowledge of MHG. However we will accept the translations (which are indeed excellent) as what the man of law would call surplusage, and can recommend them to those who would like to secure some acquaintance with MHG lyric poetry without the pains of acquiring the language. Needless to say no translation can ever be an exact reproduction of the original. Generally it is inferior, sometimes superior, always a little different. Doubtless our author realizes this as well as anyone, and we will credit him with having felt a prick of conscience when he put into the mouth of Walther's linden-girl the words: "see my lips' encrimsoned mould." The headings under which the various phenomena of nature are considered are indicated by the titles of the following chapters: Times and Seasons; Inanimate Nature. The Sky; Inanimate Nature. Wind and Weather; Inanimate Nature. Miscellaneous; Forest and Field; Flowers; Plants and Grass; The Animal Kingdom; Birds; Animals; Other Creatures. Then follow two chapters in which we seem to be asked to wander far afield: Joy, Love, and Women; Religious Concepts. However our guide has not lost his bearings, and explains in the former that here "are gathered together certain aspects of our subject . . . which are concerned not so much with the phenomena of nature actually observed, as with the applications of them. As these poems are in large number love-poems . . . it is not surprising to find the poets taking pains to establish connections of one kind or another between the two" (love and nature). And in the latter: Here are included "such concepts as are directly connected with natural phenomena. These are of two kinds. We have ideas concerning the relation of God to nature and the earth; and we have phrases symbolizing under the guise of things in nature truths and ideas concerning God", etc. The last chapter is devoted to Figurative Expressions, only such figures being considered as introduce nature in some way. Instead of arranging his similies according to the character of the natural



phenomena involved (a procedure rendered unnecessary by the preceding chapters) the author introduces an ingenious system of double classification, according to which the figure appears first in accordance with the number of properties of one or both objects compared, and secondly according to the person or persons involved. The latter arrangement is suggested and justified by the fact that these poets in their naïve egoism refer everything to man, so that the great majority of the similies are concerned directly with human beings. Hence from this point of view the similies are grouped according as they refer to the poet himself, the poet's mistress, the poet's patrons, etc. Whether the classification of similies according to a mathematical enumeration of the properties compared will recommend itself to future students of literary style remains to be seen. It is not claimed, of course, that a similie of the second or third degree is necessarily superior in poetic merit to one of the first or second, but the author believes that "if the comparison holds good, the similie rises in value in direct ratio to the number of properties involved." Most readers, however, will probably incline to the view that a similie involving more than one, or at most two points of resemblance is a mere *tour de force* in which such poetic excellence as may be attained is gained not by virtue of, but despite the multiplicity of properties common to both objects compared, just as a rime involving more than two syllables is felt to be objectionable. It is doubtless better to leave the question of poetic merit in abeyance and to consider similies of the  $n^{\text{th}}$  degree as showing at the best ingenuity and breadth of vision, and at the worst a labored striving for effect on the part of the poet. It speaks well for the originality of these singers that some of their similies "defy classification", and for the candor of our author that he does not seek to subordinate their significance to the requirements of his system. Here we find some thoughts and fancies worthy of the poets of any age: "A friend's laughter should be pure as the evening sun; *luter als der abentrot*" (i. e. not sharp and consuming like the sun at midday). "Nobility is of the heart, not of birth; *wer adellichen tuot, den wil ich han vür edel*", an idea which in view of the religious activity of the preceding centuries ought to have been familiar enough even then, but which is saved from the commonplace by the pretty turn: *nu siht man doch bekomen rosen von dem dorne*. And a similie which I find I have marked *optime* is the following: *swaz ein vrouwe tugende hat, diu muoz uz ir herzen grunde gan, sam daz saf uz wurzen gat in vil mange bluome wolgetan*. For here the similie, excellent as it is in itself, is subordinated to the still more noteworthy sentiment which it illustrates. And while

ostensibly only one point of comparison is brought to light, the hidden source from which springs in the one case genuine virtue and in the other the life of the plant, how daintily the poet has suggested the flower-like beauty of *tugend* by following the course of the sap until it reaches *vil mange bluome wolgetan*! To return now to the earlier chapters. Particularly noticeable is the keenness of observation displayed by the author, especially at those points where he discovers the same quality in these medieval poets. Speaking of the lark he says: "Significant is the fact that this bird, the song-bird of the open field, is not once located in the forest; whereas we do have two statements placing it where it should be: *schone singet lerche über heide, lerche singet ob dem gevilde*." (p. 124). And of the swallow: "One thing which attracts especial attention is the swallow's rapid, darting flight, *swalwen vluk*. Note the following: *si vliuget hin unt schiuzt her wider; den ertvug unt den swippersweif kan si ueben; slichet umbe und umb entwer, alsam ein swal*, all unusually fitting expressions, for this poetry." (p. 121). Likewise we are made to feel the relative friendliness or hostility, admiration or contempt which is exhibited towards the different plants, birds and beasts discussed, as well as to the more impersonal manifestations of nature, such as the seasons, months of the year, wind, rain, hail, etc. Thus we read of the nightingale: "The poets nearly exhaust the resources of their vocabulary in the attempt to do justice to the song of the nightingale. I have recorded no less than seventy references of this kind, ranging from a simple statement that the nightingale is or was singing, to the complex descriptions some of which I shall cite: *in suezer wise, hohe, lise singet diu nahtegal; uz der bluete klenket vil suezen don manik wilde nahtegal*", etc. (p. 128). But on the other hand we find this statement: "We have by no means as much real observation of this bird as of the swallow, for instance. Almost everything which here occurs is a repetition or at most an intensified variant of what we have already heard about the birds generally." (*ibid.*). This remark seems hardly justified by the facts. The swallow is a bird that spends much of the time on the wing in the open, and it therefore attracts the eye of the observer. The nightingale, an inconspicuously colored bird, hidden in the foliage, and singing at dusk and in the night is "observed" by the ear rather than the eye, so that its song is properly felt to be its most characteristic feature. Considering, furthermore, the pre-eminence of the nightingale among the smaller birds (and "the attribute of the birds *par excellence* is *klein*", p. 110) it would seem more natural to assume that what we hear concerning the birds in general was first ob-

served and uttered in connection with the nightingale, rather than the reverse. An animal which is naturally unpopular is the wolf: "To the wolf we find 63 references, eight of which are figurative. The wolf is the savage animal *par excellence*, the animal of unprovoked and unceasing fury. Hence *wilder wolf ist ungezamt*; and in general he is *wilde and stark*", etc. (p. 141). A little creature which is viewed without affection or dislike but with considerable interest is the bee. While not the smallest member of the animal kingdom to attract the attention of these poets I will quote the paragraph devoted to this insect as showing Mr. Morgan's deftness in weaving together his material until something resembling a little story is the result. Readers familiar with the type of literary studies represented by the dissertation on *The Horse in MHG*, in which not a single verb occurs from beginning to end, will appreciate the effort to make readable what would otherwise be a mere stringing together of dry data: "Bees attract considerable attention. They gather sweetness from the flowers: *wie diu bin ir sueze uz den bluomen ziehen kan*; and carry home wax and honey: *diu bie treit wabs unt honik ze huse*; for which reason the bee is called *honiktrage*. The home is *kar*, and when their queen is in the hive, they like to go to it: *alsam die bien zuo den karn mit vröuden vallent, ob ir rehte wisel drinne si*. The queen is met with elsewhere also: *einen vürsten hant die bien, swar der vert, si volgent nach*; *die mükken habent künik under inne, die beien einen wisel, dem sie volgen*. The bumble-bee's noise is characterized: *hummel snurrent*. Oddly enough, there is no mention of the bee's bite." (p. 150). Of interest to the antiquarian are the references and citations for the fabulous and semi-fabulous creatures, such as: *Phoenix*, *Pellicanus* ("the pelican, a perfectly legitimate and respectable bird, who here becomes quite fabulous"), *Grife*, *Idrus*, *Taphart*, *Pardus*, the "clever worm" *Aspis* (Cleopatra's Asp? or *Vipera aspis* of So. Europe?), *Monocerus*, etc., as well as the accounts of the curious legends attached to these and to some of the better known animals. Important for the lexicographer is the occurrence of the word *ren* (Ags. *hrán*), "reindeer", which, though noted by Bartsch in his *Deutschen Lieder-dichtern* has escaped the notice of Lexer, and whose earliest occurrence according to Kluge is in the Low German of the 16th century.

Inasmuch as Mr. Morgan is not attempting to establish any hypothesis or argue for any theory, there is naturally no *résumé* or set conclusion at the end of his monograph (although some of the chapters end with comment of a more general nature). The omission, I think, is a wise one. For

instead of reducing diversity to unity, the book as a whole leads us to realize that where we suspected nothing but monotony and paucity of thought and observation there is in reality surprising diversity, independence of judgment and at least relative sharpness of vision. A word of admonition to the reader, however, seems called for. It is Nature in MHG lyrics that is presented here, not nature as seen by any one poet, or even by the average poet. A similar study in modern lyric poetry would also, of course, show a wealth of observation greater than could be found in the works of any one individual, and greater also than we probably now suspect. If one insists, therefore, upon comparing the poets of the 13th century with those of the 19th and 20th, one must wait until the complete data for the latter lie before him. Misprints occur here and there throughout the book but are not so serious as to mar the generally attractive appearance of the page. Most of them have been detected in time to be entered in a list of Errata, printed on Page VIII. I subjoin a few others which have escaped notice:

- p. 63, l. 25, *for* attracts *read* attracts.
- p. 64, l. 28, *for* assosiations *read* associations.
- p. 71, l. 8, *for* radiate *read* radiates.
- p. 74, l. 9, *for* wan *read* man.
- p. 84, l. 19, *for* stein *read* stone.
- p. 109, l. 22, *for* sing *read* sings.
- p. 121, l. 15, *for* unusally *read* unusually.

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FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHES Werke: Gross 8° Gesamt-Ausgabe. Bd. XIX. Philologica Bd. iii. Unveröffentlichtes zur antiken Religion und Philosophie. Herausgegeben von O. Crusius und W. Nestle. Leipzig, Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1913. Pp. 462. Brosch. M. 10; geb. M. 12.

The speed with which this, the final volume of the Philologica, follows upon the other two, and the high standard of scientific workmanship maintained throughout are cause for congratulation to both editors and publishers. A trying task has been completed in a manner which cannot fail to satisfy the demands of scholarship any less than those of literature. Otto Crusius, the editor of the second volume, has prepared the text of the lectures on the *Gottesdienst der Griechen*, together with the critical and explanatory notes thereon in the appendix, while W. Nestle has done the same for the series of lectures and studies in Greek philosophy, and added an index

to the three volumes of the philological section of Nietzsche's works (pp. 425-462), which is characteristic of his exact scholarship.

The most carefully elaborated perhaps of all Nietzsche's university lectures are those upon the *Gottesdienst der Griechen*, and the introduction to them is very properly given here in its complete form for its characteristically philosophic outlook on Greek religion. Interested however as he was in this topic and carefully as his work was done, he is nevertheless so obviously dependent upon others, that the general effect is a depersonalization of treatment which for Nietzsche is almost uncanny. The lectures are in fact little more than a reflection in the mirror of his brilliant style of views widely accepted in his day. The romantic elements in Curtius' studies on the Sacred Ways, and a picturesque fancy like Nissen's that the *templum* must have originated in the Po valley, in which the tributaries north and south formed the *cardines* and the Po itself the *decumanus maximus*, strongly impressed him. Even when he ventures a theory of his own, his fancy is prone to give mere common sense and scientific method the slip. Particularly infelicitous are the suggestions that the goddesses of night and of oil were in Attica identified because of an association in ideas between the moon and an olive oil lamp (p. 5 f.), and that the egg was used in temple purification because a rotten egg smells somewhat like sulphur (p. 113). Movers, Brandeis and Olshausen were leaders, to his confusion, in things Semitic. Nietzsche accepted readily each newest vagary propounded by the leading exponents of the particular phase of *le mirage oriental* then current. Whole groups of Hellenic gods, cults, myths, sagas, arts, industries and institutions are fathered upon the Semites; Hellenic science is out and out Egyptian, and even the most fundamental order of the social life of Hellas, the *polis*, is listed as a Phoenician importation.

We here see the genesis of that notion, which is constantly cropping out in Nietzsche's works, that the Hellenes were dependent upon Asia for their philosophic and religious thought. It forced, or rather *enabled* him to interpret all the higher life of Hellas in terms of Oriental mysticism and excess, throwing thereby every element of Hellenic culture into false perspective. His psychological studies of the Greek genius were thus irreparably vitiated by this *πρώτον ψεύδος* of a romantic quasi-science. The effect was immediate and far-reaching. As the Greeks were Nietzsche's culture-ideal, the misconception of that ideal vitiated the very essence of his social philosophy. That Nietzsche would not have become the great pessimistic instinctivist without having thus misunder-

stood the Hellenic character can hardly be affirmed, for, to use that phrase of Pindar which was often on his lips, he could not have helped becoming what he was; but it is inconceivable that he should have grown prophet, fanatic, finally madman out of the sheer intensity of his conviction, had he not, even when deserted by his dearest friends, been exalted by the thought that he alone represented those mighty ideals of Hellenic culture before which he never ceased to worship. Historical criticism and methodology which Nietzsche scorned have here worked bitter revenge in condemning to unserviceableness much of his historical valuation of the Greek genius. A false perspective threw everything into impossible relations, and the vehemence of his thought served but to increase the distortions. It was indeed a great defect in Nietzsche's intellectual training that he was never thoroughly conversant with historical criticism, sociological and economic thought, the sciences, or, with what for many of the great Greek philosophers was an excellent substitute for these things, the world of affairs. He set out to solve the most difficult problems of the origins of moral concepts and social institutions equipped only with the tools of an elaborated verbal philology, philosophical speculation, and a series of unsystematic observations in applied psychology. Trenchant and cunning in his hands as these tools may have been, they are a hopelessly inadequate equipment wherewith to disclose the totality of human experience.

It is interesting to observe in these lectures that Nietzsche was among the very first of German classical philologists to notice the work of Mannhardt, Spencer, Ferguson and Tylor in folk-lore, a phase of classical studies which is developing apace, and whose exaggeration, especially among the Cambridge philologists, is the irritation and despair of soberly trained scholarship. Significant light is thus thrown upon the vexed question of Dr. Paul Rée's influence upon Nietzsche. He saw much of Rée in the years following 1874, and Rée was an ardent follower of the English anthropologists, as Richard Meyer has recently emphasized. These lectures dating from the same general period (1875-6) show that Nietzsche was not uninfluenced by Rée's enthusiasm.

It is pleasant to note Nietzsche's own statement (p. 116) of his interpretation of the strange family names Περροθαρίαι and Μυρραγίς in the old Lokrian colonial inscription from Naupaktos. This had previously been known only through W. Vischer's report of a personal statement (Rh. Mus., 1871, p. 59). Despite difficulties it remains far the best etymology which has yet been offered, and the long inscription from Physkos recently published by Adolf Wilhelm establishes its

essential correctness. An emendation of a corrupt passage in Diodoros (5, 31, 2), where Σαρωνίδας [more correctly σαρωνιδας] is changed to Σαμνίδας, is well fortified and deserves consideration (p. 30<sup>6</sup>). Almost certainly correct is the restoration of a passage in the commentary of Probus on Vergil's Aen. VI, 31, which is so corrupt that it has been uniformly athetized by the Editors (p. 309<sup>2</sup>).

One would expect the lectures on Greek philosophy, *Die vorplatonischen Philosophen, Einleitung in das Studium der platonischen Dialoge*, and the fragmentary studies, *διαδοχαὶ der Philosophen* (1873-4), and *Democritea* (1866-8) to prove the most significant of all. And yet they are somewhat disappointing as considerable portions of the material had either been worked into the substance of Nietzsche's published books, or else had appeared in the tenth volume of the *Werke*, while the manuscript of *Die vorplatonischen Philosophen* was used by Richard Oehler in his elaborate study, *Nietzsche und die Vorsokratiker* (1904). A few especially noteworthy passages may, however, not inappropriately be pointed out, even though the thorough student of Nietzsche may already be familiar with one or another of them in a different context.

Nietzsche's mode of approach to the Greek philosophers is illuminated by such a passage as: "Die Griechen haben die Philosophentypen geschaffen: man denke an eine so individuell verschiedene Gesellschaft wie Pythagoras, Heraclit, Parmenides, Democrit, Protagoras, Socrates. Die Erfindsamkeit hierin zeichnet die Griechen vor allen Völkern aus . . . Alle jene Männer sind ganz aus einem Stein gehauen; zwischen ihrem Denken und ihrem Charakter ist strenge Nothwendigkeit; es fehlt jede Convenienz für sie, weil es, wenigstens damals, keine Philosophenstand gab" (128). They were for him charactertypes, not mere exponents of speculative problems. Their very existence justifies philosophy he added later in the margin, and transferred to his unfinished *Philosophenbuch*: "Es rechtfertigt die Philosophie, dass die Griechen sie getrieben haben" (128<sup>3</sup>); and they serve to characterize the national type: "Die Sanction der sieben Weisen gehört zu den grossen griechischen Charakterzügen: andere Zeiten haben Heilige, die Griechen haben Weise" (*ibid.*). Compare with this the pregnant saying "Es hängt mit den tiefsten Wurzeln eines Menschen und eines Volkes zusammen, ob er philosophirt oder nicht. Es handelt sich darum, ob er einen solchen Ueberschuss an Intellekt hat, dass er ihn nicht mehr für persönliche individuelle Zwecke verwendet, sondern mit ihm zu einem reinen Anschauen kommt" (131). The impressive personalities of the great single-piece philosophers gave them for Nietzsche, who measured men

solely by personal force, their great significance. It is the men themselves whom Nietzsche makes to rise before us in that brilliant series of character sketches, the completed sections of the *Philosophenbuch*; when one can do that he may be justified in smiling at old Zeller—but only then.

For Heraklitos ("in dessen Nähe überhaupt mir wärmer, mir wohler zu Muthe wird, als irgendwo sonst" (XV, 65) he has but words of reverence and wonder. The following beautiful passage is almost prophetically autobiographical: "Was schon aus seinem politische Verhalten hervorgeht, zeigt jeder Zug seines Lebens: die höchste Form des Stolzes, im sicheren Glauben an die von ihm allein erfasste Wahrheit. Er bringt diese Form durch ihre excessive Entwicklung bis zu einem erhabenen Pathos, durch unwillkürliche Identification von sich selbst und der Wahrheit . . . . Die Selbstverehrung des Heraklit hat gar nichts Religiöses; er sieht ausser sich nur die Verkehrtheit, den Wahn, den Mangel an Erkenntniss—aber keine Brücke führt zu den anderen Menschen hin, kein übermächtiges Gefühl mitleidiger Regung verbindet sie mit ihm. Von dem Gefühl der Einsamkeit, das ihn durchdrang, kann man sich schwerlich eine Vorstellung machen: vielleicht macht sein Stil dies noch am deutlichsten, den er selbst mit Orakelsprüchen und mit der Sprache der Sibylle vergleicht . . . . Denn er, als Grieche, verzichtet auf Helligkeit und künstlerischen Schmuck, einmal aus Menschenverachtung und trotzigem Gefühl seiner Ewigkeit: dann aber redet er in der Verückung wie die Pythia und die Sibylle, aber Wahrheit. Es ist nämlich nicht der Stolz der logischen Erkenntniss, sondern der intuitiven Erfassung des Wahren. . . . Einen solchen grossartigen, einsamen und verückten Menschen muss man sich in ein abgelegenes Heiligtum versetzt denken: unter Menschen war er unmöglich, am besten noch konnte er mit Kindern verkehren. Er brauchte die Menschen nicht, auch nicht für seine Erkenntniss: denn alles, was man erfragen kann verachtete er als *ιστορίη*, im Gegensatz zu der aus dem Innern strömenden *σοφίη*. Alles Lernen von Anderen war ihm das Zeichen eines Nicht-Weisen: denn der Weise hatte seinen Blick auf den einen *λόγος* in allem geheftet: sein eigenes Philosophiren bezeichnete er als ein Sichselbstsuchen und—erforschern (wie man ein Orakel erforscht)." An elaborate commentary might be written on this passage to point out the parallels to Nietzsche's own life and character. Seldom in the galaxy of the great has nature come so near repeating herself as in the recluse of Ephesus and der Einsame of Sils-Maria.

Most important however is the elaborate treatment of Sokrates, Nietzsche's persistent problem, with whom, to the



very last moments of his rational life, he struggled in thought as Luther had wrestled with God in prayer. The lectures show us nothing new, so far as I have observed, by way of criticism of Sokrates' philosophical and ethical standpoint, but they do give us a conception of how the fine courage, persistency and power of the man Sokrates called forth Nietzsche's unstinted admiration. Nowhere is his splendid personal achievement more worthily recognized. It is worth while to quote here a few sentences of this estimate as an offset to the only too well-known invectives strewn throughout the pages of his published works: "Diese drei muss man als die reinsten Typen bezeichnen: Pythagoras, Heraklit, Sokrates, der Weise als religiöser Reformator, der Weise als stolz-einsamer Wahrheitsfinder, der Weise als der ewig und überall Suchende (p. 122) . . . . Er ist ein ethischer Autodidakt: ein moralischer Strom geht von ihm aus. Ungeheuere Willenskraft auf eine ethische Reform gerichtet . . . . Ein vom Denken beherrschtes Leben . . . . Jetzt tritt die Lösung von den moralischen Instinkten ein: helle Erkenntniss soll das einzige Verdienst sein, aber mit der hellen Erkenntniss hat der Mensch auch das Tugend (p. 227) . . . . Sein Bestreben war diese Welt zu ordnen: in der Meinung, dass, wenn sie geordnet sei, der Mensch nicht anders könne, als tugendhaft zu leben . . . . Die ganze ältere Philosophie gehört noch in die Zeit der ungebrochenen ethischen Instinkte . . . . Jetzt bekommen wir eine Forschung nach der rein menschlichen, auf Wissenschaft beruhenden Ethik: sie wird *gesucht*. Bei den Früheren war sie da, als lebendiger Hauch. Diese gesuchte rein menschliche Ethik tritt zunächst in Feindschaft gegen die traditionelle hellenische Sitte der Ethik: die Sitte soll wieder zu einem Erkenntnissakte aufgelöst werden (228) . . . . Es bricht also aus Sokrates ein sittlicher Strom heraus: darin ist er prophetisch und priesterlich. Er hat das Gefühl einer Mission (229) . . . . Er wollte den Tod. Er hatte die herrlichste Gelegenheit, sein Uebergewicht über menschliche Furcht und Schwachheit zu zeigen und auch die Würde seiner göttlichen Mission. . . . . Die Instinkte sind überwunden: die geistige Helligkeit regiert das Leben und wählt den Tod; alle Moralsysteme des Alterthums bemühen sich, die Höhe dieser That zu erreichen oder zu begreifen. Sokrates als Beschwörer der Todesfurcht ist der letzte Typus des Weisen, den wir kennen lernen: der Weise als der Besieger der Instinkte durch σοφία" (pp. 233 f.).

The lectures on the Dialogues of Plato are introduced by the expressive motto "Plato amicus sed — ". There was little in Plato which appealed to Nietzsche, and the whole

treatment is unsympathetic. Plato was the first "Misch-charakter", he "verwirft die gesammte antike Kultur und stellt sich Homer gegenüber (p. 252). . . . Die echte Lust am wirklichen, das Vollwerden des Herzens beim Anschauen der Welt ist Plato ganz fremd" (226 f.). And granted his point of view Nietzsche was of course right. If you put your every hope of salvation in the Pre-Socratics, Plato must be abandoned. We ordinary men with the fine sense for differences dulled by indiscriminate reading, and the delicate appreciation of ethical values blunted by the methodical processes of a standardizing philology would read and enjoy Homer and Plato or Aischylos and Lukian, representatives of the most mutually exclusive Weltanschauungen, because we feel nothing deeply and are incapable of whole-hearted singleness of purpose. Not so Nietzsche. Like the readiness to eat anything, the desire for universal knowledge had for him something vulgar about it. He thought too consistently, he felt too intensely to be willing to become all things in turn and to be nothing wholly.

Almost amusing is it to observe how Nietzsche labored to destroy the belief in Plato's artistic achievement. That he could have been a great artist and not a great character, according to his understanding thereof, was hard to believe. He tries to show that his art was "Nebentrieb . . . kein herrschender Haupttrieb."—and quotes various unfavorable criticisms from antiquity, discreetly omitting Cicero's words of fairly worshipful praise. Reminiscent possibly of his own misfortunes at Schulpforta is the naïve argument that Plato could not have been an artist and yet have been so devoted to Mathematics (p. 276 f.).

The *diadochai der Philosophen* will hardly prove interesting to any but the specialist, and even to him its worth is problematic. Its main significance, as that of the *Democritea* immediately following, is to evidence the minute and painstaking character of Nietzsche's special studies in these fields. It is a little difficult to understand just why Nietzsche should have been so drawn to Demokritos. Characteristic is the opening sentence "Wir sind Democrit noch viele Todtenopfer schuldig, um nur einigermassen wieder gut zu machen, was die Vergangenheit an ihm verschuldet hat", a thought often in his mind to judge from the frequency of its appearance. He is in fact the only man of science among the Greeks of whom Nietzsche consistently speaks well, although his personal traits have nothing very singular and fascinating about them. Possibly it was because Demokritos was the first openly avowed atheist among the Philosophers, and, undisturbed by praise or blame pursued in quiet dignity a life of fruitful

investigation. Yet more, perhaps, he was a contemporary of Sokrates, and his works rivalled those of Plato, so that Nietzsche felt instinctively bound to exalt him at the expense of the greater fame of these his own especial enemies. The highly elaborated form of the essays from the period of the *Philologischer Verein* at Leipzig shows us the ardent follower of Ritschl, laying stress, like his master, upon the elegant handling of a theme, quite irrespective of its actual value.<sup>1</sup>

Herewith a review of merely this volume of Nietzsche's works might properly be brought to a close, but the completion of the great definitive edition which since 1895 has been appearing from the *Archiv* at Weimar inevitably suggests a backward glance over that interpretation of the Greek spirit which this man of genius has given us. Nietzsche as a vogue has had his day. None could more heartily have wished that misfortune to be shortlived than himself. But Nietzsche is a powerful reagent in the chemistry of modern thought, and especially as an interpreter of the Greek spirit has grown to exert an influence which is becoming more profound and widespread every passing year. At first it was no doubt true that elements anticlassical, or at least unclassical in German culture flocked about him; as one critic would have it; "the spirit of the unclassical flamed up in him like a pillar of fire". Injury has beyond question been done in the name of Nietzsche to the tradition of classical education. Yet this is probably only a passing phase; his larger and permanent effect will and now does work for good. Out of the eater has come forth meat. The newer movement to link classical studies once more with human life after the seven lean years of critical historical investigation and classification of learning's dry bones, is to my mind not to be dissociated from the inspiring example of that classicist who *lived* his Greek culture and philosophy, and who wrecked his academic career and finally broke down that amazingly fertile and gifted intellect because he took to heart, sometimes perhaps too much to heart, the splendid heritage of thought and character-types which his professional studies held ever before his eyes. "Nietzsche" says Joel "hat mehr getan als studiert, mehr als bewundert, mehr selbst als nachgestrebt,—er allein hat mit dem Alten gerungen". Or in his own noble words: "Aus dem Erlebten hat man sich das Alterthum erklärt . . . erst Mensch sein, dann wird man erst als Philolog fruchtbar sein . . . Man versuche Alter-

<sup>1</sup> Though minor misprints are fairly common the following are the only really disturbing errors I have noticed: p. 28 read ΕΙΛΕΙΘΙΑ; p. 100 ὀϊττοι; p. 101 Reinigung (?) for Steinigung; p. 286 Euthyphr; p. 298 Ιανόν; p. 318 διήκουσε.

tümlich zu leben — man kommt sofort hundert Meilen den Alten näher als mit aller Gelehrsamkeit". This is the spirit of Rohde's *Psyche*, of Zielinski's *Die Antike und Wir*, of Crusius' compact but highly stimulating *Wie studiert man klassische Philologie?*—of the volumes in that significant new series *Das Erbe der Alten*, especially of Steiger's *Euripides*, where from the dust of centuries the man Euripides rises once more to move among us. The final justification of all classical studies, and therefore the best hopes of all lovers of Antiquity, are involved in this movement, and to no one man of the past generation does it directly owe so much as to Friedrich Nietzsche. In a sense not quite as he meant it Joel's remark is nevertheless true: "Das Problem der Antike wird heute zum Problem Nietzsche, und das Problem Nietzsche zum Problem der Antike".

For Nietzsche's "Zurück zu den Griechen!" has awakened echoes far outside the ramparts of professional scholarship. One thinks naturally first of that group of young lyrists about Stefan George, with their motto "Hellas ewig unsre Liebe", their hope for the youth of Germany "dass ein Strahl von Hellas auf uns fiel"—the substance of Nietzsche's own early program: "Die Wiedergeburt Griechenlands aus der Erneuerung des deutschen Geistes". They require patient study of the Greek language, the most exact grammatical knowledge, sharply attack the enemies of classical training and criticise with all freedom those representatives of the present trend of classical scholarship who fail to appreciate quite as the Georgianer feel they should the unique merits of Nietzsche's "Tragisches Zeitalter der Griechen". George's own poetry saving its studied obscurity, is shot through with classical form and feeling, the echoes of Theokritos and Vergil sound in his verse, and that extraordinary poem called "Älgabal", redolent of the passion and splendor of the decadent empire,—a period which profoundly impressed Nietzsche of the last phase—is called by a competent critic "die einzige antimoralische Dichtung, die die Deutschen haben." Small as this circle is, and few as there yet be who read George's poetry with the spirit and the understanding, in Hugo von Hofmannsthal's *Alkestis*, *Elektra* and other adaptations from Greek tragedy the widest audience has been reached and a ringing note of beauty and of power struck. The old quarrel between Nietzsche and Wilamowitz roused by *Die Geburt der Tragödie* and giving occasion to the *Zukunftsphilologie* and the *Afterphilologie* pamphlets whose echoes are yet sounding in Germany, is carried on by the Georgianer. Hildebrand in a trenchant article *Hellas und Wilamowitz* takes the latter sharply to task for the literary quality of his translations from

the Greek, and rejects that interpretation which treats Greek science as the peer of Greek art, and sets the Alexandrians and the decadence along side of the great mythic and tragic ages of Greek productivity. George and his group will have none of the Greeks when instinct is dead and art has degenerated to mere virtuosity.

Gerhart Hauptmann's *Griechischer Frühling*, the one really significant book he has written for some years past, is a fine example of what this new and Nietzschean feeling may evoke. Read but the wonderful passage about the Acropolis of Athens, the musings before the crags at Delphi on tragedy and worship, or those on nature as he lies stretched out beneath the pines near Daphni. It is all very beautiful and it is all — Nietzsche.

A serious and noteworthy program from the inmost circle of Nietzsche's disciples is *Das Klassische Ideal* (1906, 3rd Ed. 1909) by E. and A. Horneffer. Though opposed to the present philological tendencies in classical studies these authors would have Greek made the great central theme in the whole system of public instruction from the lowest to the highest, in the hope that Hellenic culture values, which they regard as the only genuine European, may displace the ascetic Christian ideals that are to be rejected as Oriental importations obstructing the free development of a radically different racial spirit. Not without a certain symptomatic significance too in this connexion is Ludwig Hatvany's blatant *Die Wissenschaft des nicht Wissenswerten*, which reached a second edition in 1911. With the petulance of a peevish schoolboy he holds up to ridicule and obloquy the modern classical philologists, Wilamowitz above all others, but Diels, and even Zielinski and Usener are not spared in his fury, while on the other side the attempt is made to set up a pseudo-Nietzschean purely aesthetic interpretation of Hellenic culture. The whole diatribe is redolent of an ignorance and superficiality, a grossness of exaggeration and misstatement, against which the admirably exact and conscientious Nietzsche would have been the first to recoil in disgust. Nietzsche is everywhere quoted, paraphrased, parodied and—misunderstood, and with him are linked Burckhardt, Taine and Renan. The undoubted ability of these men to arouse emotions about antiquity the author obviously values more highly than any ascertainable objective truth regarding the same.

Indeed by a certain statistical method one can almost measure the importance which Nietzsche's criticism of Greek culture is accorded in Germany. In Gustav Billeter's singularly industrious compilation *Anschaungen vom Wesen des Griechentums* (1911), among upwards of six hundred authors

cited, the great majority of course being Germans of the 19th century, none is more frequently quoted than Friedrich Nietzsche. His only rival here (as elsewhere) is Wilamowitz; then at an interval come Herder, Burckhardt, Ernst Curtius, etc., and far down the list Goethe and Winckelmann. And this frequency of citation is the more significant because Billeter's own attitude is unsympathetic, and nearly every one of his theses antagonistic to Nietzsche's characteristic positions.

Even outside of Germany, Nietzsche's influence in this field is making itself felt. The latest interpreter of what he calls *The Greek Genius and its Meaning to Us* (1912), Mr. R. W. Livingstone of Oxford, sets "the most brilliant season of flower" for the Hellenic genius between 600 and 400 B. C., treats the fourth century as one of a uniform decadence which began distinctly in Euripides and Sokrates, and lists Plato as the "great exception", the essential antagonist of all that is specifically Hellenic in civilization. And lest one take these characteristically Nietzschean positions for mere coincidences he expressly calls Nietzsche "the prophet of our age", and closes his introduction with the frank statement that the whole framework of his conception of the Greek genius "is substantially that of Nietzsche: the Greeks have had no acuter critic".

These are noteworthy manifestations of a certain phase in what appears to be a widespread movement. That conception of the Greeks as the embodiment of noble simplicity and quiet grandeur, which Winckelmann originated and Goethe and the Romanticists spread broadcast, gave way, towards the middle of the past century, to a purely historical and passionless portrayal of the course of social and literary development, in which the Greeks themselves, often the mere *corpus vile* of dry-as-dust philology, were apt to be overlooked amid the sweep of evolutionary processes, or buried beneath accumulations of research material. And now we see an effort to recover the Greek personality at almost any cost, and to portray that personality as strong and naïve and sombre, full of untrained instincts and deep mystic longings.

This is not the place to attempt a refutation of the Nietzschean conception. But an observation or so upon its genesis and presuppositions may lay bare the weakness of its essential thesis. Nietzsche experienced, while yet a student at the university, two great disillusionments, one touching the validity of the ascetic Christian ideal, the other touching the adequacy of science to explain existence and to give life a worthy content. Dissatisfied with any interpretation of things in moral or intellectual terms, he felt compelled to justify the Universe (as Heraklitos had done) only for its aesthetic value

("nur als ästhetisches Phänomen ist das Dasein und die Welt ewig gerechtfertigt" W. I, 45), and to establish as a new principle of conduct life-assertion, the will to power—in *positivo salus*. Against what he regarded as the debasing philistinism of modern science and the ascetic other-worldliness of Christianity, he sought a great artistic civilization whose abiding achievements in this world's culture were imposing enough to serve as counterpoise. This could be none other than the civilization of Hellas; but of what period? Obviously not that of the fourth century and after, for Nietzsche saw only too clearly that in Aristotle and Plato the spirits of science and of transcendental ethics have a perennial fount of being, and that the age of Alexandria and of the Empire, so long as it remained alive and productive at all, was an age of scientific thought and of studied moral self-control—"lauter Menschen des ermüdeten Instinktes" (W. VII, 163) he calls the Greeks of this period, and speaks despairingly of "das präexistente Christentum, die bereits verdüsterte, vermoralisierte . . . alt und krank gewordene Alte Welt" (W. XV, 224). Inevitably therefore he turned to the Tragic Age. Sokrates as "präexistent-christlich" destroyed instinctive ethics and introduced the age of control and self-denial, so he and the great questioner of the Mythic Age, Euripides, must be rejected ("die moderne Seele war schon da" W. XIV, 202). The great age of antiquity, because neither ascetic nor scientific, is for us "eigentlich . . . ein unzeitgemässes Ding" (W. X, 356). Nietzsche was thus, by virtue of his own instinctive antipathies, forced to an exaggerated estimate of the sixth and fifth centuries, and to the complete rejection of the fourth century and all that it produced. No other man, however, is so forced, unless he shares Nietzsche's prejudices. If so, then he is probably proof against argument—did not Nietzsche himself say that whatever required proof was not worth the proving? Instinctive affinities were his motive power, an aesthetic satisfaction his sole criterium of a judgment's value.

Nietzsche's whole conception of the Greek genius is untenable because of all that his theory must refuse to consider—Sokrates and Euripides, Plato and Aristotle, Demosthenes and Isokrates, Skopas, Praxiteles and Lysippos, Menander and Theokritos, the Stoics, the Epicureans and the Neoplatonists, the whole sweep of Graeco-Roman civilization—to call the sum total of achievement represented by these names "decadence" certainly robs the term of its sting.

To be sure, if one must choose between Nietzsche's concentration upon the sixth and fifth centuries, and the opposite exaggeration of the later periods, as exemplified let us say in

Wilamowitz's *Griechische Literatur*, wherein the period subsequent to Aristotle bulks twice as large as all that precedes him. Lykophron receives as much attention as Aischylos, and John Chrysostom occupies more than three times the space given to Aristotle, why then the former is perhaps the lesser evil. But happily no such choice is necessary, for neither is an adequate statement of the case. A finer conception is it, and a truer, because it explains nearly if not quite all the ascertainable facts of Greek history, to regard the Greek spirit as essentially a striving towards *κόσμος*, order, and *ἐνέχουσιν*, self-restraint. This is no mere quietism that comes of timidity, dullness, lethargy, or world-weariness. The Greek temperament was bold to a fault, active beyond all parallel of achievement, with strong passions, a wholly unrivalled luxuriance and elevation of fancy and imagination, and a vehement will to life and to power, but all ordered, clarified, ennobled, harmonized, patterned, even conventionalized if you will, till the original and vital experience of Hellas has become the decorative culture of Rome and of modern Europe. This is the Greek spirit at its best and this, to a greater or less degree, it always was from Homer to the senility of Byzantium. Hellas was "a small white-hot center of spiritual life in a world of effortless barbarism" as Gilbert Murray has recently so well expressed it in his *Rise of the Greek Epic*. Indeed the permanent value of this book is the inspiring portrayal of those processes of purification and of self-restraint which led to the ennoblement of Hellenic life. As Professor Murray says in another connection: "Every Greek community is like a garrison of civilization amid wide hordes of barbarians; a picked body of men, of whom each individual has in some sense to live up to a higher standard than can be expected of the common human animal".

And after all no one has done better justice to this side of the Hellenic character than, in certain moods, Nietzsche himself (for there is hardly any thinker with whom the appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober can be made more often or more effectively), as the following passages loosely strung together from his works will show: "Die Griechen sind gerade bewundernswerth wegen ihres Sinnes für Ordnung, Gliederung, Schönheit, *κόσμος*; man merkt in dem Talent zu ordnen ihre Verwandtschaft mit den Italikern und deren mathematisch constructiver Phantasie, mit der sie den Himmel, die Erde, die Götter, und sich selbst massregln. Aber auch ihr Ordnungssinn hat ein Masz, er verfällt nicht in das Pedantische und Juristische, wie die der Römer . . . Es ist ihre glänzendste Seite: die Aneignung und Ueberwindung des Fremden . . . jede Art asiatischer Maszlosigkeit und



Ausschweifung trat ihnen grell vor das Auge, in der Gestalt von hochentwickelten Culturen, die bereits fertig waren" (W. XIX, 16 f.). "Ungeheure Kraft der Selbstüberwindung, zum Beispiel im Bürger, in Sokrates, der zu allen Bösen fähig war" (W. X[Kögel], 355). "In allen griechischen Trieben zeigt sich eine bändigende Einheit: nennen wir sie den hellenischen Willen . . . Die Kultur eines Volkes offenbart sich in der einheitlichen Bändigung der Triebe dieses Volkes: die Philosophie bändigt den Erkenntnisstrieb, die Kunst den Formentrieb und die Ekstasis" (W. X, 124). "Wir lassen uns leicht durch die berühmte griechische Helle, Durchsichtigkeit, Einfachheit und Ordnung, durch das Krystallhaft-Natürliche und zugleich Krystallhaft-Künstliche griechischer Werke verführen zu glauben, das sei alles den Griechen geschenkt; sie hätten, zum Beispiel, gar nicht anders gekonnt als gut schreiben . . . Aber nichts ist voreiliger und unhaltbarer. Die Geschichte der Prosa . . . zeigt ein Arbeiten und Ringen aus dem Dunklen, Überladnen, Geschmacklosen heraus zum Lichte hin, dass man an die Mühsal der Heroen erinnert wird, welche die ersten Wege durch Wald und Sümpfe zu bahnen hatten. Der Dialog der Tragödie ist die eigentliche That der Dramatiker, wegen seiner ungemeinen Helle und Bestimmtheit. . . wie es die That Homers ist, die Griechen von dem asiatischen Pomp und dem dumpfen Wesen befreit und die Helle der Architektur, im Grossen und Einzelnen, errungen zu haben. Es galt auch keineswegs für leicht, Etwas recht rein und leuchtend zu sagen . . . Weil das Zustreben zum Lichte aus einer gleichen eingeborenen Dämmerung griechisch ist, so geht ein Frohlocken durch das Volk beim Hören einer lakonischen Sentenz . . . den Sprüchen der Sieben Weisen . . . Die Schlichtheit, die Geschmeidigkeit, die Nüchternheit sind der Volksanlage angerungen, nicht mitgegeben—die Gefahr eines Rückfalls in's Asiatische schwebte immer über den Griechen, und wirklich kam es von Zeit zu Zeit über sie wie ein dunkler überschwemmender Strom mystischer Regungen, elementarer Wildheit und Finsterniss. Wir sehen sie untertauchen, wir sehen Europa gleichsam weggespült, überflutet—denn Europa war damals sehr klein—, aber immer kommen sie auch wieder an's Licht, gute Schwimmer und Taucher wie sie sind, das Volk des Odysseus" (W. III, 115 ff.).

Nietzsche remains comrade and kindred spirit of the great Pre-Socratics, one-sided and exaggerated, but bold, stimulating, beautiful. Of him and of them one cannot help but think in reading that splendid figure from his earliest work: "Ein Riese ruft dem anderen durch die öden Zwischenräume der Zeiten zu, und ungestört durch mutwilliges, lärmendes Ge-

zwerge, welches unter ihnen wegekriecht, setzt sich das hohe Geistergespräch fort" (W. I, 364).

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PSYCHOLOGY AND INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY—Hugo Münsterberg. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1913, pp. 321. \$1.50.

"Our aim", says the author, "is to sketch the outlines of a new science which is to intermediate between the modern laboratory psychology and the problems of economics: the psychological experiment is systematically to be placed at the service of commerce and industry. So far we have only scattered beginnings of the new doctrine, only tentative efforts and disconnected attempts which have started, sometimes in economic, and sometimes in psychological, quarters. The time when an exact psychology of business life will be presented as a closed and perfected system lies very far distant. But the earlier the attention of wider circles is directed to its beginnings and to the importance and bearing of its tasks, the quicker and the more sound will be the development of this young science". (p. 3).

The book is divided into three parts: *The Best Possible Man*, *The Best Possible Work*, and *The Best Possible Effect*. Of these three divisions the first takes up practically half the volume and treats more particularly the application of scientific methods to the question of fitness for such pursuits as railway service, ship service, and telephone service. The scientific problem is first of all to ascertain what traits are requisite for success from the standpoint of scientific as distinct from popular psychology; and secondly to devise and apply methods for the study of these traits. From the nature of the case it is frequently impossible or inadvisable to attempt a reproduction of the conditions under which the work is actually carried on, and so the problem for the psychological expert is to discover means by which it will be possible to study the mental traits involved in various occupations, but under conditions which are widely different from those which obtain in practical life. Hence Professor Münsterberg records in detail the laboratory experiments by which the capacities of railway and telephone employees were tested, and discusses the significance of these results when taken as criteria of fitness. By transforming the practical situation to that of the laboratory type it becomes possible to obtain results which are approximately quantifiable, although it must

be admitted that the transformation introduces points of difference which make the application of the results a matter of some uncertainty. These matters are discussed by the author with commendable candor and breadth of view. The laboratory experiment, with its inevitable simplification and artificiality of conditions, yields results which it is difficult to evaluate properly, but the results have at least an apparent bearing on the problem of selecting the right man for the job and warrant the hope for larger and more extensively tested results in the future.

In the second division, *The Best Possible Work*, the movement for scientific management occupies a prominent place. The author brings out the connection of this movement with psychological work in the field of memory, attention, habit, fatigue, and special studies in the acquisition of skill in telegraphy and with the typewriter. The purpose of this discussion is largely to show that psychological analysis and technique offer possibilities of returns in a field which, in so far as it has been exploited at all, is still under the domination of a crude and relatively unscientific procedure. The last part, *The Best Possible Effect* is devoted chiefly to advertising and salesmanship. It gives a summary of some of the results secured by studies in this field and points out opportunities for further investigation by the trained psychologist.

It is with no intent of disparagement that the reviewer records his impression that this young science is very young indeed. *Grau, theurer Freund, ist alle Theorie*; and at times it is rather more so than usual. But in so far as this sentiment conveys a warning, it is a warning, not to leave these outlying regions unexplored, but to avoid the hasty generalizations and smug complacency which in times past and in other subjects have resulted in a harvest of contempt and disrepute. The author is too circumspect and judicious to incur condemnation on this score. He offers a very readable and stimulating book. It is to be hoped, though perhaps hardly to be expected, that other workers in the field will exercise the same caution. Increasing demands will inevitably be made upon science for service in the elimination of wastefulness and tragedy in the choice of vocation as well as in the attainment of results. The immediate goal is industrial efficiency, which will be of pecuniary benefit to both employer and employee; but "more important than the naked profit on both sides is the cultural gain which will come to the total economic life of the nation, as soon as every one can be brought to the place where his best energies may be unfolded and his greatest personal satisfaction secured. The economic experimental psychology offers no more inspiring idea than this adjust-

ment of work and psyche by which mental dissatisfaction in the work, mental depression and discouragement, may be replaced in our social community by overflowing joy and inner harmony".

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**THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE.** Edited by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller. Volume VII, Cavalier and Puritan. Cambridge: University Press, 1911.

This volume is to a marked degree the fulfillment of certain promises recorded by the general editors at the beginning: "to consider subsidiary movements and writers below the highest rank," and to make ample provision "for treating certain subjects more or less closely allied to literature pure or proper." Given a period in which, dramatic writers being set aside, large literary figures are so rare that several have to be forced in from contiguous territory, and the settlement of these initial obligations becomes not a duty, but a privilege. But this treatment of the Caroline Age, the period of Cavalier and Puritan, seems a trifle out of balance, with seven long chapters of the sixteen given to extra-literary matters, or to considerations in which purely literary qualities and relations are certainly not the things emphasized. The chapters in question are clear and comprehensive; far better than could be brought together by any other than this co-operative method. Still one feels that the purposes of the student of literature might be served more effectively by a greater insistence on social environment or a stricter fidelity to that other editorial promise—of carefully considering foreign influences—which most of the collaborators have rather studiously disregarded.

With a less intricate literary situation to consider, there is correspondingly less embarrassment in the matter of chapter-divisions. The chapters on poetry, in the earlier pages, suffer most in this respect. Professor Moorman, under "Cavalier Lyrists," does a masterly study of Herrick, for which he is peculiarly qualified, and concludes with a rather perfunctory treatment of Carew, Suckling and Lovelace. Mr. Thompson's "Writers of the Couplet" are all "Cavalier lyrists," in any sense of the term; and include Cowley, who is admitted chiefly on the strength of the couplet structure in *Davidéis*, and Davenant, because the quatrains of *Gondibert* represent "the general inclination to restrain poetic fluency within

definite bounds." This chapter is indeed an admirable study of the development of restraint and smooth simplicity in verse form, analogous to Professor Saintsbury's treatment of the verse-paragraph in heroic poetry; but even from that point of view Cowley seems out of his element. Practically all other versifiers of the period, except of course the conventional group of "Sacred Poets," are consigned to Professor Saintsbury's chapter on "Lesser Caroline Poets." As more than half of these passed under his editorial supervision in his collection of *Minor Poets of the Caroline Period*, 1905, it is not surprising that he gives them unusually concrete and sympathetic treatment, and constructs about his central interest in the technique of heroic verse, noted above, one of the best-knit and most illuminating chapters of the volume.

With all this distribution of responsibility, several familiar names are almost missed from the roll. Sir John Beaumont is mentioned repeatedly as anticipating the formula of later verse-restraint, but his very considerable achievements in the couplet form fail of recognition. William Cartwright is named once among those showing the influence of Jonson (p. 4), and again in the group of writers to whom Vaughan penned complimentary verses (p. 44). Alexander Brome, whose work was virtually completed in 1660, when the first edition of his poems appeared, is not noted at all. Traherne receives due consideration among the Sacred Poets, but William Strode, Dobell's more recent and more worldly protégé, finds no mention anywhere. Marvell seems to have given the editors no little concern, and appears linked arbitrarily with Bunyan by such Puritanism as they may be supposed to have had in common. "But if we class both as puritans," Doctor Brown explains, "we must do so with a difference" (p. 203). He has just confessed himself "conscious of making a great transition" in passing from one to the other.

Strictures like these are perhaps a trifle petty. Presumably the volumes in this series represent the best possible results of compromising between the familiar "life-and-works" method of presentation and a more vigorously constructive treatment of literary types and tendencies. It is a reasonable conviction, however, that such wide-spread literary interests as that in the lighter lyric, with its various impulses from classic, religious, "metaphysical," and continental courtly sources, or in the heroic elements cultivated on both sides of the channel in poem, romance and drama, deserve a carefully organized cumulative treatment against a social and critical background, rather than the dissipation of their factors into fragments of some half-dozen chapters.

One interesting feature of this volume is the large part

taken by Professor Saintsbury, who has written the chapters on "Milton" and the "Antiquaries," as well as the "Lesser Caroline Poets." Far from conceding him this lion's share in a grudging fashion, as certain critics have (*N. Y. Nation*, Oct. 19, 1911 and May 9, 1912), we are disposed to regard the arrangement as peculiarly fortunate. Between the minor poets, whose work he has made common property and whose experiments at refining narrative verse he has analyzed with so much care, and those masters of rhythmical prose on whom his recent *History of Prose Rhythm* has given him first claim, Milton, with a culminating power over verse-paragraphs and an ornate rhetoric shaped—however awkwardly—to the demands of controversy, falls to his share so naturally that the concluding paragraphs of the chapter threaten to lose themselves in a "conclusion-summary" on 17th Century style. It is worth while to have an estimate of Milton from this "most signal polymath of our day," as Mr. Seccombe calls him. He definitely undertakes it as an expositor and not an advocate. It is certainly not hero-worship, and there may be many to quarrel with its depreciation of youthful effort, its severe strictures on the controversial prose, and its failure to rhapsodize over the elements of greatness in *Paradise Lost*. But on the whole the estimate is sound and convincing, and presents a consistent portrait of a surprisingly real personage. Moreover, we could ill dispense with such characteristic utterances as the following: "An Aspasia-Hypatia-Lucretia-Griselda, with any naughtiness in the first left out and certain points in Solomon's pattern woman added, might have met Milton's views. But this blend has not been commonly quoted in the marriage market."

In the Caroline period the familiar letter and the memoir had come to have such distinct literary values that the critic is often uncertain where to classify his documents. Professor Ward's two chapters on "Historical and Political Writings" do ample justice to this mass of material on the side of content and historical bearing, but in certain cases there might well be more emphasis on the literary significance. He explains, for example, that James Howell's *Epistolae Hóelianae* bear few marks of genuine personal correspondence, but makes no attempt to follow the admirable lead of Joseph Jacobs and Georg Jürgens in determining the place of these letters in the literary type then developing. In the biographical documents literary values seem particularly slighted, notably in the cases of Clarendon's *Life*, Lord Herbert's *Autobiography*, and the Hutchinson and Newcastle memoirs.

Mr. Spingarn's chapter on "Criticism" represents another appropriate assignment, and is noteworthy for its grasp of

detail and the skill with which this is related to the dominating features of the period: the heroic vogue, the system of Hobbes, and the development of the critical roll-call. This and the following chapter, "Contemporary Philosophy," are equally illuminating, and supplement each other. It is to be regretted that Mr. Spingarn did not carry his work beyond the Restoration, giving it approximately the scope of his three volumes of *Critical Essays*. The last two chapters are particularly valuable for the mass of material they bring before the general student. This assembling of out-of-the-way documents seems to be Professor Routh's specific mission throughout the series, and he does it with zest and apparent facility. This time the wide variety of his resources is almost too much for the limitations of one chapter-heading, "The Advent of Modern Thought in Popular Literature" being perhaps as adequate as one could expect.

The bibliographies in this volume are rather above the average of the series. There is no elaborate attempt at classification, there are various omissions, and there is not always perfect integration with the material of the chapters. For anyone but the specialist, however, they should be entirely sufficient.

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*THE POLITICAL PROPHECY IN ENGLAND*, by Rupert Taylor, Ph.D., New York, The Columbia University Press. Pp. xx, 165.

In this book Dr. Taylor has performed a valuable service by furnishing a general survey of a field of English literature which has hitherto received scanty attention. Working with a literature of considerable extent, much of it inaccessible, and with nothing to serve as guide, he has studied and classified the available material with great thoroughness, and the book is certain to be of value to future students of the subject as well as to students of mediæval literature generally. As the work is professedly a guide book, it is to be regretted that two omissions seriously affect the convenience with which it can be used. In the first place, a chronological list of the prophecies treated is greatly needed. Such a list would not only have been useful for reference, but it would also have enabled the reader to grasp more readily the historical development of the type of literature which is being studied. In the second place, there is no index—an omission more serious than the first. This omission is the more irritating because the book would really be of considerable value for

reference if the index had been included. The long "Synopsis" which precedes the study, though not without value perhaps, would be missed much less than the list or the index.

English political prophecy, Dr. Taylor shows, had its origin in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *The Book of Merlin* (1120-1135). The type of prophecy found in this work is called Galfridian, and English political prophecy is usually of the same kind. Before the thirteenth century it is apparently the only type in England. In this method individual men and women are given the names of animals. Strange to say, this type of prophecy apparently was scarcely known on the continent before the thirteenth century, the Sibyllic type (in which the initials of the names of persons are used) prevailing. Dr. Taylor regards the later popularity of the Galfridian type on the continent as due to the influence of Geoffrey, and he devotes a valuable chapter to a study of "The Galfridian Prophecy in Other Countries than England."

Inasmuch as *The Book of Merlin* is the starting point for this literary type, the problem of the origin of the book is interesting as throwing light on the genesis of the type. Chapter Two is devoted to a study of the source of the *Merlin*. It produces very little new evidence, but the old is handled with judgment. Geoffrey translated the book from the Welsh, in which language it was probably a collection of fragments. He did not imitate earlier Continental prophecies. Dr. Taylor is probably inclined to depreciate too much possible influences other than Welsh. He is no doubt right in regarding the *Book* as by no means a mere forgery, but he seems too certain that the Galfridian type was really brought in by Geoffrey. His own references show that the use of animal names to represent persons was at least known before Geoffrey. Even the biblical symbolism, in the *Book of Daniel* for instance, is not so foreign to Geoffrey's *Book of Merlin* as it would seem to be by the accounts of Dr. Taylor. However, our author is no doubt right in emphasizing the work of Geoffrey, for the numerous imitations, translations, and references prove the great influence of *The Book of Merlin*.

The fourth chapter, which contains a discussion of the relation of prophecies to political events, is also of great interest. The author shows the general credence given to secular prophecies by all classes of people, and states, what is no doubt true, that prophecies must have been circulated orally in England. The fact that the portions of the prophecies referring to events past had been fulfilled was regarded as sufficient ground for trusting the as yet unfulfilled prophecies. Moreover, if prophecies were not fulfilled in the expected manner, new interpretations to restore their authority were forth-



coming. Consequently, prophecies retained their credit, and played a real part in history. In times of crisis prophecies appeared in great numbers. They were often written to influence public opinion, and many which were probably written as literary exercises were so used. Dr. Taylor points out examples, of which *Adam Davy's Five Dreams about Edward the Second* is one of the most important. History must have been more or less influenced by such prophecies. Taylor's account of the evolution of prophecies from literary to propagandist is, however, to be questioned. He writes: "The prophecies were written at first purely as literary exercises. After they had been in existence some time they were quoted as bearing upon certain political issues. But in the course of time when factions grew up in the government and political rivalry became more intense, prophecies were written and circulated deliberately as active political propaganda." The list of prophecies before the fourteenth century, when all types of prophecy are abundant in England, is entirely too short to allow this account of the development to be more than conjecture. The Welsh prophecies out of which, according to Taylor, the type grew were undoubtedly propagandist in a very large measure; that is, they were used to keep up the national spirit of the defeated Celts. Geoffrey's translation, if his work can be called translation, may have been made for literary purposes, but the prophecies corresponded to political events which had just occurred and readers necessarily applied the unfulfilled prophecies to events which were to happen. This is shown, for instance, in the *History of Ordericus Vitalis*, who was Geoffrey's contemporary. Moreover, when John de Courcy was engaged in the conquest of Ireland for Henry II, some forty years after Geoffrey's prophecies appeared, he carried about with him a copy of the so-called "prophecies of Columba" and applied them to his own acts (Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, Liber II, cap. xvii; see Rolls Series, vol. 21<sup>5</sup>, p. 342). O'Curry thought these prophecies were fabricated by the English for political purposes. He remarks: "Well did the astute Anglo-Normans (as well as, indeed, their Elizabethan successors in a subsequent age), know what use to make of these rude and baseless predictions" (*Lectures on the Materials of Ancient Irish History*, p. 431). This example makes it clear that the political prophecies had influence on events, and were perhaps fabricated with political intent, almost from the beginning.

For the general reader Chapter Five, "The Development and Decline of the Political Prophecy," is probably most interesting. It contains an excellent historical survey of the type. The development is apparently from Welsh through

Latin and French to English. The character of the symbols also changed. At first apparently arbitrary, they became traditional and conventional, and at a later time were often heraldic. The popularity of the political prophecy continued for several centuries, and declined only in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, partially discredited by the growing rationalism represented by the attacks of such men as Bacon, and partially replaced by astrology. The prophecies are of considerable literary interest in the age of Elizabeth, as they are parodied by Shakespeare (in *King Lear*) and have influenced the animal symbolism used by Greene (in his *James the Fourth*), by James Howell, and by others.

Attention may be called to a few misprints which might mislead the hurried reader. On p. xv, under "The Ereldoune Cycle", is the note: "Later than 1188." This should read: "Later than 1388." On p. 52 several dates are given as of the twelfth century, all of which should be of the fourteenth century. On p. 56, two lines from the bottom of the page, the date 1358 apparently should be 1356. The reference to chapter 57 of the *History of Ordericus Vitalis* in the footnote on p. 14 should be to chapter 47.

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#### HALL, HENRY MARION: *IDYLLS OF FISHERMEN*.

A History of the Literary Species. (Columbia Univ. Studies in Comparative Literature, No. 13) 1912.

Though an offshoot from the pastoral eclogue, the literary piscatory, studied in this work, has an interest all its own. To the student of the pastoral in its manifold forms this minor species furnishes an instructive parallel—a fact which Dr. Hall recognizes in stressing the more general 'realism' of the fisher-idyll. While the form took over many of the conventions of the type it imitates, the Arcadian shepherd is replaced by a fisherman facing the stern actualities of his lot. It is because of this restriction that the piscatory—with the one exception of Sannazaro's—never offered to the poet the wide range of themes and the larger framework which the pastoral easily attained.

The purpose and plan of the book are stated on pages 3 following: "Theocritus is the creator of the literary piscatory, as he is of the literary bucolic, and the main object of this essay is to trace the development of the class of poems, with related pieces of prose, which are in a general way descended from his fisher idyll". The aim is again summed up at the end (page 199): "The present work aims to treat the idyll

of fishers as part of the broader field of pastoral in Europe, of which the English is but a corner". Dr. Hall divides his work into three parts: first, the extant matter in Greek and classical Latin; second, the modern variety as initiated by Sannazaro and "extensively imitated in Latin and in the vernacular", as well as in French and Spanish. Then, "an account of the spread of the fisher motive to other literary forms, such as the sonnet, the romance, and the drama"; and finally, the introduction of the form into England and its development there.

For the most part, the quotations from Theocritus are bits of seascape rather than finished piscatory. But in the twenty-first idyll, which describes the toilsome life of two old fishermen, we have the true prototype to which all later effort may be indirectly traced. Dr. Hall expresses a doubt as to the mimic origin of this idyll, and though it is certain that fisher-life was represented in the mimes, one agrees that the idyll is probably not indebted to them. The text, however, is corrupt and confusing in places. Moschus's description of Europa crossing the deep on the bull's neck, has been well named a mythologic 'genre-picture'. Dr. Hall points out that this, and similar productions may have been inspired by wall-paintings. Perhaps, too, we should note the possible connection of such 'pictorial' poetry with the 'emblem-writing' of the type represented by the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo,—a type revived and elaborated in Renaissance times by Alciati and his imitators. Another noteworthy point with regard to Moschus on which Dr. Hall dwells, is his strong dread of the treacherous sea. Like Asphalion in Theocritus's idyll, he "swore that never again would I set foot on sea, but bide on land, and lord it over the gold". (Id. XXI, tr. Lang.). To the similar attitude of Spenser, Dr. Hall, when treating of the *Faerie Queene*, makes no reference, though the poet repeats his distrust and fear of the sea in many a passage (E. g. I. iii, 21-22; VI. iv, 1, xi, 44; xii, 1).

But, as the author shows, the scrappy collection of classical fisher passages by no means comprises an imposing contribution to the piscatory. "They constitute merely a special branch of the pastoral, which failed to attain any considerable proportions during classical times, and which the early renaissance ignored, just as Virgil had done. It remained for a later poet, Giacopo Sannazaro, . . . to compose in the learned tongue the first set of what he called 'piscatory eclogues'" (p. 44). The work of this poet is treated with some exhaustiveness, but of his Spanish and French imitators, there are, for the most part, only brief summaries. Coming to the English piscatory, the author discusses several neo-

Latin pieces and writes very interestingly, though compactly, of the masques of the sea. More detailed is the treatment of Spenser, whose story of Marinell in Book IV of the *Faerie Queene* is "a piscatory eclogue interpolated in the epic", just as the tale of Callidore and Pastorell is a pastoral eclogue similarly intercalated. "It is noteworthy," says Dr. Hall, "that Spenser did not idealize his fisher, who is painted in earthly colors appropriate to his surroundings . . . and may well have been sketched from nature" (pages 105-106). With the last part of this statement as to the villainous fisher of Book IV, it is difficult to agree, for the realistic touches in Spenser are few and far between. One remembers that in the *Shepherd's Calendar* there are not more than two or three graphic bits, like that of the bullock (II. 71 ff.), which can claim to be from the life. The great allegorist seldom resorted to the plain colors of the realist. With reference to Spenser, it is surprising to find no mention in the book of *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*. While this poem is truly a pastoral eclogue, it mingles with other elements a notable marine coloring, particularly at the beginning. The poet's coming has been looked for:—

The running waters wept for thy returne,

And all their fish with languor did lament. (11. 27-28).

and to the gathered shepherds he describes his voyage and the sea (11. 196-231):

the sea! that is

A world of waters heaped up on hie

Rolling like mountains in wide wilderness,

Horrible, hideous, roaring with hoarse crie.

Surely this, and the introduction of Raleigh—"the Shepheard of the Ocean" (see the poem, *passim*) deserves recognition in Dr. Hall's study. Then, too, as already noted, Spenser's dread of the sea is worthy of comment, all the more as being so un-English and un-Elizabethan.

A further omission in the account of the Elizabethan piscatory is *Wit's Trenchamour* (1597) by Nicholas Breton, a dialogue between an angler and a scholar, with talk about fish and fishing. It may have its relation to Walton's *Angler*.

After a section on a number of Elizabethan fisher plays which exhibit marked points of contact with Italian work of the same type, Dr. Hall traces interestingly the influence of Sannazaro and Spenser through the next two centuries, selecting Walton, John Leech, Drayton, and Phineas Fletcher for particular study. We are shown that the theme "gradually turns into a verse laudation of the art of angling". The last English work mentioned is Keats's *Endymion* (1818), and the book closes with a discussion of Lamartine's *Graziella*

(1843). In a note the author indicates the main lines of the fishing theme as developed in Germany.

The appended list of authorities seems to be comprehensive, though Dr. Hall might well have indicated the source of bibliographical data. One is interested to know whether books on angling and *pisces* generally, like L. R. Albee's in the *Harvard Bibliographies*, no. 51, is of value for bibliographical purposes. The number of secondary articles and books on Sannazaro and others is rather small, but omissions here may be intentional, especially if they contain no matter on the special theme of investigation.<sup>1</sup>

*The Idylls of Fishermen* is a brief and straightforward historical account of the species. The author makes no effort at especial graces of style, or at the exhaustiveness that comes from detailed tracing of 'exact' sources and discursive elaboration of all possible points of relationship. In places, the book has the scrappy effect brought about by the citations from works far apart in date. This is evidently owing to the nature of the subject-matter, for the piscatory shows no gradual and steady development. To have attempted greater things with so limited a field would have been to invite ridicule. One wishes that the author had dwelt more fully on the trend and effect of the contribution of each period, but one is glad to have the work as done.

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**ELIZABETHAN DRAMA, 1558-1642**, by F. E. Schelling; Students' Edition, 2 vols., pp. xliii + 606; x + 685; Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911; price, \$3.50, net.

**THE TUDOR DRAMA**, by C. F. T. Brooke; pp. xiii + 461; 10 illustrations; Boston, New York, and Chicago: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911; price, \$1.50, net.

The most striking change to be noted in the new edition of Professor Schelling's two volumes is in their appearance. By the use of thin paper and the judicious shearing of margins the work has been reduced in size almost beyond recognition, but the pagination remains as before. The result is a book much more attractive to the hand and the eye as well as to the purse of the average student. On all other points the identity is immediately evident. The author in his new

<sup>1</sup>Of errata, I have noted only two: Page 133, "Tempect" for "Tempest"; and page 195, 1616 in "Scott's 'Antiquary' (1616)" should be (1816).

preface states that while no part of the book has been rewritten, he has been assisted by the criticism of reviewers and of personal correspondents and has used the opportunity to correct certain errors appearing in the first edition. In particular, as Professor Schelling explains, he has profited by the searching criticism of Mr. W. W. Greg in *The Modern Language Review* (1910); on numerous pages in both volumes he has modified statements, corrected obvious misprints, and added new references to meet Mr. Greg's objections.

In view of the excellent spirit evinced in this procedure, it may be ungracious to express disappointment that the revision has not been more thorough. But it is precisely because the book occupies such an eminent place as an encyclopedia of information concerning the most important period of English literature that one desires the *errata* to become a negligible quantity. Some proof-reading of the first impression was undoubtedly hasty, and most errors occurring in this process have been excided. But not all of even Mr. Greg's suggestions have borne fruit. For example, he pointed out the slip on ii. 442, of *Litteraturbibliothek* for *Litteraturblatt*; on ii. 461, of *Les Débat* for *Les Débuts*; and on ii. 487, of *Manuele* for *Manuale*,—all of which stand uncorrected in the new edition. In this connection it may be remarked as disconcerting to find on ii. 434, and again on ii. 482 the statement that Greg's second volume of *Henslowe's Diary* has not yet appeared, but on ii. 539 a reference to a certain page of this promised second volume. The explanation is that the first two references have not been revised since Greg's new volume was issued.

More complete revision might have remedied other omissions or mistakes of the first edition. Failure to take into account Fuller's important paper on the Dutch version of the Romeo story, and Robertson's volume, *Did Shakespeare Write Titus Andronicus?*, in the body of the text, is not wholly atoned for by the mention of both contributions in the valuable Bibliographical Essay appended to volume II. Then Professor Schelling's impatience with the zeal of Teutonic or other scholars in pursuit of source and date problems is expressed rather frequently; however, his own dating of familiar plays is not altogether consistent with itself. To illustrate, on i. 244, a marginal title dates Greene's *James the Fourth* at 1590; a similar title just fourteen pages later dates the same play as of 1592. Similarly on i. 294, it is stated that the older *King Leir* was "published for the first time in 1605, and undoubtedly because of the recent appearance of Shakespeare's *Tragedy of King Lear*"; while six pages farther on, Shakespeare's *King Lear* is dated 1606. Again, i. 300, *Lear*

is said to have been acted at court in November, 1606, when the actual date is December 26, 1606; and on i. 346, Yarrington's *Two Tragedies in One* is three times miscalled *Two Murders in One*. Each of these errors is admittedly minute, but their detection at once raises the question whether numerous others of similar import have not escaped discovery, and the authority of the book is thus weakened. In other words, many students of the Elizabethan drama have felt that this was a notable exemplar of sane, thorough, and comprehensive American scholarship save in one particular—it contained too many inaccuracies of detail. These inaccuracies have not disappeared in the second printing.

Herewith ends our fault-finding. After all is said and done the book remains not only a masterly interpretation, but the most illuminating history of Elizabethan drama. Its zest of attack, its literary flavor, and the real joy that the author obtains from reading and expounding these old plays, make the heaviness of his labors seem light.

It may be unwise to compare Professor Brooke's much simpler and less pretentious volume with Professor Schelling's matured product, but to do so is the inevitable consequence of their issuance during the same year by the same house, covering much the same field, and employing somewhat the same method of treatment. Indeed, the resemblance goes farther. Professor Schelling's sub-title runs: "A History of the Drama in England from the Accession of Queen Elizabeth to the Closing of the Theaters, to which is prefixed a *Résumé* of the Earlier Drama from its Beginnings." Mr. Brooke puts his more concisely: "A History of English National Drama to the Retirement of Shakespeare". Moreover, a casual comparison of the two tables of contents will bring out numerous similarities in method and arrangement. Thus by the flattery of imitation the younger scholar seems to have invited comparison.

That Mr. Brooke's purview does not extend beyond Shakespeare's retirement or even beyond the death of Elizabeth in 1603, is indicated in the title. Another limitation to his field as compared with Schelling's, is that he is little concerned with the London playhouses, to which Schelling devotes an entire chapter, or with the conditions under which the plays were actually presented to Elizabethan audiences. Some ten drawings, chiefly illustrating the performance of the earlier sacred drama, assist in clarifying the text; but there is little discussion of the subject, and except in recounting the War of the Theatres, we have almost no mention of the rival acting companies. The apparent aim of the writer is to present a clear account of the genesis and growth of

English drama under the Tudor sovereigns, and to classify the extant plays into a small number of easily recognized types. In making his divisions he has been even less influenced by considerations of chronology than has Dr. Schelling, unhesitatingly placing his comment on *Lyly* and *Peele* before that on *Gorboduc*, and discussing *Romeo and Juliet* before *Tamburlaine*, since logic demands these reversals from the customary order. On the other hand, he distinguishes in the chapter headings more sharply than does Schelling between comedy, tragedy, and history.

But the wisdom of massing in one group all plays dealing with English or foreign historical events, the present critic would seriously question. In large part our justification for employing the term "history" in the dramatic sense comes from Heminge and Condell's use of it to designate in the first folio of Shakespeare ten definitely national dramas. Furthermore, it is a commonplace of knowledge that the vogue of history plays sprang from the fervid patriotism that so characterizes the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, and the strident note of nationalism is a distinguishing mark of the genre. The fact that their source material is somewhat similar in character fails to justify the consideration of *Selimus* or *Antony and Cleopatra* along with *Edward the Second* and *Sir Thomas More*.

A more serious general criticism finds origin in the author's fondness for the minuter problems of special research. It is always difficult for the enthusiastic investigator to let slip an opportunity of contributing to the world's knowledge. Yet from its very nature this volume appeals not so much to the trained specialist as to the tyro, who will as a rule find it a safe and convenient work of reference. In the handling of such topics as the purport of *Lyly's Endymion* or Jonson's connection with the War of the Theatres, the advocate's zeal outruns the historian's discretion so that immature students are likely to confuse the real issues of the case. The redeeming side of this evil tendency is that Mr. Brooke's judgment is usually on the side of sound scholarship, and his conservatism in rejecting, for instance, many of Professor Penniman's identifications of character in Jonson's allegories, will commend itself to judicious critics more than the plea of Schelling for the opposing side.

Another case where Mr. Brooke seems to have a mistaken sense of values results in the practical obscuration of Shakespeare's relative greatness among his contemporaries. After all, what excuse can one offer for the detailed analysis of *motif* and plot structure in the crude drama produced, let us say, before 1590, except as an introduction to Shakespeare?



Yet this book seems to slight a large number of Shakespearian plays. Such dramatic masterpieces as *Much Ado* and *Othello* receive only passing notice, while the discussion of *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, which Mr. Brooke rightly terms "a miserable piece of sloppy sensationalism", occupies about four pages.

The most valuable feature of the whole work is the careful and reasonably complete bibliographies placed at the end of each chapter and admirably massed for the service of the eye. A fairly simple classification enables one easily to find in black-faced type the name of a particular play, followed first by names and dates of various editions, and then by important discussions of the subject. Additions may always be made to such bibliographies. Occasionally one misses an important specific reference to such general works as those of Fleay or as Greg's commentary on Henslowe. In a particular case, that of *The True Chronicle History of King Leir* (p. 350), Brooke lends countenance to a hypothetical first edition of 1594, while he fails to set down reprints of 1766 (Steevens: *Wm. Shakespeare, Twenty of His Plays*, vol. IV); of 1779 (John Nichols: *Six Old Plays*, etc.), and even of 1908 (Malone Society); or important discussions by Wilfrid Perrett in *The Story of King Lear from Geoffrey of Monmouth to Shakespeare* (*Palæstra*, No. 35, pp. 94-121, 1904), and by Greg, in reviewing Lee's edition of the play for the *Modern Language Review* (V, 515-519, 1910). There is reason to believe that such omissions are uncommon. One reprehensible habit of the author, however, is to append to certain plays merely the direction, "See bibliography in *The Shakespeare Apocrypha*." This extremely exasperating trick may have been adopted from Fleay; but from whatever source it arose, the busy reader, who may have left his copy of Mr. Brooke's earlier work in the office instead of on the bookshelf, will call down imprecations on the author's head for not reprinting three or four lines.

What has been said in the way of criticism does not indicate any large degree of dissatisfaction with the work. It is a peculiarly attractive and useful volume to all interested in the English drama, and its every page indicates industry and common sense. Its good qualities have been emphasized so strongly in published comments on the book during the past year, that the notice of a few possible shortcomings will not detract from its excellent reputation.

One limitation to the permanent value of both books under review lies in the constant discovery of new facts and new interpretations of long established facts concerning the topics with which they deal. Of all English literature just now the Elizabethan period seems to be the most fertile field of in-

vestigation, attracting as it has done the tireless labors of Chambers, Greg, McKerrow, and other members of a remarkable group of scholars in the mother country; of smaller groups in four or five of the large American universities; and of a well-organized body of specialists in Germany. Not to mention various editions of Shakespeare and Jonson, two notable products of scholarship in this field, viz., M. Feuillerat's *John Lyly* and Mr. J. T. Murray's *English Dramatic Companies, 1558-1642*, have been issued too recently to receive fair attention from either Schelling or Brooke. The final word in the history of Elizabethan drama will not be uttered for many years to come.

ROBERT ADGER LAW.

*University of Texas.*

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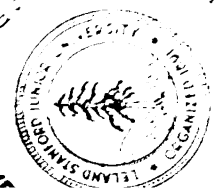
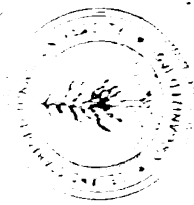
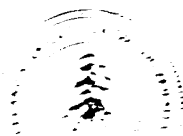
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